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Book Reviews

June 2014 Foreword

by Wen-Chi Vivian Wu

First of all, I would like to welcome all the readers to the second issue of Asian EFL Journal in 2014. This issue includes nine articles and two book reviews which touch upon vital topics in the field of teaching and learning English as a second/foreign language, ranging over motivation, cognitive load, learning strategies, discourse analysis, pragmatic competence, translation, and pronunciation. In addition to the importance of the various topics, this issue includes authors from a number of countries in Asia and beyond, indicating the diversity of the journal. This demonstrates the vitality of the Asian EFL community, as well as the continued positive response to this journal.

Yihsiang Kuo and Tzu-Yu Chou, investigating effects of text shadowing on Taiwanese EFL children's English pronunciation and examining their attitudes about it, stated that text shadowing significantly improved EFL children's pronunciation, with intermediate-level students improving the most, low-level students next, and high-level students the least. In addition, the results suggested that text shadowing impact varied with English proficiency: (a) helping intermediate-level students to progress the most in sounding words, (b) boosting low-level students' confidence and bravery the most in speaking English, and (c) accelerating high-level students' native-like accents. Therefore, this study provides English educators with recommendations for incorporating text shadowing into EFL children's English pronunciation instruction and oral reading ability.

To investigating the overall essence of the learning experiences of college at-risk EFL learners from the perspective of FL learning difficulties and problems, Tun-Whei, Isabel Chuo, and Shu-chin Helen Yen adopted a phenomenological methodology to analyze the participants' in-depth interview answers. The results revealed six factors common to EFL learners: frustration, test-oriented curriculum, rote memorization, perceived low self-efficacy, inappropriate learning materials, and a contradiction between sustained motivation and mixed

attitude. Pedagogical implications for English instructors who are interested in investigating the related field in at-risk EFL contexts have also been provided by the authors.

In a qualitative study investigating EFL students' various strategies for English vocabulary learning and their learning motivation orientations during different educational stages, Hsiu Ju Lin and Shu-Yun Yang found that instrumental motivation played a dominant role in the junior or senior high school years, and that instrumental motivation and integrative motivation subtly interweaved at a later stage of their life, alternately activating their English learning. Moreover, cognitive, memory, and compensatory strategies facilitated vocabulary learning, providing EFL instructors with practical implications.

Examining teacher resistance in corporate *eikaiwa* contexts, Kyle Nuske found that teacher resistance resulted from factors such as profit-centric company policies, social isolation, unfulfilling teacher roles, and workplace environment. Resistance was enacted through feigned ignorance and false compliance as well as attempts to directly amend policies through official channels, leading to isolated disruptions of corporate franchise profit-making schemes and culminating in few substantive or enduring changes to their policies and practices. Suggestions for future researchers who are interested in investigating related issues have also been provided by the author.

Abdur Rashid probed into the Memorization Vocabulary Learning Strategies of English major graduates in Pakistan, and found that the most frequently used and perceived to be most effective strategies included looking for chances to encounter newly learned words in available resources, writing words in sentences, using words in daily conversation, and listening to English programs. This article can serve as guidance for English instructors who are interested in vocabulary learning strategies of an under-researched learner population.

Sean Sutherland employed the discourse analytic approach to examine team teaching (i.e., teaching duties shared by local English teachers and native English speaking assistant teachers) in Japan. Given that little research has been done on teaching assistant classroom practices, the article revealed four barriers to the assistants' ability to model native English in the classroom: an over-reliance on in-class translation, the assistants' use of simplified English and foreigner talk, the use of scripted talk, and the assistants' use of their limited

Japanese language skills. The author cautioned that assistant English teachers cannot always be positioned as providers of authentic native English in classroom interactions.

To examine the role of logical connectors in the reading comprehension of EFL learners, Sahail Asassfeh conducted a study concerned with three logical relation types in both L1 (Arabic) and L2 (English): additive, causative, and adversative. The results echoed previous findings about variable levels of difficulty in understanding different logical relation types across both L1 and L2. In addition, the findings suggested a semantic-based as well as a cognitive-access explanation for variability in the readers' treatment of logical connectors. Future research on reading comprehensibility associated with logical connectors and pedagogical implications for EFL instruction are provided.

Naoko Taguchi focused on the effect of personality on the development of pragmatic competence among second language (L2) learners of English. The analysis of learner speech acts (requests and opinions, in high- and low-imposition situations) in terms of appropriateness and fluency revealed no significant effect of the introvert-extrovert dimension on any aspects of pragmatic change. However, a significant effect of the feeling-thinking dimension was found on appropriateness and planning time. While personality and the structure of pragmatic competence (i.e., appropriateness, planning time, and speech rate) interact with one another, the author calls for the urgent need of more research on affective and cognitive factors, different statistical methods, and different pragmatic sub-competencies over more extended period of time.

Yi-hsuan Lin, Yu-Ching Tseng, and Tzu-yi Lee, in their research examining the effect of background knowledge on the performance of an English-to-Chinese translation text, found that while all participants demonstrated more content familiarity after reading, Chinese treatment significantly improved the students' translation performance. Moreover, participants of different English reading proficiencies did not show differences in the improvement of translation after receiving either Chinese or English reading treatments. This article brings new insights for L1/L2 reading comprehension researchers, translator trainers, and trainees who are interested or engaged in translation and reading research in Taiwan.

We hope you find the articles in this June 2014 issue to be informative, inspiring, and enjoyable to read. We also hope that this issue will help provide new insights into the

formulation of future research and innovations for EFL practitioners, so as to contribute to continuous improvements in English Language instruction around the world. Finally, we would like to express our thanks and appreciation to the contributors and reviewers of articles and book reviews who have made this issue possible. Their quality scholarly work and careful peer review is vital to the success of Asian EFL Journal.

Effects of Text Shadowing on Taiwanese EFL Children's Pronunciation

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Bio data

Dr. Yihsiang Kuo is a full-time associate professor at the General Education Center of National Defense University, Taiwan (August 2010-present). She received her PhD from the University of Kansas, USA and once served as a full-time associate professor at National Taiwan Ocean University (August 2004–July 2010). Her research interests include English listening instruction, text shadowing, vocabulary learning strategies, and extensive reading.

Tzu-Yu Chou is currently a full-time English teacher at Sinying Elementary School, Taiwan. She received her M.A. in Applied English from National Taiwan Ocean University in 2012. She has nine years of English teaching experience at elementary schools in Taiwan. Her research interests include text shadowing, vocabulary learning strategies, and English listening comprehension.

Abstract

This paper investigated effects of text shadowing on Taiwanese EFL children's English pronunciation and explored their attitudes toward it. Participants included three intact fourth-grade classes randomly divided into two groups: one class for the Control Group and two classes for the Experimental Group. The latter received 12-week instruction of text shadowing. A self-developed 100-word Reading Aloud Test serving as pre-test and post-test was administered before and at the end of the study to assess pronunciation. A self-created questionnaire assessing attitudes toward text shadowing was administered to the Experimental Group at the end of the study. Statistical analyses of scores on the 100-word Reading Aloud

Test suggested that text shadowing significantly improved EFL children's pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall. All proficiency levels in the Experimental Group made significant progress, with intermediate level improving the most, low level next, high level the least. Moreover, text shadowing impact varied with English proficiency: (a) helping intermediate-level students progress the most in sounding words, (b) boosting low-level students' confidence and bravery the most in speaking English, and (c) accelerating high-level students' native-like accents. Questionnaire data indicated most Experimental Group students held positive attitudes toward text shadowing. Based on overall results of this study, text shadowing is strongly recommended for EFL children's English pronunciation instruction and oral reading ability.

Keywords: EFL children, oral reading accuracy, pronunciation, shadowing, text shadowing

Introduction

Background and Motivation

When teaching at an elementary school in a suburban area of New Taipei City, Taiwan, the second researcher found that most of her students failed to read aloud their English textbook dialogues correctly. Moreover, when they were individually asked to read text dialogue aloud in front of the class, some of their voices were too faint to be heard. Meanwhile, few individuals had the courage to read aloud voluntarily. These phenomena altogether suggest that many of these young learners might think that their English pronunciation is poor, and thus lack confidence in reading texts aloud. This inference is supported by Lin's (2009) study reporting that some of her Taiwanese junior high school students stated they dared not speak English aloud because they rarely spoke English inside or outside of class, thought their pronunciation poor, and hence felt hesitant to speak. Such views are also consistent with both researchers' personal English teaching and learning experiences in Taiwan.

To improve the second researcher's elementary school pupils' pronunciation and to boost their confidence, the first researcher recommended text shadowing to the second researcher. Text shadowing is an easier variant of shadowing by providing written text for listeners or shadowers to immediately repeat and/or simultaneously imitate what they hear. The major difference between text shadowing and shadowing is that the former has text while the latter does not. In past studies (Chen, 2006; Cheng, 2010; Hamada, 2009, 2011, 2012; Lee, 2008; Murphey, 2001; Tasanee, 2010), shadowing rather than text shadowing was used to

improve college or high school students' listening and/or speaking abilities because these learners had achieved a certain (intermediate or high-intermediate) proficiency level so that they might not encounter too many difficulties when doing shadowing. However, to the best of both researchers' knowledge, no empirical studies investigating effects of text shadowing on elementary EFL learners' pronunciation have been done to date. A need for such research prompted this study.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

This study explores whether text shadowing can significantly improve Taiwanese EFL children's pronunciation and what their attitudes toward text shadowing are. In this study, these two terms "pronunciation" and "oral reading accuracy" are interchangeable. "Pronunciation at word level" means oral reading accuracy of each phoneme and stress in a word. "Pronunciation at sentence level" refers to oral reading accuracy of intonation and chunking for each sentence. Our research questions are as follows:

1. Can text shadowing significantly improve EFL children's pronunciation at word level?
2. Can text shadowing significantly improve EFL children's pronunciation at sentence level?
3. Can text shadowing significantly improve EFL children's overall pronunciation as measured by total score of pronunciation at word level and sentence level?
4. Does text shadowing yield significantly different impact on EFL children's pronunciation with different English proficiency?
5. What are EFL children's attitudes toward text shadowing?

Significance of Study

The significance of the present study can be explained from two standpoints. First, this study explores effects of text shadowing rather than shadowing on EFL children's pronunciation instead of older EFL learners' (e.g., teenagers, university students, or adults) listening and/or speaking abilities. Second, this study attempts to inform English teachers whether EFL children can listen to and speak normal-speed English. Generally speaking, most basic level EFL listening materials (e.g., CDs) produced in Taiwan for children usually slow down their oral speed and are even read word by word without taking into account English word variations in connected speech, such as reduction, resyllabification (linking or liaison), assimilation, and/or elision. Due to insufficient exposure to connected/spontaneous speech

spoken at normal speed and lacking knowledge of and/or practice with English word variations, many EFL learners have word activation problem (i.e., unable to immediately recall the meanings of known or familiar words by sound) and/or lexical segmentation problem (i.e., unable to segment connected expressions into single words). This in turn leads to difficulties in understanding normal-speed or naturally produced connected speech with English word variations (Chang, Chang, & Kuo, 1995; Chao & Cheng, 2004; Chao & Chien, 2005; Chen, 2002; Cross, 2009; Fan, 1993; Fan, 2003; Field, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2008; Goh, 2000; Huang, 1999; Katchen, 1996a, 1996b; Kuo, 2010, 2011; Kuo & Yang, 2009; Lin, 2003; Sun, 2002; Tsai, 2004; Tsui & Fullilove, 1998; Wilson, 2003; Wu, 1998; Yen 1988). For this reason, normal-speed English (125-150 words spoken per minute) materials were adopted for text shadowing in the present study, including fast chants, a drama script, and the movie *The Lion King*. All materials are spoken at normal speed and faster than participants' textbook dialogues. Moreover, students' performance and reactions to shadowing were periodically recorded in teacher's weekly observation table. It is hoped that results herein can provide elementary school EFL teachers and students with a useful learning method and make language teaching and learning more successful and enjoyable.

Literature Review

Since text shadowing is derived from shadowing and more studies investigated shadowing effects on foreign language (FL) learning than text shadowing effects, this section mainly reviews shadowing in terms of: (a) definition, (b) type, (c) effect, and (d) limitations. Because very few empirical studies investigated text shadowing effects, text shadowing is reviewed in terms of: (a) definition and (c) effect.

Shadowing

Definition and function of shadowing

Weber (1984) explained shadowing as students "asked to repeat what they hear－simultaneously and in the same language" (p. 41). Acton's (1984) tracking was similar to shadowing and defined as an activity where "learners attempt to repeat immediately after the speaker whatever the speaker says on a word-by-word basis" (p. 77). Lambert (1992) defined shadowing as "a paced, auditory tracking task which involves the immediate vocalization of presented auditory stimuli: i.e., word-for-word repetition, in the same language, parrot-style, of a message presented through headphones" (p. 266). Hamada (2009)

further elaborated on shadowing as "the act or task of listening in which learners track heard speech and vocalize it as clearly as possible, while listening attentively to the incoming information" (p. 1). The aforementioned descriptions of shadowing share two common features: (a) immediately repeating what is heard and (b) without seeing written script.

Shadowing has been used as a training method of simultaneous interpretation for many years (Lambert, 1992; Schweda Nicholson, 1990). Lambert (1992) mentioned shadowing as one of twelve pedagogical techniques when he structured his introductory course, often used as a training method in the beginning stages of interpretation programs. Shadowing has proven effective in enhancing foreign language skills, such as listening comprehension (Chen, 2006; Hamada, 2009, 2011, 2012; Lee, 2008; Lin, 2009), oral fluency (Lin, 2009; Murphey, 2001), and pronunciation (Cheng, 2010; Lin, 2009; Schweda Nicholson, 1990; Takeuchi, 2003; Tasanee, 2010).

Types of shadowing

Shadowing can be done in many ways. Schweda Nicholson (1990) mentioned three types of shadowing: phonemic, adjusted lag, and phrase shadowing. Phonemic shadowing means that shadowers repeat exactly what they hear in the same language immediately and stay as close behind the speakers as possible, for the purpose of helping shadowers feel comfortable when hearing the target language, then improve their pronunciation as well as fluency, and finally attain near-native intonation and stress patterns. Adjusted lag shadowing means that shadowers are asked to stay the required number of words behind the speakers when shadowing, adjustable to any number of words up to about ten, for the purpose of expanding short-term memory capacity. The longer lag shadowers shadow, the stronger tendency they will have to remember content information at the end of the exercise. This method is regarded as the most effective of the three. Phrase shadowing means that shadowers have to maintain a lag which allows them to identify some idea, meaningful phrase, or chunk before repeating, thus training themselves to listen to and digest the information at the same time because it requires them to repeat after a meaningful unit. In general, phonemic shadowing is more suitable for beginners, adjusted lag shadowing for intermediate learners, phrase shadowing for advanced learners.

Murphey (2001) coined the term "conversational shadowing," which means a listener repeats a conversation partner's words. There are three styles of conversational shadowing: complete, selective, and interactive. Complete shadowing refers to listeners repeating everything speakers say. This type of shadowing may be more suitable for learners at the

beginning level, participating more without necessarily creating new sentences. However, complete shadowing can disturb the speaker and makes conversation lack negotiation or exchange of ideas. Selective shadowing means listeners only select certain key words or phrases to shadow. Interactive shadowing occurs when a listener not only selectively repeats the speaker's words but also occasionally comments and questions. Interactive (including selective) shadowing is far more productive and meaningful. Its participatory questioning and contribution of self-knowledge holds a partner's interest in the negotiated conversation.

The aforementioned shadowing types reveal that there may be a variety of effective types of shadowing. The optimal shadowing depends on one's language level, situation, and purposes.

Shadowing effects on foreign language learning

Improving listening comprehension

Shadowing can push FL learners to concentrate on what they are listening to and thus improve their listening ability. For example, Lin (2009) reported significant effects of phonemic shadowing on her Taiwanese EFL junior high school students' listening ability in her experiment where participants were trained to repeat verbatim forthwith upon hearing aural texts, without waiting for completion of a meaningful unit, or even a word in a sentence. Furthermore, because of shadowing training, Lin's students self-reported they could concentrate on listening much better than before.

Hamada (2009) probed the effects of shadowing with diverse text levels on English listening proficiency of 45 second- and third-year Japanese EFL students (23 males, 22 females) at a public high school. Participants were divided into two groups: Group A were second-year students using 13 less difficult passages, Group B third-year students using 13 more difficult passages. This experimental lesson style was given 13 times, each lesson 50 minutes long, with 20-25 minutes devoted to shadowing training. Then, each group was divided into two proficiency levels (higher vs. lower) to detect if differences depended on proficiency. Results showed that lower-proficiency EFL learners in Group A practicing with less difficult texts showed statistically significant improvement while higher-proficiency learners in both groups and the lower-proficiency learners in Group B practicing with more difficult texts did not. Based on the results, he concluded that shadowing worked more effectively for learners at intermediate and lower levels and that the materials should be less challenging.

Hamada (2011) further conducted two experiments to explore effects of shadowing with (slightly) difficult materials (i+1) on Japanese EFL high school students' listening comprehension of short passages versus long passages. Results of both experiments suggest that shadowing using difficult texts (e.g., school textbooks or authentic materials) can significantly enhance Japanese EFL students' listening comprehension of short passages. Hamada thus recommended shadowing with difficult materials (i+1) to enhance EFL students' listening comprehension and their bottom-up listening process (e.g., identifying sounds, connecting sounds with meanings). The unique part of this study is that not only easy materials (*i-1*) but also slightly difficult (*i+1*) materials can be considered effective or appropriate shadowing materials to enhance EFL learners' listening comprehension of short passages.

Lately, Hamada (2012) discovered through his empirical study with 59 Japanese EFL university freshmen that the Experimental Group (n1=29) using materials with two difficulty levels improved significantly more on the listening post-test than the Control Group (n2= 30) using materials with one difficulty level. Therefore, he claimed that shadowing using two difficulty levels of materials yielded better effects on listening comprehension than that using one difficulty level.

Besides EFL learning, shadowing has been popular in the learning of Japanese as well. Chen's (2006) master thesis investigated shadowing effects on Taiwanese Japanese learners' listening comprehension. Results proved that shadowing effectively improved listening comprehension, especially for those students who got lower scores on their first listening test. Moreover, participants self-reported in the survey that shadowing had a significant effect on their listening ability and they would be willing to use it for future study of Japanese. Lee (2008) conducted a three-week shadowing experiment on Taiwanese college students learning Japanese. Results indicated significant improvement on listening in a short period for those who shadowed the same text consistently every day.

Enhancing oral fluency

Murphey (2001) investigated conversational shadowing via dialogues between two Japanese EFL learners and two native English speakers and found that (a) shadowing boosted oral ability by interactive and selective shadowing including commenting and questioning, and (b) conversational negotiations and adjustments promoted language acquisition in speaking.

Lin (2009) explored effectiveness of shadowing on 25 Taiwanese EFL junior high school students' (10 boys, 15 girls) listening comprehension and speaking ability. Participants

received 15 periods of in-class shadowing instruction and practice which lasted five weeks, with three 50-minute periods per week. Results indicated that shadowing significantly boosted participants' speaking ability and they were impressed with and surprised at their tremendous improvement made on the oral post-test. Lin also averred that shadowing helped the participants' speaking improvement mainly in fluency and pronunciation.

Improving pronunciation and/or confidence

Lin (2009) discovered that shadowing could help her participants improve their pronunciation as well as pronunciation confidence when probing effects of shadowing on Taiwanese EFL junior high school students' English listening comprehension and speaking ability. Cheng's (2010) study exploring effects of shadowing on Japanese pronunciation among five Taiwanese students learning Japanese as a foreign language showed that by combining phonemic knowledge and shadowing training, participants pronounced much more naturally on vowels, rhythm, and emotion. Tasanee's (2010) study investigating effects of shadowing on Japanese language learners' pronunciation of Japanese loanwords indicated shadowing an effective method for improving Japanese pronunciation.

Shadowing is also used to improve pronunciation by many successful foreign language learners. Takeuchi (2003) analyzed strategies preferred in the Japanese FL context in a total of 67 books on "how I have learned a foreign language," and found that successful language learners and highly advanced learners used shadowing to improve their pronunciation when they were at the intermediate stage. Moreover, Chang (2001, 2003), certified professional interpreter and full-grade (677) record keeper for TOEFL, testified how shadowing made her accent much more native-like (i.e., approximating an expected pronunciation pattern of a native-speaker) by imitating native speakers' intonation carefully and practicing it over and over again.

Limitations of shadowing

Repetitive and somewhat mechanical

Shadowing involves repeating what one hears immediately and thus precludes interaction with people. In Lin's (2009) interview, some students indicated that although shadowing afforded ample practice with listening and speaking, repetitive drill made it boring. Maintaining high concentration on listening to and repeating repetitive contents was also tiring. One interviewee claimed he "would not like to do shadowing often" (Lin, 2009, p. 69).

Difficult and sometimes frustrating

Initially, shadowing is a teaching method used to train interpreters (Schweda Nicholson 1990; Lambert, 1988, 1992). Participants have to listen and repeat authentic material with normal speed simultaneously without looking at the written text. This may frustrate learners who have never received this kind of training. According to Lin's (2009) survey, many students thought shadowing difficult at first, and they also felt discouraged because they could not keep up with the speed and shadow what they heard.

As discussed Hamada (2009) found that shadowing worked more effectively with lower proficiency learners practicing less difficult texts than with lower proficiency learners practicing more difficult texts and with higher proficiency learners practicing either less or more difficult texts. This finding supported the *i-1* perspective, which suggests "the texts used in shadowing practices should be at a cognitive level which students can realistically achieve" (Hamada, 2009, p. 6). Tamai (2005) also suggested passages at the *i-1* or a lower level as suitable for shadowing (cited by Hamada, 2009, p. 6). Hamada's (2012) later discovery (see above) that shadowing using materials with a combination of two difficulty levels (less challenging and more challenging) yielded better effects on EFL university students' listening comprehension than that with one difficulty level allowed him to claim that shadowing materials should be within the difficulty levels that learners can feasibly achieve. Thus, choosing suitable material is the key to successful shadowing.

Text Shadowing

Definition and function of text shadowing

Text shadowing is an easier variant of shadowing by providing written text for listeners or shadowers to repeat immediately and/or imitate simultaneously what they heard. The major difference between text shadowing and shadowing is that the former has text while the latter does not. Three other terms have the same or similar meaning as text shadowing. One term is *shadow reading*, where "students read the text aloud, in a relatively soft voice, at exactly the same time as the voice on the tape" (Ricard, 1986, p. 247). Another term for text shading is *synchronized reading*, where "listeners shadow the audio, reading aloud the script, simulating every sound and intonation" (Hamada, 2012, p. 5). Text shadowing is also called *simultaneous shadowing,* where language learners need to listen to and read text together so that they can read out what they hear simultaneously (Lu, 2005). Because text/simultaneous shadowing provides learners with written text, it creates a listening-while-reading context, which is expected to help them match words with their sounds and sentences with their

intonations, plus facilitate their familiarity with the contents, vocabulary, and sentence structures.

In the current study, text/simultaneous shadowing and shadow/synchronized reading are interchangeable, meaning that participants imitate a speaker's pronunciation and intonation by reading text aloud simultaneously with a CD. Moreover, types of text shadowing materials were varied and gradually became harder over time (from chant, drama, to movie). Text was adopted in this study to reduce the difficulty level of shadowing for the EFL children in order to assist them to perform better in pronunciation which in turn might boost their confidence in pronunciation.

Text shadowing effects on foreign language learning

Enhancing oral fluency

Lu (2005) pinpointed two advantages of simultaneous shadowing regarding oral fluency. First, there is no lag between listening and speaking, learners have to speak English nonstop, thus, accelerating development of oral English ability. Second, it is convenient for language learners to imitate intonations. During (simultaneous) shadowing, learners can adjust their own intonation until it resembles the speaker's. Lu concluded that simultaneous shadowing is quite suitable for training mouth muscle and the fluency of speaking English.

In addition, simultaneous shadowing is regarded by Lee (2007) as the best way to train speaking speed and intonation. Ho (2004) also recommended it as the final step to prepare for the speaking part of General English Proficiency Test (GEPT), a test of English language proficiency developed by the Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC) in Taiwan. Furthermore, in the introduction of a simultaneous shadowing web page, learners are advised to look up the meanings of unknown words before doing shadowing; when learners almost memorize the text, they can practice other text on more difficult levels (Superlearning, 2011). This web page further claims that by doing simultaneous shadowing (speaking while reading), language learners can not only master pronunciation and intonation but also effectively strengthen connections among word, sound and meaning.

Improving pronunciation

Lu (2005) claimed another advantage of simultaneous shadowing is that it can give immediate feedback. For example, when learners do not know how to read some words or make mistakes, they can listen to the accurate pronunciation and correct themselves right away. Ricard (1986) asserted that shadow reading (i.e., text shadowing) could not only improve advanced adult

learners' fossilized pronunciation but also engage them in self-directed learning in terms of self-monitoring and self-correction. Chen (2010) encouraged parents to train kids to do (text) shadowing as often as possible because children can listen clearly, making it easy for them to shadow. She further explained that children always shadowed better than adults because adults were more apprehensive about their inaccurate pronunciation or imitation, which might impede their shadowing, whereas children imitated the native speaker as loudly as they could without heeding accuracy. Thus, it can be inferred or hypothesized from her observation that (text) shadowing is suitable for children to enhance their pronunciation as well as pronunciation confidence.

Methodology

Participants

Initially, four intact (entire) classes of fourth graders in a public elementary school in New Taipei City, Taiwan, participated in this study. Convenient sampling was adopted for randomly selecting two classes as the experimental group and two as the control group. They were all taught by the second researcher, who was a new teacher to this elementary school and not well acquainted with students. However, close to the end of the 12-week text shadowing experiment, a control class was found containing many fourth graders who had learning difficulties. Although their non-academic behavior appeared to be normal, their academic performance was significantly lower than that of other fourth-grade classes. Thus, this control class was discarded, resulting in: (a) Experimental (Shadowing) Group with two classes and (b) Control (Non-Shadowing) Group with one class. All participants learned English as a foreign language (EFL) from the first grade, receiving three or four forty-minute periods of English instruction weekly. About 40% of them had experience in learning English outside the school at an English center or a cram school (a profit-making institute training learners to pass exams or achieve particular goals).

Instruments

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected to answer the research questions. The former were collected by a 100-word Reading Aloud Test serving as the pre-test and the post-test and a questionnaire, the latter by teacher's observation. Qualitative data supplemented statistical analysis in terms of participants' attitudes toward text shadowing.

The 100-word Reading Aloud Test

Reading a text aloud is considered by many language teachers or researchers not only an effective pronunciation activity (Beh-Afari, Monfared & Monfared, 2009; Celce-Murcia, Brinton & Goodwin, 2010; Hewings, 2004; Huang, 2010) but also a valid pronunciation test (Hewings, 2004; Kim & Margolis, 1999; Koren, 1995; Walker, 2010; Weir & Wu, 2006).

Thus, reading aloud test (RAT) was used as an instrument in some pronunciation-related studies (Beh-Afari, et al., 2009; Gorsuch, 2001; Kim & Margolis, 1999; Ko, 2012; Koren, 1995; Kuo, 2002; Mori, 2011). Following the RAT literature review, the researchers of this study designed a 100-word Reading Aloud Test (please refer to Appendix A) to assess participants' pronunciation before and after the study. It contained 100 words in 28 simple sentences, 88 from their third-grade textbook and 12 from their current (fourth-grade) textbook in use. Each sentence contained six words maximum and was graded at (a) word level (including phoneme and stress) and (b) sentence level (including intonation and chunking). Correct pronunciation for each word obtained 0.5 points; the highest score at word level was 50 points (0.5 points x 100). Correct intonation for each sentence gained 1 point and so did correct chunking for each sentence. The highest score at sentence level was 56 points (28 points x 2). The maximum overall score for the 100-word Reading Aloud Test was 106 points (50 + 56).

At word level, when participants saw contractions like *I'm*, *we're* and *she's*, they needed to link sounds together. That is, if participants read *it's* as *it is*, they missed 0.5 points. For an unstressed vowel, participants could use schwa to substitute the original sound. To get 0.5 points for each word, participants had to correctly pronounce word stress and every phoneme in a word. Zero credit was given to any mispronounced word. At the chunking part, to get one point for each sentence, participants needed to read the sentence fluently rather than pause too long, at the wrong place or read word by word. However, when participants corrected their own mispronunciation, they could still get the point.

The procedure for conducting the Reading Aloud Test included: (a) distributing tests to participants, (b) demonstrating once how to read aloud, (c) students practicing reading the test on their own for one minute, (d) collecting tests, and (e) administering individual tests by asking each student to read the test aloud and recording their oral reading simultaneously. Students were also told to pronounce unfamiliar words by guessing or skip these.

The pre- and post-test were graded by two experienced Taiwanese EFL teachers, one with a PhD degree teaching at a university and the other with a master's degree teaching at an

elementary school. Both had professional English language knowledge and held unbiased attitudes toward grading tests. It took them two days (10 hours a day) to complete grading in a quiet room without interruption from telephone calls or visitors. Each recorded sentence was heard twice: on the first day for word-level grading and on the second day for sentence-level grading to ensure high intragrader reliability. Pearson correlation coefficient assessed intergrader reliability at word and sentence levels: 0.99 and 0.98, respectively, suggesting agreement between graders as overwhelmingly high.

Attitude questionnaire

A simple attitude questionnaire with four items was administered to the Experimental Group right after the oral reading post-test to evaluate students' attitudes toward text shadowing (three items) and their preference for different types of text shadowing material (one item).

Teacher's weekly observation

The teacher took notes of students' performance and reactions to text shadowing once a week. For example, she observed and recorded (a) students' willingness to volunteer for doing or demonstrating text shadowing, (b) number of volunteers per week and (c) students' feedback to or comments on text shadowing when doing it in class.

Materials

Three kinds of materials were used for the Shadowing Group: chant, drama (readers' theater), and movie. For the first six weeks, six cute, interesting and rhythmic chants were selected from *Sing, Chant, and Play* (Graham & Procter, 2003) for students to practice text shadowing and build their sense of achievement. In Weeks 7-9, a drama from *Hess Elementary School English Drama Collection* (Hess Training and Development Centre, 2008) was chosen to enhance students' intonation, pronunciation, and emotion expression. In the last three weeks, the researchers used a fifty-second clip from the movie *The Lion King,* authentic material with normal speed. Moreover, the full-length movie *The Lion King* was shown to all participants when they were awaiting individual pronunciation pre-test. The aforementioned three types of shadowing materials are demonstrated in Appendix B.

Text Shadowing Training Lessons

Each week students in the Experimental Group had a new material to practice text shadowing 10 minutes a day, four days a week. On Day 1 (first class of each week), the teacher let

students read the new shadowing material first to see if they could recognize the words, then demonstrated how to read it, explained meanings of sentences, as well as modeled pronunciation and intonation for each sentence. After that, the teacher played the CD (or movie) once to familiarize students with the material. Finally, she asked students to use the same pace to read the shadowing material aloud after her several times until most could read it fluently by themselves.

On Day 2, the teacher played a CD or a movie of the weekly shadowing material several times and asked the whole class to do text shadowing, then listened to each group's text shadowing so as to correct pronunciation and intonation. Finally, all students shadowed weekly material together again. On Day 3, all students first shadowed the weekly shadowing material three times. Then, each group took turns to shadow it in front of the class. Finally, the whole class shadowed the chant (drama or movie script) together several times before the end of the class. Those who failed to catch up with the CD or movie stayed to practice a chant, drama, or movie script with the teacher three times during break time. On Day 4, all students shadowed the weekly material together first, then were encouraged to shadow individually as volunteers before the class and earn extra credit. Most students were expected to memorize the weekly shadowing material on Day 4; volunteers were allowed to clap their hands, dance, or play with the puppets without looking at the text when they shadowed.

Procedure

This study lasted for 15 weeks and Table 1 outlines its procedure below.

Table 1

Study Procedure

Week 1	Week 2	Weeks 3-14 (12 weeks)	Week 15
-conducting a pilot testing for 100-word Reading Aloud Test -revising the 100-word Reading Aloud Test	-administering the revised 100-word Reading Aloud Test as the pre-test	-Experimental Group: text shadowing training -Control Group: doing English homework	-administering the same 100-word Reading Aloud Test as the post-test, followed by Questionnaire

Data Analysis

A series of independent-samples t-tests were first conducted to investigate if there was a significant group mean difference respectively in pre-test, post-test, and gain (post-test minus

pre-test) scores. ANOVA was conducted to gauge if there was a significant group mean difference among three English proficiency levels (low, intermediate, and high) for each group in pronunciation at word or sentence level, as well as overall respectively. Bonferroni post hoc comparisons were conducted for a significant ANOVA result to ascertained pairwise differences. Descriptive statistics were employed to analyze and report the Experimental Group's attitudes toward text shadowing.

Results and Discussion

Effects of Text Shadowing on Pronunciation at Word, Sentence Levels and Overall

Table 2 reports results of independent-samples *t* tests of pronunciation pre-test, post-test, and gain scores for two groups at three levels: word, sentence, and overall. Results for pre-test scores at three levels between groups were all non-significant with *p* >.05, suggesting non-significant intergroup differences in pronunciation at each level and overall prior to the experiment. However, results for post-test scores at three levels between groups were all significant with *p* <.05, suggesting the Experimental Group remarkably outperformed the Control Group at each pronunciation level and overall on the post-test after 12-week text shadowing teaching. Results of gain scores (post-test minus pre-test) showed significant (*p*<.05) intergroup mean differences in pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall, suggesting the Experimental Group made significantly more progress than the Control Group in pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall.

Table 2

Results of Independent-Samples T-tests of Pronunciation Scores on Pret-test, Post-test and Gain at Word Level, at Sentence Level, and Overall for Two Groups

Group & p-value	*N*	Pre-test Score			Post-test Score			Gain Score		
		Word	Sen.	O-all	Word	Sen.	O-all	Word	Sen.	O-all
Experimental	53	18.31	16.50	34.81	29.16	26.48	55.64	10.85	9.98	20.83
Control	26	15.39	14.54	29.93	20.23	18.85	39.05	4.85	4.31	9.15
Mean Dif.		2.92	1.96	4.88	8.93	7.64	16.57	6.00	5.67	11.68
p-value		.397	.595	.510	*.021	*.037	*.027	*.002	*.000	*.001

Note 1: Mean Dif. = Mean Difference; Sen. = Sentence; O-all = Overall

Note 2: The overall pronunciation score equals the sum of word- and sentence-level scores.

Significant results in Table 2 are compatible with Lin's (2009) and Lee's (2007) findings that shadowing or simultaneous shadowing can significantly enhance FL learners' speaking ability or fluency. Based on the second researcher's (who was also the teacher) observation and participants' feedback, two reasons were identified to explain why text shadowing significantly improved participants' pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall. First, text shadowing can remarkably enhance students' oral fluency in a very short time. For example, almost all students indicated that at the outset of this 12-week text shadowing program they were shocked at the fast speed of recordings that they had never experienced and thought it too fast to follow and/or simultaneously shadow them. After less than four weeks of practice, they could not only simultaneously shadow the recordings but also read even faster than the recordings now and then.

Second, text shadowing can help students match words with their sounds. For instance, on pre-test before the experiment, over two-thirds of the students failed to recognize most English words taught in the previous academic year (third grade). With the practice of text shadowing, most students matched words with their sounds as well as sentences with their intonations and gradually performed well and fluently in chants and readers' theater drama. Such significant improvement echoes the claim that text shadowing can effectively fortify the connections among word, sound and meaning, which was shown on the introductory web page of simultaneous shadowing (Superlearning, 2011). In sum, text shadowing can significantly enhance EFL beginners' pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall in a short time, which answers research questions 1 to 3.

Impact of Text Shadowing on Pronunciation at Different Proficiency Levels

To investigate the fourth research question if text shadowing yields different pronunciation effects among EFL children with variant English proficiency, participants were divided into three proficiency levels (low, intermediate, and high) based on their pre-test scores on the 100-word Reading Aloud Test. Unlike most studies leveling participants with an equal number across each level, this study divided the participants into three proficiency levels based on the Z score of their pronunciation total scores on the pre-test because they were positively skewed rather than normal distributed with a mean of 33.20 and a SD of 30.72. In order to more meaningfully and accurately categorize the participants into three levels, the cutoff point for low level was Z score = -0.5 and high level Z score = 1.0. Those with Z scores below or equal to -0.5 were classified as low level, those with Z scores above 1.0 as high level, those with Z scores between -0.5 and 1.0 as intermediate level. Table 3 reports the Z score,

number, percentage, minimum score, maximum score for each level. Results on Table 3 indicate the numbers for low, intermediate, and high as 36(45%), 28 (34.5%), and 15 (18.0%) respectively.

Table 3

Z Score, Number, Percentage, Minimum and Maximum Score for Each Level

Level	Z Score	Mini-	Maxi-	Mean	SD	%	N	n1	n2
Low	$\leqq$ -0.5	0.5	12.5	9.69	4.13	45.6%	36	26	10
Inter-	$-0.5 < \text{Inter} \leqq 1.0$	14.5	51	33.06	10.85	35.4%	28	15	13
High	> 1.0	68.3	104.8	89.90	11.10	18.0%	15	12	3
Total				33.20	30.72	100%	79	53	26

Note 1: Inter- = Intermediate Level; Mini- = Minimum Score; Maxi- = Maximum Score

Note 2: N = number; n1 = number of Experimental Group; n2 = number of Control Group

Note 3: Highest possible pronunciation total score is 106 points.

Table 4 exhibits results of paired-samples *t* tests and ANOVAs on pronunciation scores among three proficiency levels for both groups at word, sentence levels and overall. Results of paired-samples t-tests for the Experimental Group show that all three proficiency levels scored significantly higher on the pronunciation post-test at word, sentence levels and overall with p<.05, suggesting the Experimental Group with variant English proficiency made significant progress in pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall. Results of ANOVAs on gain score among three proficiency levels for the Experimental Group were all significant (p <.05). Bonferroni post hoc comparisons were conducted to assess pairwise differences among gain-score means. Results of post hoc tests were consistently significant with p <.05, suggesting that in the Experimental Group intermediate-level students improved significantly more than low-level students, who in turn progressed significantly more than high-level ones. These results are somewhat compatible with Hamada's (2009) claim that shadowing worked more effectively for learners at intermediate and lower levels.

Table 4

Results of Paired-Samples T Tests and ANOVAs on Pronunciation Gain Scores among Proficiency Levels for Both Groups at Word, Sentence Levels, and Overall

1. Word	Experimental Group					Control Group				
Level	n1	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	$p1$	n2	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	$p1$
Low	26	5.31	15.68	10.38	.000	10	5.43	8.78	3.35	.024
Intermediate	15	18.32	37.40	19.08	.000	13	16.19	22.73	6.54	.018
High	12	46.48	48.06	1.58	.041	3	45.08	47.58	2.50	.468
$p2$				.000					.457	
2. Sentence	Experimental Group					Control Group				
Level	n1	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	p1	n2	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	$p1$
Low	26	4.06	14.12	9.52	.000	10	3.70	7.60	3.90	.009
Intermediate	15	15.83	32.17	16.3	.000	13	15.62	21.12	5.50	.005
High	12	43.13	46.17	3.04	.034	3	46.00	46.50	0.50	.873
$p2$				.000					.296	
3. Overall	Experimental Group					Control Group				
	n1	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	*P1*	n2	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	*p1*
Low	26	9.91	29.80	19.89	.000	10	9.13	16.38	7.25	.011
Intermediate	15	34.15	39.57	35.42	.000	13	31.81	43.85	12.04	.008
High	12	89.60	94.23	4.63	.028	3	91.08	94.08	3.00	.642
$p2$				.000					.374	

*Note 1: $p1$ = p-*value of paired-samples *t* test; *$p2$ = p-*value of ANOVA

However, above results may not mean that low- and high-level Experimental Group students really progressed less than intermediate-level ones in other aspects. While listening to participants' oral reading pre- and post-test recordings, the researchers found that high- and low-level students in the Experimental Group had other kinds of progress beyond the scope of grading criteria adopted in this study, such as courage to speak English and native-like accents. For example, on the pre-test, low-level students in both groups hesitated to utter words in a very low, uncertain and small voice, just like murmuring. Nevertheless, on the post-test, low-level Experimental Group students exhibited far more courage to speak English while those in Control Group performed the same in this aspect as on the pre-test. The former

read the target words or sentences on the post-test much more loudly and confidently than on the pre-test while the latter failed to show such significant change on the post-test. Notably louder and more determined sounding by low-level Experimental Group students on reading aloud post-test suggests that their courage and confidence to speak English greatly augmented after 12-week text shadowing practice. Why can text shadowing make low-level and some intermediate-level students speak louder? Lu (2005) explains that simultaneous/text shadowing can give immediate feedback. Participants can correct themselves forthwith via listening to accurate pronunciation. Thus, by listening and reading together many times, low-level students can confirm sounds of studied words and can read them confidently with a loud voice.

Moreover, the researchers noticed that text shadowing made high-level students' accent more native-like. Before text shadowing teaching, such students had acquired most words in shadowing materials. Thus, during 12-week text shadowing practice, they didn't have to learn these words and could concentrate on word pronunciation and sentence intonation. Although they could recognize most of the words on the pre-test, at times they failed to read all the sentences or words very fluently with accurate intonation or English word variations. However, on the post-test, high-level Experimental Group students' pronunciation came to approximate expected pronunciation patterns of standard American English exposed to them by playing textbook CDs and shadowing CDs in class. Furthermore, they could detect their mispronunciations and self-corrected them, such as using the vowel [eɪ] instead of [e] in the word "great", which no other level of students could pronounce correctly. This finding is compatible with Ricard's (1986) assertion that shadow reading could not only improve advanced adult language learners' pronunciation but also engage them in self-directed learning in terms of self-monitoring and self-correction. In conclusion, the impact of text shadowing varied with English proficiency: (a) helping intermediate-level students progress the most in sounding words, (b) boosting low-level students' confidence and bravery the most in speaking English, and (c) accelerating high-level students' native-like accents.

Results of paired-samples t-tests for the Control Group in Table 4 show intermediate- and low-level students gained significantly (p <.05) at word, sentence levels and overall while high-level students did not, suggesting that intermediate- and low-level Control Group students made significant progress in pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall, whereas high-level ones did not. Two possible reasons may account for these results. First, there might be ceiling effect for high-level students whose pronunciation is too good to make

remarkable progress without specific pronunciation training like text shadowing. Second, the sample size of high-level Control Group students is very small (n2-high = 3), making it very difficult to reach statistical significance (p =.05)

Results of ANOVAs on gain scores at word, sentence levels and overall among three proficiency levels for the Control Group were all non-significant with p >.05, suggesting that pronunciation progress at word, sentence levels and overall among three proficiency levels in the Control Group was non-significantly different.

Table 5 presents results of independent-samples t tests on pronunciation gain scores among three proficiency levels for both groups at word, sentence levels, and overall. Results in Table 5 indicate that both intermediate-level and low-level students in the Experimental Group obtained significantly higher pronunciation gain scores at word, sentence levels and overall than those in Control Group while there was non-significant difference in pronunciation gain score between two high-level sub-groups. These results suggest that text shadowing works better for intermediate-level and low-level students than for high-level students in pronunciation. This claim is compatible with Hamada's (2009) perspective that shadowing worked more effectively for intermediate- and lower-level learners in listening comprehension than for high-level ones. A possible reason for such uniformity is that ceiling effect is likely to happen to high-level learners due to shadowing materials or reading aloud test being too easy for them.

Table 5

Results of Independent-Samples T Tests on Pronunciation Gain Scores among Three Proficiency Levels for Both Groups at Word, Sentence Levels, and Overall

	At Word Level			At Sentence Level			Overall		
	Exp.	Control	p	Exp.	Control	p	Exp.	Control	p
Low	10.38	3.35	.003	9.519	3.90	.005	19.89	7.25	.003
Inter-	19.08	6.54	.000	16.33	5.5	.000	35.42	12.04	.000
High	1.58	2.50	.663	3.045	.05	.390	4.63	3.00	.723

EFL Children's Attitudes Toward Text Shadowing

Table 6 presents results (in percentage) of the Experimental Group's attitudes toward shadowing after 12-week text shadowing practice, thus providing information that answers the fifth research question. Most held positive attitudes toward text shadowing, while only a

few gave negative feedback. For example, 77.0% of the Experimental Group thought they made significant progress in English pronunciation, 19.2% were neutral on this statement, while only 3.8% disagreed with it. Moreover, 82.7% of the Experimental Group viewed text shadowing as a useful way to improve English pronunciation, followed by 15.4% neutral, and only 1.9% thinking not. In addition, after 12-week text shadowing practice, 73.1% of the Experimental participants were willing to use it to practice English pronunciation at home by themselves, 13.5% may or may not, whereas 13.4% had no such intention.

Table 6

Percentages of Attitudes toward Text Shadowing

	Experimental Group (n1 = 52)							
	SD	D	N	A	SA	Mean	Negative	Positive
1. Text shadowing is a useful way for me to improve my English pronunciation.	0.0%	3.8%	19.2%	30.8%	46.2%	4.19	3.8%	77.0%
2. After shadowing, I think I made significant progress in my English pronunciation.	0.0%	1.9%	15.4%	26.9%	55.8%	4.37	1.9%	82.7%
3. I'll use text shadowing to practice English pronunciation at home by myself.	1.9%	11.5%	13.5%	32.7%	40.4%	3.98	13.4%	73.1%

Note: 《SA》 means strongly agree, 《A》 means agree, 《N》 means neutral, 《D》 means disagree, 《SD》 means strongly disagree.

Regarding attitudes toward three types of shadowing materials, 62.9% of the Experimental Group liked chants the most, 25.9% drama scripts, 7.4% movie script, and 3.7% liked none of them due to being too difficult. One possible reason for such results is that chants are less challenging, drama scripts are more challenging, and the movie script is overly difficult; thus more than 88% of Experimental Group students liked either chants or drama scripts the best and only 7.4% liked movie script. These results can also indicate chants and drama scripts as appropriate text shadowing materials for the Experimental Group and movie script as too difficult. According to Hamada's (2012) suggestion that shadowing had better use two difficulty levels of material within students' attainability rather than one difficulty level, chants and drama scripts are strongly recommended as two types of appropriate materials with two difficulty levels for EFL fourth graders' text shadowing. Based on the

instructor's weekly observation journal, students' attitudes toward text shadowing might be correlated with materials used in this study and are discussed below in positive and negative parts.

Positive attitudes resulting from using chants and drama scripts

Among three text shadowing materials, 62.9% of the Experimental Group liked chants the best. In Week One, when students listened to the CD for the first time, most shouted loudly in Chinese, "It's so fast and too hard to follow." From Week Three, students began to expect to learn the new weekly chant and asked the teacher, "What's the new chant for this week?" Many tried to pronounce the new words and read the new sentences by themselves and couldn't wait to shadow as they listened to the CD. They also happily said that Chants One and Two became slower, and they could read faster than both chants on the CD. Students read the chants as loudly as they could to let other classes hear them. Moreover, students told the teacher that when they heard the other (Experimental) class shadowing the chants or songs taught, they spontaneously read along, such that their homeroom teacher warned them, "It's not English class now ! " Furthermore, the Experimental Group often played the CD and shadowed text on their own free will before the English instructor entered the classroom. The above feedback and behavior show that most students in the Experimental Group not only overcame the fast speed of text shadowing but also enjoyed it very much.

Most students shouted "ya" excitedly when the English instructor told them that they had made tremendous progress and would learn drama scripts and a movie script in the following six weeks. In the beginning of the second stage of text shadowing (drama-script stage), some students in the Experimental Group mentioned that shadowing the newest drama script was a bit hard for them, but they could catch up with the speed gradually and shadow very well finally. Other students said happily that they could recognize some words that they had learned in chant handouts. These gave them a sense of achievement. In order to perform the drama in front of the class, these students practiced actively after English class, shadowing again and again until they could read it fluently and gesture simultaneously. After three weeks of text shadowing, most students told the English instructor that they could shadow the drama CD without the script. This is a critical stage where students built their foundation of matching sounds, words, and meanings together as well as accurately imitated and intoned sentences with various intonations.

Positive attitudes resulting from peer influence

In Experimental Group A (Class A), three low-level students enjoyed leading their classmates in text shadowing and performing what they learned in front of the class actively. These three students contributed greatly because they made others fall in love with text shadowing as well and increased the whole class' shadowing practice time far more than the English instructor had originally planned. The instructor greatly appreciated these three students' pro-active learning behavior in her class and their positive influence on other students. Furthermore, on the post-test, these three students made the greatest improvement in their class. One of them, named John (all names are pseudonyms), who liked to do text shadowing as loudly as he could, made the most progress in the Experimental Group A. His pronunciation gain score was 71.3 points (from 11.5 to 82.8), and thus "upgraded himself" from low level to intermediate level. Another one, named Jimmy, who could create different gestures with dancing steps for different chants and drama scripts and bravely performed them before the class, gained 49.8 points in overall pronunciation (from 17.0 to 66.8). Amy, who was a shy and quiet girl before text shadowing was introduced to her but became more active and braver afterwards, gained 40.2 points in overall pronunciation (from 27.8 to 68.0). She happily told the teacher that she was afraid to speak English before fourth grade because she knew that she could not speak fluently. However, after doing text shadowing, she became braver and loved reading these chants or dramas loudly. The researchers tentatively hypothesized that these three students' significant pronunciation improvement was correlated with their extremely positive attitudes and behavior toward text shadowing.

In Experimental Group B (Class B), a girl named Rita made the most progress among all students. She was the English instructor's helper and the hardest-working student as well. After learning to intone different kinds of sentences, she always tried to imitate the right intonation in a low voice actively on her own over and over again. She often practiced text shadowing after class until she could shadow with the CD simultaneously and fluently. Moreover, when she did text shadowing, her smile indicated her enjoyment of oral reading. Her passion for text shadowing also positively influenced some of her classmates' attitudes toward text shadowing.

One issue that the researchers want to address specifically about Rita is that she did not go to cram school and scored at intermediate level on the pre-test. However, her post-test overall score shot from 34.0 to 97.5 and even outnumbered those of half the high-level students having learned English at cram school over three years. Rita's extremely successful

text shadowing experience demonstrates how any normal student with positive attitudes toward and sufficient practice with text shadowing can make incredible progress in word pronunciation, chunking, sentence stress and intonation when carrying out reading aloud activities or tests.

Negative attitudes resulting from movie script being too difficult

A short movie script was used in the last stage of text shadowing. It was the most difficult because it contained more unknown words and lacked rhythm and rhyme. Some intermediate-level students commented that it was not worth spending so much time to learn a few difficult sentences. Even though they acquired several "authentic" sentences in the movie script, this did not bring them a sense of achievement after shadowing the movie script. Many students further indicated that when seeing several unknown words in the movie script, they felt stressed and did not want to learn these sentences. As a result, they only wanted to watch the movie for fun rather than shadow the script. Moreover, some students asked the teacher to teach them more chants in the future instead of the movie script because chants contained more words known to them as well as rhythm and rhyme. This reveals that difficulty level of text shadowing material can influence students' attitudes toward the task. A passage appropriate to EFL children like chants and easy drama scripts can make them enjoy text shadowing, while an overly difficult one may discourage them from doing it. Such an explanation can be supported by Hamada's (2009, 2012) suggestion that shadowing materials should be within the difficulty levels that learners can feasibly achieve. The researchers speculated that some participants' negative attitudes toward text shadowing might emanate from the final-stage movie script too difficult for them to shadow within three weeks (ten minutes per day, four days a week).

Conclusions, Educational Implications, and Limitations

This study investigated effects of text shadowing on Taiwanese EFL fourth-graders' pronunciation and their attitudes toward text shadowing. Results indicated text shadowing significantly enhanced participants' pronunciation at word, sentence levels and overall. All proficiency levels in the Experimental (Text-shadowing) Group made significant progress, with intermediate level improving the most, low level next, high level the least. Moreover, the impact of text shadowing varied with English proficiency: (a) helping intermediate-level students progress the most in sounding words, (b) boosting low-level students' confidence and bravery the most in speaking English, and (c) accelerating high-level students' native-like

accents. Most Experimental Group students held strong positive attitudes toward text shadowing. Possible reasons for such positive attitudes might be: two types of appropriate shadowing materials (chants and drama scripts) and peers' positive influence. One possible reason for negative attitudes toward text shadowing might be that the third material, movie script, was too difficult for them.

Two educational implications are: (a) using normal-speed materials with difficulty levels that students can reach, and (b) using two or three different types or difficulty levels of normal-speed materials and starting with the easier/easiest one.

A limitation of this study is that the sample size is small and unequal between Experimental ($n_1 =53$) and Control ($n_2 =26$) Groups because one intact class in the Control Group was discarded as it had many students who had learning difficulties.

Suggestions for future studies include: (a) investigating effects of text shadowing on pronunciation or listening comprehension of different age groups with a larger and equal sample size , (b) exploring appropriate (text) shadowing materials for different age groups, (c) conducting a longer period (e.g. two semesters) of study gauging effects of text shadowing on pronunciation, listening comprehension, attitudes, and/or pronunciation confidence, and (d) comparing effects of text shadowing with other types of shadowing (e.g., conversational, complete, or phrase shadowing) on pronunciation and speaking progress of different age groups.

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Appendix A (100-word Reading Aloud Test)

Grade:_____ Class:_____ Number:_____ Name of Student: _____

Happy birthday, Candy. (100-word Reading Aloud Test)

A: Happy birthday, Candy. 3	C: What are you doing? 57
How old are you? 7	B: We're singing. 59
B: I'm eleven years old. 11	Mom, he's my friend, Andy. 64
A: This is for you. 15	C: Nice to meet you. 68
B: What's this, Andy? 18	Do you want some juice? 73
Is this a ruler? 22	A: Yes, please. 75
A: No, it's not. 25	A: Your mom is tall and thin. 81
It's an eraser. 28	Is she a teacher? 85
B: What color is it? 32	B: No, she's a police officer. 90
A: It's black. 34	A: Wow, cool! 92
B: Let me see. 37	Sorry, it's time to go home. 98
A: Come on, let's dance. 41	B: See you. 100
B: No, I can't. 44	
A: Can you sing? 47	**Word Count ----- 100**
B: Yes, I can. 50	
A: Great, let's sing. 53	**Pronunciation accuracy:**
	Word/Phoneme: _____
	Chunking: _____
	Intonation: _____
	Date: _____

Appendix B (Samples of Shadowing Materials)

Part I: Chant (Weeks 1-6: six chants)	**Part II: Drama** (Weeks 7-9)

Week 6:
 	
Chant 6: *Do you like my hat?* (CD 48)
 	
I like it. I like it. I really like it.
I like it. I like it. I really like it.
Do you like my hat?
Do you like my shoes?
Do you like my coat?
  I like your hat.
  I like your shoes.
  I really like your coat.
I like it. I like it. I really like it.
I like it. I like it. I really like it.
	Week 9: My first day to school
	★Scene 1: ［At Home］
	Mom and Dad: Do you have socks?
	Children: Yes, we do.
	Mom and Dad: Do you have shoes?
	Children: Yes, we do.
	Dad: OK. Let's go to school.
	Children: Oh, yeah!
	
	★Scene 2: ［At School］
	Teachers: Welcome to school!
	Children: It is cool! We like it!
	Mom and Dad: Are you happy, kids?
	Children: Yes, we are. Yes, we are. We are
	        very happy. Yeah!

Part III: Movie (Weeks 10-12)

The Lion King, Section 13:52-14:42 **(50 seconds for Weeks 10-12)**

Week 10:

Simba: Hey, Nala.

Nala: Hi, Simba.

Simba: Come on. I just heard about this great place.

Nala: Simba! I'm kind of in the middle of a bath.

Simba's Mom: And it's time for yours.

Simba: Mom! Mom, you're messing up my mane!

Simba: OK, OK, I'm clean. Can we go now?

The Learning Journey of College At- Risk EFL Students in Taiwan:
An Exploratory Study

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Bio data

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Abstract

This phenomenological study aims to explore the overall essence of the learning experiences of college at-risk EFL learners from the perspective of FL learning difficulties and problems. The fifteen EFL learners who failed to pass the English proficiency graduation threshold were purposefully selected as participants. They were from a college in Taiwan, where a considerable number of students at the tertiary level have been unable to meet the English proficiency graduation requirement. Data were collected through in-depth individual interviews. We employed the phenomenological method to analyze the completed interview transcripts. Our analysis led to six themes that we found essential in describing the EFL learning experiences common to the participants: (1) Frustration in their early learning history;

(2) Test-oriented curriculum overloaded with vocabulary and grammar learning; (3) Use of "rote memorization" as the dominant learning strategy despite awareness of its limited effectiveness; (4) Perceived low self-efficacy with a lack of self-regulated learning; (5) Inappropriate learning materials that failed to elicit effective language acquisition; and (6) Contradiction between sustained motivation and mixed attitude. The procedure of how we generated these themes and how we interpreted the findings are discussed. Pedagogical implications are also offered to help at-risk EFL learners improve their learning.

Key words: at-risk EFL learners, FL learning difficulties and problems, English proficiency graduation threshold, phenomenological research

Introduction

English is regarded as an important foreign language (FL) in Taiwan as in many countries in the Asian-Pacific region. In the wake of globalization, English education has been increasingly emphasized by the Taiwan government for the past decade through educational policies and measures. In this regard, the beginning of formal English education was extended from junior high school to the fifth grade in elementary school in 2002, and then to the third grade in 2005. In addition, promoting English proficiency tests was specified, among other strategies, to foster English ability in the last phase of the national development plan--Challenge 2008 ("Challenge 2008," 2005). Since then, many schools at the tertiary level have started to set up an English proficiency graduation threshold employing standardized proficiency tests as the instruments, such as the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) developed by the Language Testing and Teaching Center in Taiwan, the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC), the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOFEL), or the International English Language Testing System (ILETS). In order to help students meet these graduation requirements, a variety of measures have been implemented, including ability-grouping instruction, English remedial programs, and English proficiency test preparation courses. Given the efforts exerted, the results seem unsatisfactory. According to the report released by the Taiwan Ministry of Education ("Major Action Plans for Educational Policies," 2007), in 2007 only 11.03 % of students of comprehensive universities surveyed passed the anticipated threshold of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) B1 threshold and only 4.55% of students of technological universities/colleges surveyed passed the CEFR A2-Way stage. The low passing rates of the

required graduation threshold in many universities and colleges also raised much public concern about students' English proficiency (Lin, 2009). A specific example shows that in the college where we have been teaching, an annual average of 52 % of students failed to pass the English proficiency graduation threshold for the previous three academic years (2008-2010) as revealed in the report by the Office of Academic Affairs of the college ("the Annual Report on Students' CSEPT Scores", 2011). Such a phenomenon captured our attention and elicited our research interest. As defined by Schneider and Evers (2009) "at-risk English Language Learners (ELLs)" are "nonnative speakers of English language who are at risk for failing curricular and standardized school requirements because of their limited English proficiency" (p.55). Given this definition, we may conclude that there are a considerable number of college at-risk EFL students in Taiwan. Accordingly, we find that research focusing on this particular group of learners has become inevitably critical to the EFL education in general and relevant to college EFL practitioners in particular.

A series of studies regarding at-risk FL learners from the perspective of foreign language difficulties and problems have been conducted (see, e.g., Sparks & Ganschow 1993a; Ganschow, Sparks & Javorsky 1998; Ganschow & Sparks, 2000; Ganschow & Sparks, 2001). Relevant to this area of research, variables correlated to FL learning success and failure have been widely explored, such as foreign language aptitude (see, e.g., Stehan, 1986, Castro & Peck, 2005), native language skills (see, e.g., Sparks, Ganshow, Javorsky, Pohlman & Patton, 1992; Sparks & Ganschow, 1993b; Ganschow & Sparks, 1995; Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, Humbach, & Javorsky, 2006), anxiety (see, e.g., MacIntire, 1995a), motivation (see, e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 1972), language learning strategies (see, e.g., Lan & Oxford, 2003), language teaching strategies (see, e.g., Bernaus and Gardner, 2008), and educational factors (see, e.g., Li & Zang, 2004).

Although there has been a substantial body of research on foreign language learning difficulties and failures, few studies focus on EFL tertiary learners of Chinese ethnicity. Lei and Qin (2009) in their study of success and failure attributions of EFL learners at the tertiary level in China pointed out the significance of "the idiosyncratic language learning attributions of Chinese EFL learners" (p.31) due to the fact that Chinese EFL learners are educated in distinctive cultural and academic settings. In line with this claim, the current study attempts to give a descriptive exploration of the English learning experiences of college at-risk EFL students who are educated in the particular sociocultural setting in Taiwan where most of the population is of Chinese ethnicity. Given this very purpose of the study, we adopted the phenomenological research method.

As van Manen (1984) defines it, phenomenological research is the study of the essence of individuals' lived experience. "Lived experience" refers to " lifeworld –the world as we immediately experience it rather than as we conceptualize, categorize, or theorize about it" and "essence" is "the nature of the experience" which expresses "the significance of the experience in a fuller and deeper manner" (van Manen, 1984, p.37). Employing the aforementioned underpinnings of phenomenological research, this study intended to figure out the underlying themes or essence of Taiwanese college at-risk EFL learners' lived experience through exploring their lifeworld (i.e. social, cultural, and academic settings) where they might have encountered FL learning difficulties or problems.

While a great deal of studies have focused on what works for EFL learners, we would like to take a close look of what might not work for them through a phenomenological study of the learning journey of Taiwanese at-risk college students. We hope that the findings and its implications would foster further understanding of FL learning difficulties and problems which EFL educators may reflect upon in order to provide guidance for students struggling with their learning.

Literature Review

Cognitive and Linguistic Variables

Within the field of foreign language (FL) learning, a considerable body of research has been conducted to identify variables associated with FL success or failure. Language aptitude is one of these variables. The Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) created by Carroll and Sapon (1959) is one of the FL aptitude tests which have been used to diagnose FL difficulties with reasonable degrees of success (see Castro & Peck, 2005). FL aptitude as an indicator of FL difficulties has also been supported by other research findings (see Stehan, 1986). Adding another dimension to the role of language aptitude with their proposed linguistic coding deficit hypothesis (LCDH), Sparks and Ganschow (1991) contend that native language deficiency especially in the phonological and syntactic components is the primary sources of FL difficulties. In the findings of a series of empirical studies conducted by Sparks, Ganschow and their colleagues, native language difficulties were identified among high school and college at-risk foreign language learners (Sparks et al., 1992; Sparks & Ganshow, 1993a, 1995a).

Affective Variables

Along with the cognitive and linguistic variables such as foreign language aptitude and native language skills, affective variables including but not limited to anxiety and motivation have been substantially researched for FL learning. While some studies suggest that anxiety plays a significant causal role in affecting second language learning (see, e.g., MacIntire, 1995b), others claim that it is a result of FL language learning difficulties rather than a cause (see, e.g., Sparks, 1995; Sparks & Ganschow, 1991, 1993c, 1995b). Motivation is also perceived to be one of the key affective factors that affect language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1972) made an attempt to differentiate integrative (cultural merging) from instrumental (career-oriented) motivation for foreign language learning. Although most of the previous research based on this differentiation framework put the premium on integrative motivation, Gardner in a more recent study (see Gardner, 2001) no longer regarded integrative motivation as the only path to successful language learning, when taking into consideration factors such as desire to learn the target language, interest in learning the target language, attitude towards learning the target language, and attitude towards the language learning situation (Hsieh, 2008).Regarding the learning situation level, Dornyei (1994) established a construct of L2 motivation which comprises "course," "teacher," and "group" specific components. In this construct, course-specific motivational components concern "the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method, and the learning tasks" (p.277).

Educational Factors and Learning Strategies

Relevant to the learning situation as a part of the L2 motivation construct mentioned above, educational factors have been found to play a crucial role in many instances of low achievement in ESL learning (Li & Zang, 2004). As pointed out by Li and Zang (2004), these educational factors include "inappropriate materials", "poor pacing", "ineffective instruction", "inappropriate assessment", and "lack of assessment" (p.93).

Language strategy use is yet another aspect of research concern while examining FL learning efficacy. Most of the studies on strategy use in relation to language performance revealed a positive linear relationship between the two variables (Lan & Oxford, 2003); that is, the more proficient the learner is, the more frequently he/she uses strategies. With respect to the choice of particular strategy categories, as developed in the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning by Oxford (1990), Nguyen and Godwyll (2010) conducted a study on university international ESL students. Their study found that higher-proficiency students tend to use more cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, and social strategies, whereas

lower-proficiency students tend to use more memory and affective strategies. Memory strategies were also found to be the most frequently used by EFL students with high language learning anxiety (Noormohamadi, 2009).

Empirical Studies in Chinese Cultural Context

With respect to related empirical studies on Chinese cultural groups in particular, Yan and Horwize (2008) conducted a qualitative study on Chinese EFL university students' perception of how anxiety influenced their FL achievement, the findings of which indicate that anxiety and achievement have a unidirectional relationship. That is, anxiety was perceived to keep learners from achieving, but a lack of achievement was not perceived to contribute to anxiety. Another significant finding reveals that even though students sometimes do not feel interested in a particular task, they would never have difficulty being motivated, since English has to be learned well in order to be successful in China. As for the relationship between language anxiety and FL learning difficulties, Chen and Chang's study (2004) of EFL college students in Taiwan showed that anxiety is positively related with foreign language learning difficulties and that difficulties in English learning history were the best predictor of anxiety among other variables. In addition to language anxiety, lack of confidence, lack of practical use, lack of external help, and test-oriented learning were found to contribute to EFL failures, as revealed by the findings from Lei and Qin's study (2009) on EFL learners at the tertiary level in China. In short, as previous studies have shown, there is a variety of variables that might affect FL learning success or failure. They range from cognitive, linguistic, affective, educational factors to learning strategies. Among these studies, only a few have focused on EFL Chinese learners at the tertiary level and none of them have ever explored FL learning difficulties through the eyes of at-risk college students, which lead to the purpose of this current study.

Research Method

Research Site

The site where this study was conducted is a college of foreign languages in southern Taiwan. It has multiple academic divisions: a five-year junior college, a two-year college, and a four-year college. There are 12 departments in the four-year college. In addition to foreign language departments (English, French, German, Spanish, Japanese), there are language application departments, such as Foreign Language Instruction, International Business Administration, and Information Management and Communication. All four-year college students are required to take 36 credits of English courses (approximately 576 hours) over the

four years. The College Students English Proficiency Test (CSEPT) developed by the Language Testing and Teaching Center (LTTC) in Taiwan is used to measure students' English proficiency. The college graduation English proficiency benchmark is set to be CSEPT 240 for students in some departments and CSEPT 260 for those in others. CSEPT 240 and CSEPT 260 are an equivalent of the Common European Framework Reference (CEFR) B1 and B2 respectively. As revealed in the report by the Office of Academic Affairs in the college ("the Annual Report on Students' CSEPT Scores", 2011), an annual average of 52 % of students failed to pass the English graduation threshold for the past three academic years (2008-2010). Two levels of remedial classes are offered annually for graduating students who have not passed the benchmark. The basic level is for students whose CSEPT score is under 180.The intermediate level is for students whose CSEPT score is between 200 and 239.

Sampling

The purposeful sampling method was adopted to select the research participants with the assumption that these selected participants might share one thing in common -- they had the lived experience of being college at-rick EFL learners. Thus, they could "purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p.125). Specifically, through this group of purposefully selected participants, the researchers expected to have "a grasp of the very nature" (van Manen, 1990, p.177) of at-risk EFL students' learning experiences.

A letter explaining the purpose of the study together with a consent form for participating in the study as interviewees were sent to the four-year college graduating students who were in the remedial classes of the basic level. Fifteen students signed the consent form to be the participants in the study. The sample size was considered appropriate, as Polkinghorne (1989) recommends that researchers interview 5 to 25 participants for phenomenological studies.

Participants consisted of 4 males and 11 females. Ages ranged from 21-25 with a median age of 23. Nine of them were from the Department of Japanese which had the highest percentage of student population who had not passed the graduation benchmark in the year when this research was conducted. Three of them were from the Department of Information Management and Communication. The other three were from the Department of Foreign Language Instruction, Department of German, and Department of International Business Administration respectively.

Data Collection

We collected data through in-depth individual interviews. In order to obtain the essential meaning this group of Taiwanese college at-risk EFL learners ascribed to their English learning experiences, the central question in our interviews revolved around the topics of "what they experienced" and "how they experienced it" in their EFL learning process (Moustakas,1994). In our interviews we also included peripheral questions on specific factors considered relevant to EFL learning problems or difficulties in the previous studies, such as language learning strategies, motivations, and attitudes. Accordingly, instead of an unstructured interview, which is traditionally utilized in phenomenological research, we adopted another approach in which researchers are allowed to make use of a set of open-ended questions to ensure that the discussion would remain on track throughout the interview (Langdridge, 2007). The interview questions we developed were piloted with three students who came from the same basic level of the remedial classes as the participants of this study. The interview protocol was then refined from what-oriented questions to how-oriented questions as follows:

1. How would you describe your past and current English learning experiences?

2. Have you encountered any problems or difficulties in your English learning experiences? If yes, how would you describe them?

3. Have you used any strategies including language learning strategies to cope with your English learning? If yes, how would you describe them?

4. How would you describe your motivation of and attitude toward learning English?

Participants were asked the same set of questions, although they were probed for further explanation or elaboration depending on the kind of information they offered in answers to the questions. Each interview lasted 40 to 60 minutes. The Interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Interview texts were audio-taped and then transcribed verbatim in Chinese as well. The transcripts were sent to individual participants to check for meaning accuracy before the data analysis process began.

Data Analysis

Colaizzi's (1978) phenomenological method was adopted in analyzing the data collected. It involved the following steps: (1) reading through the written transcripts (2) identifying from each transcript significant phrases or sentences pertinent to the experiences of the participants (3) formulating meanings from the significant statements and phrases (4) clustering the

formulated meanings into themes common to all of the participants' transcripts (5) integrating the results into an in-depth description of the phenomenon (cited in Creswell, 2007, p.270).

First of all, as we read through the transcript of each participant, we looked for "salient utterances" in his/her accounts. By "salient utterances", we meant "phrases or sentences" that we thought significantly relevant to the experiences of EFL learning problems or difficulties. In other words, these statements stood out among others in revealing the most important features of the experiences we intended to explore in this study. We then attempted to assign meanings to (formulate meanings from) these salient statements we identified. For instance, we made out "I learned nothing. I always made mistakes" as salient sentences in one participant's account of his early learning experiences and from these salient sentences we formulated the meaning--"felt incompetent to learn" (Please refer to Table 1 for more examples). This procedure was repeated for each individual transcript. Next, we examined formulated meanings across all the transcripts to find if any of them could be put together under (clustered into) a theme that underscored EFL learning experiences for this particular group of participants. For example, we clustered the formulated meanings of "experienced negative emotions", "received negative feedback", "felt lagging behind, "felt incompetent to learn" from the sections where participants were describing their early learning experience into the theme—"frustration in their early learning history' (Please refer to Table 2 for the six theme clusters).

The transcript data were analyzed first by one of the researchers and then by the other. Any disagreement regarding meanings formulated from the analysis of the transcripts were discussed by the two researchers to form consensus. Then the two researchers worked together to cluster meanings into themes by constantly going back to the context of the data sources where the meanings were formulated to verify that the data supported the themes generated.

Given the original Chinese data sources, our initial stage of data analysis, including formulating meanings from the salient statements, was mainly undertaken in Chinese. Once we reached consensus on the formulated meanings, we started to conceptualize them in English. The themes were then generated from the English clustered formulated meanings we arrived at. During the writing-up process, some of the salient statements we identified from the original Chinese data were translated into English to serve as examples to illustrate and support our findings.

Results

From 15 verbatim transcripts, 82 salient statements were extracted. Examples of salient statements with their formulated meanings are shown in Table 1. We found six themes as a result of arranging the formulated meanings into clusters. Theme clusters that we created from their formulated meanings are shown in Table 2.

Table 1

Selected examples of significant statements of college at-risk EFL students and related formulated meanings

Salient Statement	Formulated Meaning
In two years' time while I was attending a private Children's Language Center, I couldn't even get to know the 26 letters of the English alphabet. I felt quite unhappy and resistant to learning English.	The initial learning experience projects a sense of incompetence accompanied by negative feelings such as unhappiness and resistance.
The teacher simply followed the textbook for instruction. S(he) would explain grammar rules and then gave us vocabulary tests, just to prepare us for the high school entrance examination.	Secondary school English instruction is test-oriented, emphasizing grammar and vocabulary learning.
I memorized conversations or jokes for the oral test. I also memorized vocabulary like crazy for the reading and writing class. I've been trying hard to memorize everything in order to pass English tests. Then I tend to forget most of the things I memorized after the test.	Rote memorization is one of the strategies frequently used to cope with English learning, though aware of it's limited effectiveness
I'm extremely afraid of speaking English in class. Nothing I said seems to be correct. It's very difficult for me to say what I want to say. I'm anxious that people would think that I know nothing.	Fear of learning English corresponds with inadequate English ability and anxiety of being judged.
I wish I could learn English well, but I'm kind of helpless. English is an international language and it's useful for finding jobs.	Instrumental motivation for learning English is maintained in spite of unsatisfactory learning experiences

Table 2

Theme clusters with their associated formulated meanings

Frustration in their early learning history

    Experienced negative emotions such as fright and gloominess in the classroom

    Received negative feedback such as punishment

    Felt lagging behind and incompetent to learn

Test-oriented curriculum overloaded with grammar and vocabulary

learning

    Received instruction overly emphasizing vocabulary and grammar

    Perceived test-taking as the center of learning

    Exerted a great deal of efforts on test preparation as the major goal of learning

Use of "rote memorization" as the dominant learning strategy despite awareness of its limited effectiveness

    Aware of a variety of language learning strategies which were seldom employed in actual learning

    Used "rote memorization" very often for learning and test preparation

    Aware of the limited effectiveness of "rote memorization"

Perceived low self-efficacy with a lack of self-regulated learning

    Felt afraid of language performance such as speaking and writing

    Felt confused with what had been learned such as grammar rules

    Felt inadequate for language proficiency due to inadequate learning efforts

    Anxious about making mistakes and being judged

Inappropriate learning materials that failed to elicit effective language acquisition

    Commented on learning materials that did not motivate their classroom learning

    Wished for more effective learning materials and instruction that were tuned to their level and needs

Contradiction between sustained motivation and mixed attitude

    Maintained motivation for learning English with a realization that it is an important language

    Felt uncertain about how to learn English well though willing to learn it

    Expressed both positive and negative attitude towards learning English

The six themes encapsulate the common meaning participants ascribed to their English learning experience. Each of the themes is elaborated as follows:

Theme 1: Frustration in their early learning history

Despite the fact that participants started their formal English learning at various stages (kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school) and at various places (school, private language learning center, after-school program), they had very similar perceptions about their initial English learning experiences. Words or phrases like "unhappy," "resistant," "scary," "pressured," "lack of confidence," "lagging behind," "inability to learn" were mentioned by the participants to describe their learning experiences. While recalling her English learning experiences in kindergarten, one participant stated, "I learned nothing. I always made mistakes. And because of that, I was grounded in the classroom and couldn't go out to play during the break". Another expressed a similar feeling of inability to learn by mentioning that in two years' time while attending a private Children's English Center she was unable to acquire even the 26 letters of the alphabet. "I was quite unhappy learning English and resistant to learning it." she added. The only one participant who had not learned any English before attending junior high school described her initial experiences of learning English:

> *I could not catch up with the other students. The teacher was conscientious in giving instruction in class, but s/he was very mean. S/he make those who did not pass the exam to stand in front of the class or outside the classroom. S/he even asked us to do frog-jumping" (Frog-jumping is a kind of physical punishment). I felt humiliated and became more unconfident"*

Theme 2: Test-oriented curriculum overloaded with vocabulary and grammar learning

Participants continued learning English in junior and senior high school where English is taught as a formal school subject. While reflecting on their learning experiences in this period of time, the majority of the participants centered on the "test-oriented curriculum" and "heavy emphasis on vocabulary and grammar". One of the male participants described a regular English lesson in high school: "The teacher simply went over the texts in the textbook. He then told us to memorize the vocabulary for a quiz the following week." He further noted, "I had lots and lots of vocabulary to memorize. I felt that memorizing vocabulary was the only thing I did for learning English in high school." Another participant recalled a similar experience:

I didn't really learn any English. The instruction was quite loose and teachers didn't seem to make much effort. We were tested on vocabulary only. The teacher would tell you beforehand what vocabulary would be tested. All you had to do was to memorize it."

In addition to vocabulary memorization, participants also associated their English lessons with "grammar rules learning" for the sake of university entrance examinations. One participant pointed out, " The teacher focused on grammar in his instruction and it seems that he only taught what would be covered in the General Scholastic Ability Test" (Note: It is the national examination high school students in Taiwan take in order to apply for college or university). Many participants also went to examination preparation classes in cram schools for more grammar instruction.

Theme 3: Use of "rote memorization" as the dominant learning strategy, despite awareness of its limited effectiveness

Various language learning strategies were mentioned by the participants. For example, many of them made attempts to listen to English songs for naturalistic practice; however, they further explained that they seldom did it or listened to the melody only. Participants also knew of the compensation strategy of "guessing from context", but they said the strategy was "useless" because usually there were too many unfamiliar vocabulary items for them to guess effectively from the context. As for the learning of vocabulary, although participants mentioned a number of specific memory strategies such as using phonetic spelling, accent marks, or affixes to help remember vocabulary items and learning new words from example sentences, a prevailing strategy that participants said they used was "rote memorization". When asked how she learned vocabulary, one participant said, "Dead Memorize" ("Dead memorize" literally means "to do rote memorization" in Chinese"). She went on, repeating, "Memorize, memorize, and memorize". Another participant also emphasized how he memorized the vocabulary, "I memorized the word by copying it thousands of times on the paper. I memorized like crazy." Memorization was also employed for test preparation, as one of the participants pointed out, "I memorized everything in order to pass the English tests, then I tended to forget most of the things that I had memorized after the test".

Theme 4: Perceived low self-efficacy with a lack of self-regulated learning

It appears that participants had a chance to self-examine their English learning process and reflected upon it especially in the part of the interview when they were asked if they

employed any learning strategies to cope with their English learning problems or difficulties. One of the recurring subjects they brought up was "fear". Several of the participants expressed that they were afraid to speak or write. "I dare not speak in class, because I am afraid of being judged." said a male participant. "I am afraid of making mistakes speaking English, grammar mistakes, I mean." expressed another participant. Still another participant described, "I have tremendous fear in writing. I wonder if that's because I am lack of language aptitude." Another prevailing subject they talked about was "confusion" especially over grammar learning. Expressions like "I don't know {how to study grammar}", "I get all confused {with grammar rules}", "It {grammar} sucks", "I can't catch up", "I feel helpless" occurred in the interviews. Given the context of the participants' utterances mentioned above, we discerned that both "fear" and "confusion" might be closely related to their perception of low self-efficacy for performing language skills, because they seemed to believe or worry that they were unable to speak or write English well enough or perhaps with "correct" grammar rules. As they expressed their fear and confusion, participants also seemed to realize that they did not make enough efforts in learning English, which could be interpreted as "a lack of self-regulated learning". In this respect, participants revealed they "did very little writing", "did not spend time on grammar at all", "had too little vocabulary, or "had no reading habits". Furthermore, even though a majority of participants mentioned listening to English songs as one of their learning strategies for listening skills, several of them continued to say that they "seldom" did it.

Theme 5: Inappropriate learning materials and that failed to elicit effective language acquisition

While reflecting upon their current English learning experiences in the college, which was also the research site, the theme that prevailed during this part of the interview was "ineffective materials". Participants described the materials they were learning as "too difficult", "useless", "not practical", "boring", "repetitive", or "lack of consistency". It follows that participants strongly wished for more effective materials that would both accommodate their level of proficiency and motivate their learning. Expressions like "more practical materials", "more lively materials", "more useful materials", "more interesting materials" were mentioned by the participants. One of the participants commented on the materials he was learning English with in college:

The content of the textbook should be more lively. The teacher taught very strange stuff, such as "shoal" or something like that. You will never use the vocabulary after you learn it. And I did not understand the whole article at all. I had a very hard time reviewing it at home.

Another participant made some similar remarks on the learning materials:

Teachers can use less boring stuff, I mean, stuff related to our lives. I think interest is more important. If you are not interested in the lessons, it's of no use going to class. I mean teachers can prepare materials that would develop students' interest.

When touching upon the changes they would have liked to bring to their current learning context, participants wished they would have received more basic training from the very beginning of the curriculum. By "basic training", they meant separate instruction on pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary respectively in addition to 4-skill integrated instruction.

Theme 6: Contradiction between sustained motivation and mixed attitude

Regardless of the unsatisfactory learning results, participants said that they still wanted to learn English because they realized that English was an "important" language. Participants commented on the importance of English with comments, such as: "English is an international language", "Everybody is speaking English", "English is useful for you to find a job" and "Being able to speak English makes me feel superior". While many participants emphasized the utility value of learning English, some pointed out authentic communication was what truly motivated them to learn English. One Japanese majored participant spoke of her experience of using English to communicate with her foreign classmate during her study-tour in Japan:

We continue learning English {as a mandatory school subject} because we are told that it is useful for our career. We also know English is important, but we don't really feel it from the bottom of our hearts, until we have a chance to use it to communicate with others, like my foreign classmate. I feel quite happy being able to communicate with others in English.

However, even with the realization that English is important; a mixed attitude towards learning English was evident in participants' responses. A male participant stated, "I hate English sometimes, especially when I cannot memorize the stuff, but I tell myself that English

is important for job". Another reported, "I like English a lot, though I feel frustrated about English listening. I will work even harder to learn English". Their mixed attitude was also associated with their uncertainty about how to learn English effectively. One participant expressed, "I'm still interested in English, but I don't know how to learn it well". The kind of uncertainty was further illustrated in the statement, "I don't hate English. I just don't know how to learn it well. I'm kind of helpless".

Discussion

It is speculated that participants' initial frustrating learning experiences are the onset of the development of their "learned helplessness", which refers to one's established perception that s/he is not able or smart enough to do particular tasks due to previous failed attempts. Dornyei (1994) regards "learned helplessness" as a "resigned" and "pessimistic" state, which is very difficult to reverse once it is developed, unless a strong sense of self-efficacy is developed through positive reinforcement. The test-oriented curriculum that participants experienced in the later stage of their learning did not seem to reverse such a state; indeed it aggravated it, as the finding reveals that participants constantly perceived a sense of "helplessness" or "uncertainty" while reflecting upon their current learning as well as their attitude toward learning English.

Participants' perceived fear may actually stem from their anxiety about "being judged" or "making mistakes" which was mentioned by the participants as examples to elaborate their fear in the foreign language classroom. This finding further confirms previous studies that anxiety is positively related with foreign language learning difficulties and problems (see, e.g., MacIntire, 1995a, 1995b; Chen & Chang, 2004; Yan & Horwize, 2008). Participants' expression of fear also reflects a lack of self-confidence as well as their doubts about their ability to learn the target language well, which may also be an illumination of their "low self-efficacy". In addition, while commenting on their inadequacy in language practice, participants seemed to attribute their past failure to a lack of effort, which is a problem associated with self-regulated learning. These findings regarding participants' test-oriented learning, perceived language anxiety, lack of confidence, and lack of practice coincide with most of the failure attributions of EFL learners at the tertiary level in China (see Lei & Gin, 2009).

Obviously, the most frequently used strategy by the participants was memorization. This finding, to some extent, affirms Noormohamadi's (2009) study that low-proficiency ESL international university students tended to use more memory strategies. However, it should be

noted that participants in this study were inclined to use "rote- memorization" instead of the "memory strategy" which is regarded as an "aid in entering information into long-term memory and retrieving information when needed for communication" (Oxford, 1990, p.38). Participants' comments about forgetting what had been memorized after the test further suggest that rote-memorization is quite limited for storing information into long-term memory. It is also worth noticing that participants had a moderate knowledge of language learning strategies. However, they did not seem to employ them appropriately and frequently enough to facilitate their learning, as revealed by the aforementioned example of how they made use of English songs for natural practice. Participants' low proficiency, or the exposure to texts that were not tuned to their level of proficiency also prevented them from using some strategies that they knew of, such as "guessing from the context". It seems that participants' inadequate language proficiency led to their limited use of language strategies even though they did have a moderate knowledge of strategies. This finding concurs with some previous studies that the level of language proficiency is associated with the frequency of language strategy use (see e.g., Green & Oxford, 1995; Khaldieh, 2000; Wharton, 2000).

An essential part of the meaning this group of at risk EFL students ascribed to their English learning experiences is pertinent to the particular sociocultural and academic setting in Taiwan. The popularity and feverishness for learning English can be observed through the trend that parents would like to send their young children, many of whom are at the pre-school age, to the private institutes of children's English where many young learners have their first encounter with English learning. Whether the interplay of the quality of informal English education, the parental expectations, and the developmental age of the learners contribute to the frustration experienced by the participants in their initial learning history requires further investigation.

As for formal English education, the "test-oriented curriculum" experienced by the participants has been implemented in many Taiwanese secondary schools as a result of the high-stakes entrance examinations. Paradoxically, although participants pointed out that the curriculum was "overloaded with grammar instruction", "confusion over grammar" is one of the themes constantly brought up by the participants, leading to the speculation that participants did not really internalize what they had learned. Educational issues also occurred in their current academic setting. Given approximately 500 hours of English instruction offered by the college throughout the 4-year curriculum, participants did not seem to make as as many breakthroughs as they should have. Learning materials that were perceived as either

"too easy" or "too difficult," and curriculum that was regarded as "repetitive" or having a "lack of consistence," might prevent effective language acquisition from happening.

In spite of their unpleasant or difficult learning experiences, participants who regarded English as an "important" or "useful" language still sustained their motivation for learning English. This finding echoes Yan and Horwize's contention (2008) that Chinese learners of English would never have difficulty being motivated as English ability is considered a key to success in Chinese society. To some extent, it also reflects "the idiosyncratic language learning attribution of Chinese EFL learners" due to the distinctive cultural and academic settings in which they are educated (Lei & Qin, 2009, p.31). However, aside from this sociocultural perspective in which participants seemed to feel that they "should" be motivated for learning English, participants were not as well motivated at the learning situation level with regards to "the course-specific motivational components" (Dornyei 1994, p.277). Because they strongly expressed a wish for more useful, lively, and interesting learning materials and activities when commenting about their current English classes, courses that did not excite them might accentuate their learning problems.

Conclusion and Implications

Through our analysis we have come to the conclusion that the meaning this group of at risk EFL students ascribed to their English learning experiences can be illuminated through six themes: (1) Frustration in their early learning history; (2) Test-oriented curriculum overloaded with vocabulary and grammar learning; (3) Use of "rote memorization" as the dominant learning strategy despite awareness of its limited effectiveness; (4) Perceived low self-efficacy with a lack of self-regulated learning; (5) Inappropriate learning materials that failed to elicit effective language acquisition; and (6) Contradiction between sustained motivation and mixed attitude. The findings suggest that their early frustration might have a negative impact on their affective development in learning English with regard to feelings (e.g. fear, anxiety), self-confidence (e.g. uncertainly, inadequacy), and self-efficacy (e.g. helplessness, lack of effort). The interplay of the sociocultural and academic factors (e.g. test-oriented curriculum due to the high-stakes entrance exams) seems to have little chance of providing a positive reinforcement at the later stages of their learning. Furthermore, the learning context (e.g. inappropriate materials) and learning strategies (e.g. rote-memorization) might hinder them from acquiring the language effectively.

The results of this study have several implications. With regard to students with low English proficiency at the tertiary level in particular, it is suggested that problems such as

difficulties in their past learning history and foreign language learning anxiety should be identified through interviews or administration of relevant tests, such as the Foreign Language Screening Instrument for Colleges (Ganschow & Sparks, 1991) and the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Howwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). A grasp of the background of those who have the potential to become EFL at-risk students is as important, if not more important, as other measures such as remedial classes which often focus on additional language instruction. Having addressed what these students have brought with them from their past learning experiences, accommodations can then be made regarding learning materials, teaching methods, and classroom activities. Given that language confusion often bothers at-risk students as revealed by this study, direct, concrete, and explicit instruction of language components should take precedence over implicit language teaching. In order to resolve difficulties at-risk students usually encounter in retrieving what has been learned, they should be provided with ample opportunities to practice the language through drills, practical uses, and frequent reviews. For example, Multisensory Structured Language (MSL) instruction suggested by Schneider and Evers (2009) is one of the modals of pedagogy for at-risk English language learners. Prioritizing explicit instruction of language components and emphasizing ample chances of practice through audio, visual and tactile-kinesthetic learning channels simultaneously, MSL instruction would be helpful in motivating students at the learning level as well as enhancing their language competence. In addition, other than rote-memorization, memory strategies such as creating mental linkage and applying images and sounds can be introduced to students.

Foreign language learning is a complex process that concerns not only the linguistic and cognitive, but also the affective and sociocultural domains. Imposing the English proficiency graduation threshold itself is not a significant education policy, given the prevailing low passing rates among Taiwanese colleges and universities with one specific example that as many as 52 % students failed annually in our college. Only if efforts are made to understand why those students cannot reach the expected curricular requirement and how they can be assisted will this particular policy become meaningful. This phenomenological study is one such attempt to explore how Taiwanese at-risk EFL learners reflected upon their learning journey in their own eyes. We hope that insights provided by the findings of this study will help to create a more supportive and effective learning environment for unsuccessful English language learners.

Researchers' Self-Reflection

Wolff (2002) states that "phenomenological research emphasizes the lived experience not only of the research participants but also that of the researcher" (p.117). In this respect, we would like to share a number of important issues from our experience as beginning phenomenological qualitative researchers. We would start from the key points that facilitate our role as phenomenological researchers. First, we had some personal involvement in the topic that we were exploring. In one way, we had contacts with students, like our research participants who were struggling or failed to pass the English proficiency graduation threshold in some of our classrooms. Furthermore, we had been educated in a similar socio-cultural background to that of our participants. Second, we were able to establish a trusting relationship with our participants in that they were willing to share in the interviews even the most unpleasant English learning experiences. Our own lived experiences helped us have a better grasp of the meaning of researcher-participants learning experiences.

Nonetheless, there are limitations to this study. While the central question of this phenomenological study is what Taiwanese at-risk college EFL students experienced and how they experienced it in their English learning process, we came to realize that we still needed a focal point to explore the topic. Based on the literature review, we selected "foreign language learning difficulties and problems" as the focused perspective, which inevitably became a presumption of the experience being explored in this particular study. In addition, in order to keep the interview discussions on track, we also decided to include a number of guiding questions regarding learning strategies, motivation, and attitude that are considered related issues in foreign language learning difficulties and problems as revealed by the literature review. These guiding questions might have led our participants to put more weight on some aspects of their experiences than on others in the interviews. Finally, finding the right kind of language to convey the concepts expressed by the participants in the interviews was a major challenge to us, since the original data sources were in Chinese. Thanks to the comments and critiques from the reviewers, through several attempts of revisions, we have learned to communicate with more precise expressions that definitely strengthen the clarity of our findings.

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An Investigation of EFL Students' Vocabulary Learning Strategies and Motivation Orientations—A Case Study

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate EFL students' various strategies for English vocabulary learning and their learning motivation orientations during different educational stages. This study conducted a qualitative analysis of four college-level (or above) EFL learners who are relatively high achievers. Data for this case study were collected through in-depth interviews. Results obtained indicated that: (1) instrumental motivation exerts primary effects on the participants during their junior or high school period, for expanding vocabulary in pursuit of good performance on English tests, for entering an ideal school, or for parents'/teachers' compliments; (2) in addition to some vocabulary strategy use, the participants' instrumental motivation and integrative motivation subtly interweaved at a later stage of their life, alternately activating their English learning; and (3) cognitive, memory and compensatory strategies were more facilitative for the participants' vocabulary learning. This study also provides practical implications for English teaching in an EFL context.

Key words: EFL, instrumental motivation, integrative motivation, learning strategies

1. Introduction

Vocabulary is of critical importance at the very beginning in English learning for all learners. It has been argued that the significance of vocabulary transcends that of grammar and lexicon and plays an indispensible role in the development of basic language skills (Chu, 2008). Similarly, Nation (1990), Schmitt (2000), Cheng (2009), and Hsu (2009) have mentioned vocabulary as being a very important element of language learning. Read (2000) claimed that the descriptiveness, accuracy, and quality of writing are influenced directly by the learners' vocabulary size and word knowledge. It has been suggested that vocabulary learning is important for both language skills' development and fluency (Judd, 1978). Therefore, the employment of strategies for vocabulary learning is inseparably related to the learning efficacy of English.

As previous studies (Chen, 2003; Csizér & Dörnyei 2005; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003) have pointed out, it is widely accepted that motivation has significant influence on academic learning and the process of mastering a foreign language. In the language classroom, motivation would give rise to students' willingness in pursuit of self-learning. Due to previous studies' differences in the research subjects or age of the subjects, there have been pretty inconsistent research results; e. g. While Chang (1997) has found that Taiwanese junior-high students have positive English learning motivation, Xu (2004) and Hsu (2005), opposite to what Tang (1988) has found, have maintained that students' level of motivation varies significantly according to their grade. For instance, the first graders in junior-high school may have higher integrative motivation than the second or third graders (Xu, 2004). In addition, there has been a dearth of studies regarding investigation of the research subjects' views from a reflection of a longer period of time about vocabulary learning strategies and motivation. The researchers believe that a better understanding of language learners' motivation orientations and vocabulary strategy use facilitates learners' learning process in an EFL context. From the language teacher's perspective, it is essential to help learners acquire and develop strategies of either kind to enhance their ability to learn inside or outside the classroom. After all, learning strategies may influence learning motivation, which in turn influences learners' performance and achievement (Chuang, 2007; Yang, 1999).

1.1 Statement of Problems

Dörnyei (2001) claimed that motivation is connected to one of the fundamental aspects of human beings, it is a primary, essential constituent for stimulating people's interest and

curiosity in learning. Learning is often affected by motivation, which acts on a person's desire to do something, functioning like a trigger. Most teachers and researchers would find that motivation plays a major role in all kinds of learning situations. While "motivation" seems to be a human characteristic of considerable significance, it is also of immense complexity. Indeed, in most cases, it seems that highly motivated learners can achieve a higher level of knowledge of a second language (L2). On the other hand, it is very difficult for many learners to persevere in attaining a language if they don't have sufficient motivation (Dörnyei, 2001). Although an increasing number of studies have drawn attention to what instructors do to teach vocabulary in the classroom (Nation, 2001), it seems that some instructors are still anticipating their students' independent learning of English vocabulary. For instance, the Language Center at one technological university in central Taiwan still practices the policy of requiring non-English majors to memorize certain amount of vocabulary through the vocabulary-lists put on-line each semester. It is said that most of the professors in that center claim that it is a normal way for students to learn words through such vocabulary-lists on their own. Motivation of learning itself, in such sense, plays the role of enduring driving force behind learners, which further influences to which extent individual language learner develops self-autonomy toward vocabulary learning.

Subtle yet significant relations between vocabulary learning and motivation of learning which underpin this research rest on the argument that unlike learning a finite set of grammar rules, vocabulary learning is an almost infinite task. In other words, learning vocabulary is a lifelong endeavor; individual English learner's motivation (at different levels of learning) may accord with his or her vocabulary size, displaying idiosyncratic as well as self-preferred strategies for obtaining vocabulary knowledge.

In this study, the impact of different motivation orientations on university-level learners' vocabulary learning strategy use was investigated using a qualitative approach, in the hope of discovering more of the subtle aspects not easily revealed otherwise. The vocabulary learning strategies habitually adopted by each participant with different types of motivation orientations were investigated in details. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to EFL teachers' understanding of what their students might think, how they might feel, and how they might act in relation to vocabulary learning.

1.2 Definition of Terms

1.2.1 Strategies and Learning Strategies

Strategies, according to Brown's (2000) definition, are "… specific methods of approaching a problem or task modes of operation for achieving a particular end, [or] planned designs for controlling and manipulating certain information …" (p. 113). Such contextualized plans might vary from time to time. Moreover, strategies vary intra-individually; each of us is said to have various ways to solve a certain problem.

In the context of language learning, learning strategies are referred to as those conscious and unconscious processes which language learners utilize in learning and using a language (Oxford, 1990). Learning strategies may be applied to a simple undertaking such as learning new vocabulary, or more complex one such as language production (Platt, Platt & Richards, 1998). Learning strategies are the actions learners take in making learning easy and fast (Oxford,1990, p. 25). Brown (2000, p. 39) described learning strategies as the process of tackling input, namely, messages from others, by means of processing, storage, and retrieval for either sustained retaining or future use.

1.2.2 Breadth of Vocabulary Knowledge

Breadth of vocabulary knowledge is taken to refer to the quantity or number of words learners know at a particular level of language proficiency (Nation, 2001). In brief, breadth of vocabulary knowledge means how much vocabulary a language learner has already accumulated. Different types of evaluation instruments have been used to measure vocabulary knowledge (Nassaji, 2006), for instance, an identification test (such as requiring learners to identify a synonym), word-definition matching test, or translation (such as requiring learners to translate a word into the foreign language). According to the researchers' experiences and observation, such test formats for checking-up on students' breadth of vocabulary knowledge are broadly recognized and implemented in Taiwan's EFL settings.

1.2.3 Depth of Vocabulary Knowledge

Depth of vocabulary knowledge, according to Read (2000, p. 15), is related to the quality of word knowledge, in other words, it has to do with a learner's true understanding of a word. Different aspects of knowledge associated with a word may include the following: its pronunciation and spelling, its morphological features, or its syntactic and semantic relationships with other words, etc. (Nassaji, 2006, p. 393).

2. Literature Review

Motivation, as previously indicated, could bring about a person's conscious decision to act. This emotional stimulation may evoke a person to make an earnest attempt to achieve a set goal (Williams & Burden, 1997). According to Weiner (1992), motivation is a significant component of the learning process. Defined as an individual desire to act or behave in a particular manner, motivation in the context of schooling is particularly important. As Gardner (2005) claimed, motivation is a multifaceted concept. Researchers in different fields have tried to define it in different ways. Following are some motivation-related concepts that inform this study.

2.1 Instrumental Motivation

In 1972, in the field of second language acquisition, Gardner and Lambert first formed two concepts of learning motivation—instrumental motivation and integrative motivation. Gardner et al. (1976, p. 199) referred integrative motivation to "a high level of drive on the part of the individual to acquire the language of a valued second-language community in order to facilitate communication with that group." Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) found that instrumentally motivated students spent more time formulating correct answers (to questions on an English test) than non-instrumentally motivated students when there was an opportunity to benefit monetarily from learning. The results of their study support the generalization that motivation facilitates learning, and that generally any factors that motivate an individual to learn will result in increased acquisition (Gardner, 1985). Hedge (2001, p. 20) has stated that instrumental motivation is learning a language because of its value as a tool or instrument for doing something else successfully. Instrument-orientated learners' language learning interest has much to do with the utilitarian advantages (such as promotion, reward or a higher salary) obtained from language proficiency (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 121).

2.2 Integrative Motivation

The concept of integrative motivation represents an individual's drive to acquire the language of another second-language community for the purpose of better communication with that group (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995, p. 507). Similarly, Hedge (2001) has claimed that integrative motivation is related to language-learning due to its value in helping learners to integrate with speakers of that language. Learners who learn the (foreign) language out of interest in identifying with the target culture or target language communities are thought to be

driven by integrative motivation. Under the above concept, language learners who are actively engaged in the learning of a foreign language (FL) or L2 may be highly interested in learning through L2 music, magazines or newspaper, and in having association with native language users.

2.3 Learner Autonomy/Automaticity

Since the late 1980s, terms relevant to the concept of self-directed learning have been proliferated, such as autonomous learning, self-monitoring, and self-assessment, etc. (Hedge, 2001). In recent years, there have been extensive discussions about the significance of learner autonomy (e.g. Benson, 2006; Benson & Voller, 1997; Deci et al., 1991; Dickinson, 1995; Holec, 1981; Littlewood, 1996; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ushioda, 1996; Wenden, 1991). It has been argued that, in language learning, learners need to be aware that they are in charge of their own learning. It has been argued that in order to help learners to assume greater control over their own learning, it is important to help them to become aware of the strategies that they already use or could potentially use (Holmes & Ramos, 1991). Some of the key characteristics of an autonomous learner may include taking one's own responsibility for learning, having the ability to define one's own objectives, being aware of using language materials effectively, careful organization of one's time for learning, and active development of one's learning strategies (Hedge, 2001). At any rate, individual learners differ in their learning habits, interests, needs, and motivation, and develop varying degrees of independence throughout their lives (Hsu, 2008; Reeve & Jang, 2006). The following section reviews some of the strategy-related concepts.

Learning strategies were defined by Oxford and Crookall (1989) as processes taken by learners to make language acquisition easier. Learner strategies are related to language learning behaviors that learners engage in when learning a second language (Wenden, 1991). It is assumed that both explicit and implicit knowledge can contribute to learning (Schmitt, 1997). Schmitt (1997, p. 203) has claimed that learners may use their strategies more effectively if they are made conscious of those strategies, and are better able to work outside the classroom by themselves. Following is a brief introduction of some of the learning strategies.

Memory Strategies

According to Oxford (1990), memory strategies reflect principles such as arranging things in order, making associations, and reviewing. In learning a new language, the arrangement and

associations should have personal meaning to the learner. Memory strategies help language learners to cope with the difficulty of remembering large amounts of vocabulary and enable learners to store verbal material and then retrieve it when needed for communication.

Cognitive Strategies

Cognitive strategies deal with text-manipulating processes or making connections (Oxford, 1989); they range from repeating to analyzing expressions to summarizing, and are typically found to be the most popular strategies with language learners (Oxford, 1990). Examples of cognitive strategies include memorization, repetition (i.e. imitating a model), writing things down, and inferencing (i.e. making guesses about the form or meaning of a new language item). Nation (2001, p. 232) has suggested that meaning-inference is "the most important of all sources of vocabulary learning." In the study of Hamada & Park (2011), it was mentioned that one of the often discussed issues regarding strategy use and inference accuracy is the utilization of local strategies (use of morphological analysis, word-analogy, and grammatical analysis) vs. global strategies (involving more contextually-based analysis). They concluded that "learners with higher inference accuracy used fewer strategy types consistently, while learners with lower inference accuracy used a wider range of strategy types more frequently" (p. 23). For Carton (Rubin, 1987), language learning is a kind of problem-solving in which the student can bring to mind his or her prior experience and knowledge in the processing of language.

Metacognitive Strategies

Meta-cognitive strategies are used for monitoring one's mistakes or improvement, or making an attentive effort to explore practice opportunities (Hedge, 2001; Oxford-Carpenter, 1989); they are used to oversee, regulate, or self-direct language learning. Metacognitive strategies involve planning for learning, thinking about learning, and how to make it effective, self-monitoring during learning, and evaluation of how successful learning has been after working on language in some way (Hedge, 2001).

Other strategies include (1) compensatory strategies such as the use of synonyms or non-verbal language in communication (Oxford-Carpenter, 1989); (2) affective strategies for lowering anxiety, or awarding compensation for oneself; and (3) social strategies such as being aware of cultural differences or being compliant to native speakers. A detailed description of the method follows.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Purpose of the Study

This study attempted a qualitative investigation to find out more of the subtle facts about EFL students' vocabulary learning not easily revealed otherwise, it is hoped that, through the findings of this study, EFL teachers could gain a deeper understating of what their students might think, how they might feel, and how they might act in relation to vocabulary learning, which might lead to more appropriate planning/design of instruction to reinforce the learning behavior of learners. Thus, the following specific research questions were examined:

1. What may be some of the vocabulary learning strategies of university-level learners in an EFL context in Taiwan?

2. What may be the impact of different motivation orientations on university-level learners' vocabulary learning strategies in an EFL context in Taiwan?

3.2 Research Design

This study provided a qualitative inquiry into the types of the participants' motivation orientations and their vocabulary learning strategy use. In this study, one-on-one interviews, also known as interactive interviews, were administered to each participant for three to four times (about two hours and a half long for each time of the interview arranged once in a month). The design of these multiple interviews over time helped to deepen the researchers' understanding and analysis of the concepts, in that the content of the second round of interview may be based on those unclear points (or the points that the researchers have doubts in) from the previous interview. The purpose of the interactive interview was to classify and arrive at an understanding of the participants' personal experiences, attitudes, viewpoints of vocabulary learning as well as their particular learning strategies. Interviews without time-constraint in a relaxed atmosphere were administered in the hope of obtaining from the interviewees more authentic data of their perspective regarding the research questions. During the course of all the interviews, dialogs between the interviewers and the interviewees were sound recorded and transcribed afterwards. Data collection steps involved setting the boundaries for the study and collecting detailed individual information via open-ended questions and follow-up questions, allowing the participants to answer in their own way. For instance, one of the interviewees (Ya-ning) was once asked "When were you taught this strategy?" followed by the set question (as in Appendix A) from the interviewer, "What comes to your mind the first time you are in the face of unknown English words?"

Since the questions required in-depth answers, the participants were asked to give detailed information. They were informed that they could respond at ease and give whatever answers they liked. The language adopted during the interviews was the participants' native language—Mandarin, with which they can express themselves more completely and comfortably. Since English is a foreign—rather than a second—language for Taiwanese English learners, it may limit the richness of their responses. The participants were paid for their lunch as appreciation from the researchers.

3.3 Participants

There were four participants in the study (including one male and three female). To protect the privacy of the participants, each participant will be identified by his or her pseudonym henceforth: Jun-yao, Li-chuan, Yu-ying, and Ya-ning. All of the participants were English learners of university-level (or above) in educational background. Jun-yao was a 32 year old male working as a sales representative in a big bookstore selling foreign books. Yu-ying was a 25 year old salaried woman working as a sales secretary at one trading company dealing with chemical materials. She takes charge of English correspondence for transactions, meanwhile tackling the translation of commercial documents demanded by the supervisor. Li-chuan was a 27 year old travel agent responsible for sales of holidays and travel products. Ya-ning was a 35 year old executive in an international trade company.

Some considerations were made for the participant recruitment criteria. The first was their English proficiency level. Their qualification for being chosen as the interviewees for this study was based on their relatively good linguistic performance on standardized examinations, such as the TOEIC test and Joint College Entrance Examination in addition to their long-term practice in the use of English. While it would have been helpful to have both successful and unsuccessful learners to compare, the researchers have set these criteria in order to investigate firstly the perspective of more successful English learners due to the scope of this study. In addition, those so-called low-achievers on English learning that have been interviewed by the researchers seemed to have applied none strategy except for rote learning, they were therefore not considered as suitable participants in this study. Take Ju-wen for example, she had been provided with English instruction continuously from her third grade at the primary school in a well-known Linguistic organization—the Mandarin Daily Center (also know as Guo-yu Ri Bao)—to senior-high. However, her only vocabulary learning strategy was rote cramming. Moreover, her English performance at school and her scores on the standardized tests (e.g. Joint College Entrance Examination) were low, and she

felt de-motivated regarding English/vocabulary learning. The second consideration was that only those who could complete all of the interview sessions were selected as participants.

All participants were in their twenties or thirties (with average age of 29.8), and they have all learnt English for at least six years (12 years at most); therefore, it can be fairly safely assumed that they have already developed some tactics when approaching new vocabulary. Lastly, while three of them have joined some kind of short trip/study tour in a foreign country, the participants taking part in this study were mainly within the EFL settings of Taiwan.

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The processes of data analysis included transcribing the recorded data, gaining deeper insights from an understanding of the data, making an interpretation of the meaning of the data, and continual reflections on the data. Transcription and translation of the interviews were based on the actual conversations which had been recorded without any interruptions. All the responses to each open-ended question were compiled and carefully analyzed for investigation of recurring themes. Data analysis consisted of open-coding, theme elicitation and co-judgment. After reading through all collected information to obtain a sense of the overall data (Creswell, 1998), the process of organizing the interview data started with validation, that is, notes made during the interview were read to each participant and it was verified that the notes reflected their views. It turned out that the outcome of the validation process corresponded quite well to the researchers' original thoughts. The researchers coded the data independently and then conferred with each other in order to exchange opinions and compare the codes, with reference to the original research questions. To facilitate the identification and development of themes, the notes were copied into a notebook and organized to develop open coding categories. Then axial coding (by hand) was administered to interrelate these categories (Creswell, 1998). The researchers then posed some questions that were related to the categories before returning to the data to look for some events or evidence that support or refute the questions. Through searching for the commonly mentioned statements, and paying attention to distinct points expressed by individuals, themes were identified in the texts. For more reliability, continual reflection on the data was administered. In addition, two independent raters who hold graduate degrees in linguistics/TESOL helped in evaluating the acceptability of the identified themes. Those themes that were disagreed upon were resolved through repeated discussions by the coders and the researchers. In general, this study's approach was similar to that of phenomenological research design suitable for

studying participants' behaviors, experiences and motivations from their own perceptions and perspectives (Lester, 1999).

4. Results and Discussions

The sections below provide information about each participant's (in the order of Li-chuan, Yu-ying, Ya-ning and Jun-yao) English vocabulary accumulating procedures and a change of their motivation orientations as well as their vocabulary strategy use during different English learning stages.

Li-chuan

Dislike of English learning during the earliest stage

At Jin-Hua Girls' Middle School when Li-chuan began to learn the English alphabets, she remembered her English teacher as a peevish lady. The young female teacher exerted physical punishment over her students when they flunked tests or failed to reach her standards.

> *I didn't regard the English language "special," neither did I feel motivated to actively accumulate vocabulary knowledge. To me, English learning was all about passing the tests. Sometimes I pretended to be sick to avoid going to school for an English test, when I was not very well prepared for it. You don't get to be physically punished, after all, for taking a sick leave. (Li-chuan)*

Li-chuan reported that her average score on English tests never went over 70 in those days, she therefore felt that she was unmotivated to learn and to memorize English words as well as phrases. Academic performance seemed to be one of the essential factors negatively influencing her stance on English learning, in addition to destructive criticisms and de-motivating feedbacks from her teacher to this 13 year old foreign language learner.

> *Curiosity? Only a little! It was too unpleasant for me to take the initiative in learning English or memorizing English words at that time.* (Li-chuan)

Each participant reported that from the time when they studied English at senior-high school to university they were confronted with influences either from Western culture or American/British literature, which transformed the earliest/initial impressions they had about English learning. However, Li-chuan did not take interest in things related to the Western world until she went to study at Fu Jen Catholic University where she signed up as a member of one study-abroad group and headed for the U. S. to study English during the summer before her sophomore year.

> *Studying abroad was a novel, fun and efficient language-learning experience!*

> *In addition to gaining of new friendship, I learnt quite a few English words*
>
> *and their usages.* (Li-chuan)

Similarly, by way of studying abroad, Li-chuan's "love" for English was greatly enhanced. She reported that her English capacity was remarkably raised and her vocabulary size also expanded. It was a few weeks, 45 days long precisely, that Li-chuan spent in Washington University in the U.S. with some of her college peers from Taiwan. Li-chuan immersed herself in multiple exposures to "practical" vocabulary,

> *We as language learners were given practical lexical items and we could learn in an*
>
> *English environment.* (Li-chuan)

In addition to being influenced by the atmosphere wherein English was the native language, Li-chuan reported that in educational settings governed by American academic discipline, her vocabulary items were mostly derived from content learning materials, in which Li-chuan was unconsciously equipped to tackle specific reading matter in content areas. The vocabulary items were those that Li-chuan found useful and practical in many contexts outside the classroom; in turn, linguistic output reinforced input of the language since she could practically get involved in authentic interactions in real life.

In either oral communication or written correspondence, Li-chuan is disinclined to ferret out the word meaning as long as she could figure out the indication within. To date, Li-chuan still keeps in contact with the foreign friends through MSN she got acquainted with during those days. These youths were all college-level individuals from various nations such as Canada, Turkey, Japan, Korea, and Indonesia. On the whole, learning in rich, authentic contexts, was precious for Li-chuan's vocabulary learning. Her vocabulary learning motivation during this phase seemed to be integratively oriented.

Yu-ying

Frustration at the beginning

Attending Joy Language School after class twice a week was Yu-ying's initial experience of English learning when she was in the fifth grade at elementary school. Among average elementary educational institutions back in those days, English learning was not formally required in school curriculum, in that the English language was not set to be the learning objectives as well as the learning purposes for students under the seventh grade, to say nothing of evaluation of English learning for students at a public primary school. On a regular basis, many primary school pupils firstly study English at the cram school or popular language organizations. At the beginning, Yu-ying posed negative feelings about English due

to her perplexity in pronunciation of phonetic symbols as well as the difficulty she had in memorizing new words, which led to frustration, depression and unhappiness when it came to English tests and English language learning. The means via which phonetic symbols were instructed in the language school was K.K. phonetics, rather than phonics.

> *In addition to the alphabets, we had to memorize a lot of symbols of the "In-Biao" (K. K. phonetics system), which was confusing for me. I didn't know why I had to go through all that pain in learning all those. I did not do well with those "In-Biao" quizzes held at the beginning of each of the cram school class back then.* (Yu-ying)

The vocabulary learning strategy Yu-ying employed when she was a language learning beginner at junior high was to rigidly cram the words letter by letter into the head despite the fact that words learnt by such a strategy seemed to be easily forgotten. Neither the educational systems nor institutions such as cram schools provided these inexperienced language learners with certain concrete techniques or tactics for them to effectively absorb the vocabulary. As far as a 7th or 8th grader was concerned, reciting English words by rote appeared to be the one and only method that seemingly worked out then.

> *Each time before the end of class at the cram school the teacher reminded us to memorize the newly learned vocabulary after going home so as to prepare for the quiz that would be held in the next class. The cram school teacher often called my parents at home asking them to help check if I had memorized the words well. I usually recited the alphabets of a word many times, trying to remember it by heart: e.g. repeating w-a-t-e-r, w-a-t-e-r several times for the word water.* (Yu-ying)

Since English was one of the required subjects in high-school curriculum, Yu-ying started to take the learning of English more seriously. In addition, due to the pressure from her parents, Yu-ying's English-test performance was able to reach an average level; however, she found herself lack in learning motivation.

> *My parents kept saying that English is an important subject which will influence greatly the total score of my college entrance examination in the future. They emphasized that the money they had spent on my cram school classes should have the money's worth. However, I just couldn't seem to be fond of studying English at that time. The money spent on my after-school cram school classes didn't seem to be paying off.* (Yu-ying)

Break-through: Literature and culture

When studying at Huajiang Senior High School, Yu-ying was introduced by an English teacher to and thus got acquainted with a couple of literary works, such as Ann of Green Gables and Pride and Prejudice, the contents of which, according to her, were fascinating and intrigued her in spite of the fact that a great number of English words were unknown to her. Therefore, Chinese versions of those works served as a helper then. In the meantime, these literary works also opened up Yu-ying's mind to the western culture, which played a role that cannot be set aside in intensifying her English learning motivation henceforward. Since then, Yu-ying had been expecting to study abroad or to stay over there for a long period of time before she actually went to Sydney, Australia, during the summertime of 2005, even though she had a hard time adjusting to the foreign culture at the beginning.

> *In Sydney in Australia, I could hardly adjust myself to the foods, the high price, the diverse races, people's unfriendliness, or the shops' closing time around six p. m., etc. Everything was far different from my former impression of the Western countries through TV and the mass media. It confounded me.* (Yu-ying)

During senior high, both of Yu-ying's good academic English performance at school and her continual goal of studying abroad positively contributed to her autonomous learning of English and the increase of her English vocabulary. For instance, the self-studying of English magazines, such as *Let's Talk in English*, noticeably helped advance Yu-ying's listening competence and the accumulation of new English words and usage. This magazine was originally recommended by her junior-high English instructor; however, she had quite passive learning attitude during this period of time and did not actually have much contact with it. It was not until when Yu-ying entered senior high school that she started—of her own volition—reading those magazines.

> *The dialogue sections, the amusing contents and native speakers' genuine talks rather aroused my interest. I was very much inspired to read those magazines. I think it was helpful in enhancing my English knowledge, and my performance in tests made progress simultaneously.* (Yu-ying)

From then on, Yu-ying's "vigorous ambition" to have a good command of English increasingly evolved. She reported that being good at English even became her life time goal. For Yu-ying, such attitude toward English learning never descended a bit and still thrived to date.

Self-advancing to strive for perfection

> *The more I was in contact with English, the more I craved to ameliorate my insufficient English capacity. It seemed that there was always room left for improvement. I wanted to have a good command of English just as those native speakers do.* (Yu-ying)

In reality, there existed rare opportunities or real context for Yu-ying to practice spoken English skill notwithstanding her majoring at the Department of English Language and Literature at Soochow University; however, Yu-ying started to appreciate English literature at this time and took the initiative to promote her English capacity through coming into contact with some English newspapers, like China Post, or BBC broadcasting after class in her leisure time.

Yu-ying kept up her exuberant English learning even after she had finished her graduate school program (Department of Foreign languages and Literature). In year 2008, Yu-ying's TOEIC score reached 970, bordering on its full marks. While Yu-ying has been in the face of the dearth of opportunity or authentic linguistic contexts in everyday life to utilize the words she had obtained, Yu-ying found extensive reading of, e.g. the Times, immensely enhanced the quantity of her English vocabulary which in turn sharpened her reading skill.

Forming of study-group

The participants adopted a couple of approaches to tackle new incoming English words, such as Li-chuan's forming of a study group, gaining knowledge of words' roots, and scanning; Ya-ning's and Yu-ying's extensive reading (i.e. reading English novels and China Post); and Ya-ning's understanding and use of K.K. phonetic symbols together with word guessing or word-meaning inferred by means of the surrounding contexts.

> *We got together and spent one hour or so after school. During that time,*
>
> *English and Mandarin were alternately used during our discussions. This*
>
> *getting-together last for a couple of months and learning this way truly made my*
>
> *English better.* (Li-chuan)

Li-chuan presented a couple of her personal tips or advices on the learning of English vocabulary:

> *Taking notes of words' roots was the approach I utilized to help build up my*
> *vocabulary knowledge when I took the TOEFL course. At the beginning, it is better*

not to immediately consult the dictionary when running into unknown vocabulary. (Li-chuan)

Ya-ning

Influence of original novel reading

Ya-ning made it a habit of reading the original novels starting when she was studying at Sheng-Te college. The practitioners at this Christian College were either from the United States or the United Kingdom. She reported that she was influenced by British or American teachers' accent and their different choices of vocabulary sometimes. Gradually, Ya-ning came into contact with both British and American literature novels. Additionally, in Ya-ning's class, she noticed one diligent classmate who allotted a fair amount of time after class to read English-version novels at the library, where Ya-ning had a part-time job. This female classmate's after-class deed drew Ya-ning's attention and aroused her curiosity for the matter of novel-reading. Through this classmate's <u>recommendation,</u> Ya-ning read her very first English novel: Little Women. She then continued with <u>Pride and Prejudice</u>. Reading Little Women throughout took Ya-ning one full month of spare time. At first, reading novels was very time-consuming for Ya-ning, and a great deal of unknown vocabulary in the novels dampened her enthusiasm and interest in reading them.

> *I was rather frustrated and disappointed. Wondering about the reason why so many words or phrases were unfamiliar to me since I'd learnt English for years*
>
> *after all!* (Ya-ning)

Taking the advice from her classmate, Ya-ning tried to conquer her mental obstacle of depression or frustration when confronting too many unknown words. Tolerance for ambiguity and context cues expedited Ya-ning's progression in reading.

> *I was heedless of cramming one certain vocabulary in particular. Getting hold of the main idea of an essay or an article in the magazine surpasses the importance of knowing the meaning of one single word. Both the implementation of context cues and word-guessing strategies (e. g. the knowledge of word roots) helped me out not only in grasping the meaning of lengthy passages but also in shortening the time of making sense of journal articles in connection with my later graduate-school thesis, which was of commercial research areas.* (Ya-ning)

In addition to her reading effort ever since her college life at Sheng-te, Ya-ning carried on with her writing practice (there were two or three writing assignments weekly), which

sharpened her writing skill and, simultaneously, extended her English vocabulary. Teachers at school also enforced students' practice of implementing English-English dictionaries in searching for the meaning of unknown vocabulary for them to accustom to learning a more complex English word on the basis of other simpler English words. This was regarded, by Ya-ning, as one of the vocabulary learning strategies. In addition, Ya-ning referred to her valuing of pronunciation of words time and again, and she endeavored to disassemble a new word and pronounce the word prior to being aware of its meaning.

Enhancement of English ability for future career

Ya-ning has laid great stress on the practicality of the English language since college. In the second semester of the first school year at National Ilan Graduate School, Ya-ning contrived to enhance her English capacities so as to be well equipped with adequate language skills and meet some vocational requirements in the future, such as that of TOEIC. Ya-ning scored only 630 at the TOEIC test held in February 2008. Having been discouraged by this score; Ya-ning was determined to join in a series of cram-school learning courses related to the TOEIC test and was longing for the intensive training that might enable herself to reach the score of 750.

> *I took the TOEIC course at cram school not only for the sake of enhancing my English ability but also because I regarded English as my second tongue. I'd like English to be my personal second language; I hoped to have the ability to speak English well, which I like to be a specialty of my own.* (Ya-ning)

Regarding learning motivation, it seemed that Ya-ning's effort for the enhancement of her English ability was partially instrumentally oriented, viz. her personal career development. Several times during the interviews, Ya-ning clearly accentuated her overt intention of improving her English for a good and well-paid occupation.

As a graduate school student, Ya-ning made it a habit to read English magazines almost every week, such as the Times, in which some global affairs occurring at the moment could be found, and Ya-ning found it comparatively appealing to be aware of the materials relating to commerce and trade while reading the Times. She spent two hours at least a week at the school library, absorbed in the great diversity of business news presented in the international English magazines.

Jun-yao

As for Jun-yao, his interest, curiosity and eagerness for first-hand information of the NBA news along with wine-mixing knowledge contributed to his absorption of English and

vocabulary knowledge. Rather than aiming at studying abroad or deeming English as a tool for living, Jun-yao showed positive attitudes toward English learning ever since junior high, when he first came in contact with the English language. As opposed to managing to cram new English vocabulary into the head, Jun-yao found it easy to bear these words in mind by means of repetitive reading or constant contact with them.

> *I have learned much of my grammatical knowledge from the mechanical way of orally reciting the textbook's contents repeatedly, by way of which, I gradually grasped the gist or "a set formula" of some essentials; such as noun is followed by a verb in some cases and vice versa.* (Jun-yao)

Fascination of novelty

Jun-yao has been curious about anything novel or intriguing and devoting himself to it whole-heartedly. Jun-yao narrated such an attribute of his a couple of times.

> *I recall that I once picked up the wrapper of a box of crackers, attempting to check the English meaning of the information on it by means of using English dictionary.* (Jun-yao)

At junior high, unlike other subjects such as mathematics, chemistry, or physics, English was fun and interesting to Jun-yao. Early since senior high, Jun-yao initiated reading the China Post which was introduced by one English teacher. And Jun-yao has often found pleasure in knowing about novelties or new happenings. Reading basketball magazines such as "Slam" made him informative.

> *By telling people things that they don't know, I could sort of show off among my high-school peers, which was a feeling that I quite enjoyed. Similar to other ninth graders at the age of puberty, I looked up the unknown words when reading pornographic magazines like Penthouse and Playboy.* (Jun-yao)

When taking the Joint College Entrance Examination (also known as JCEE), in contrast to obtaining relatively low points on other subject matters, Jun-yao scored high on Mandarin as well as English courses and reached an average of 75 points per subject which allowed him to enter Shih Hsin University, majoring at the Department of Radio, TV and Film.

Interest in culture

Jun-yao has been to many countries, such as Japan, France, Tunisia, and Thailand. Jun-yao intended to experience and observe those local residents' way of life. As a consequence, in addition to English, he has learned a part of some other languages, such as Hakka (a dialect of

the Chinese language), Japanese and French in order to gain knowledge about their specific way of making a living in their respective culture.

> *I was delighted to associate with friends from diverse nationalities. I have been fond of getting myself immersed in different cultures, such as those of Japan, Frence, Thailand, and Tunisia, so as to see their day-to-day work and daily life... I've found one point: it is important to have frequent contact with certain culture and local residents if we want to learn one certain language well or increase the efficiency in learning vocabulary.* (Jun-yao)

Learning for work

Once Jun-yao was intrigued to know more about something, the curiosity or interest would precipitate his decision and involvement in achieving the goal. Jun-yao was full of curiosity, he was eager to know or to come into contact with what was novel and diverse, and such characteristic was deemed beneficial to his learning of English vocabulary. During Jun-yao's senior year at Shih Hsin University, fewer courses were required to take; therefore, he could spend most of his spare time at night working as a bartender. School work or professors' assignments were dealt with as his "sideline" in the final year at Shih Hsin. On the other hand, for the sake of gaining first-hand or the latest tidings on wine-mixing, Jun-yao bought the English version of a book entitled "The Bartender's Bible.", from which he learned a great deal of knowledge regarding bar culture. According to Jun-yao, this might be related to his promotion to the position of store keeper prior to his graduation from Shih Hsin University.

Summary

This section provides a summary of the main themes identified from the interview data.

Passive attitude at the beginning

Except for Jun-yao, the other three participants—Li-chuan, Yu-ying, and Ya-ning—in this study had negative and passive attitudes toward English/vocabulary learning in the early period of their contact with English learning. Back then their one and only vocabulary learning strategy was to cram English letters into their head and memorize English words by rote.

Extensive Reading

Three of the research participants, Li-chuan, Ya-ning and Yu-ying, reported that, for the most part, they gathered and expanded their English vocabulary knowledge by way of extensive reading. The phenomenon that these three participants volunteered to do extra-curricular reading while they were at school reflects their strong motivation to learn the language. Meanwhile, such vocabulary learning approach generated relatively less stress or anxiety due to the benefit of linguistic intake/input which was mainly based on their own interests. They owned the freedom to choose whatever topics or reading methods they liked. They reported that their English vocabulary was therefore enhanced.

Ya-ning, Yu-ying and Li-chuan all shared similar views that the more a learner reads, the more s/he will get in touch with the language and the easier s/he bears it in mind. Keeping in contact with natural English, through such things as English novels or specialized magazines, enhanced their English vocabulary and English knowledge. Furthermore, it helped to arouse their curiosity and activate their interest in English learning.

Ya-ning and Li-chuan have mentioned that another strength of extensive reading was its aid in providing meaningful connections or associations between each single word and its contexts. Taking novel reading for example, it provides rich contexts for them to be able to endure their learning aspiration. Consequently, they began to adopt positive and active attitudes toward English learning and learn to take the initiative.

Motive vs. English Capacity

Personal preferences also influenced the participants' interest in English learning. For example, Jun-yao reported his curiosity and eagerness for first-hand information of the NBA news and wine-mixing knowledge were the dominating factor for his contact with English vocabulary when he was a junior-high student. While Jun-yao's vocabulary knowledge gradually diminished after graduating from university due to work, he still held positive attitudes towards English learning as before. In the course of Jun-yao's English learning, he perceived that the learning of English vocabulary functions as a key factor in English knowledge extension.

Learner Automaticity

Undeniably, people learn a number of grammatical rules, sentence structures and patterns through imitation and repetition. However, the participants of this study showed minor difference in agreeing that studying new vocabulary words by rote consumes the most energy

and time, and that they did not always agree that memorizing words was useful. Furthermore, such means of memorizing words engenders little learning effects and incoming words slip easily away from memory. They rarely used rote-learning for English vocabulary; instead, they took the initiative to scan what they enjoyed and read some English articles, novels, or magazines without memorizing new word items intentionally. Ya-ning, Yu-ying and Jun-yao hoped to comprehend native speakers' expressions while watching English films and to comprehend English writings in magazines or lectures given by native English instructors. They made further efforts to check word meanings or adequate English usages in some specific settings to fittingly convey their ideas. As Cheng (2008) has claimed, technological advancement has made school education insufficient for students to excel nowadays. Therefore, self-directed learning may be a possible solution to empower learners to have control over their own learning. The factor of learner automaticity seems to be of great assistance to the participants' shift from their being initially negative in attitude about English/vocabulary learning to being automatic in learning at a later time.

Two Types of Motivation

According to the participants' English-learning experiences, outstanding academic performances and high scores on English tests or quizzes in school signify an identity of being a good, well-behaved student and a promising learner. Originally, the participants, except for Jun-yao, recalled that they felt passive, negative, unhappy, stressed, and confused with their English learning at the stage of elementary or junior-high school. Poor English grades brought about mental depression or physical punishment, which led to a vicious cycle. Apart from boring repetition or cramming by rote learning to enhance their word knowledge, no vocabulary learning strategy was taught, either from the school, parents, or the cram schools.

> *I just couldn't understand why I had to learn English. I resented having the homework from the cram school requiring my reciting English vocabulary letter-by-letter all the time... Sometimes I felt a little bit nervous when I had to go home with a poor English test grade from the cram school. How I wished that I didn't have to learn English. My neighbor—Chung-jen—didn't need to learn English, how lucky!* (Li-chuan)

In general, in the early period of their English learning, junior-high in particular, their instrumental motive could be identified, e. g. to attain better school performance and pass the

examination to enter an ideal school. Take Ya-ning for example, apart from reading English novels and some commercial magazines that aroused her interest, she actively signed up for courses in TOEIC for English improvement, in the hope of working for foreign corporations and obtaining a well-paid job following her completion of the graduate program at Ilan University.

As for Yu-ying, when asked about how she felt studying English after school in the cram school when she was in the fifth grade, she said that even though the native English instructor used simple English and spoke word-by-word, she perceived the learning of English vocabulary to be tedious. Yu-ying recollected that she felt bewildered and was even embarrassingly evading using English in communicating with the native English tutors. Such experience frustrated the then 12-year-old Yu-ying and she did not feel positive about her English performance at junior high, not to mention about how to memorize new English words.

Yu-ying found the English language intriguing by virtue of appreciating the beauty of English literature that was recommended by her senior-high English teacher. It thereupon sowed the seeds of Yu-ying's earnest wish—to study abroad. In the meantime, good performance on English tests at school during this period gave rise to her confidence, which yielded a real sense of achievement for her and inspired her to use or speak English. Namely, improved English grades enhanced Yu-ying's motivation to learn English. Since senior-high, Yu-ying's attitude to English learning was shifted to become more dynamic and active. The modification was also due to Yu-ying's notable English achievement at school. As a senior-high student, Yu-ying reported that she automatically learned English for obtaining good performance on tests and college entrance examination, as well as for the goal of studying abroad. It seems that both instrumental and integrative types of motivation could be identified in Yu-ying's English learning process during different stages.

Jun-yao's fascination of novelty, interest in culture, and his eagerness for first-hand information played an important role in his learning of English vocabulary. In addition, he often consulted an English dictionary for a better understanding of word meaning. Since he had a passion for basketball, he sought in-depth knowledge of one particular dimension of the target culture, e.g. the NBA stars' news. Jun-yao's English achievement at high school was as remarkable as his English learning motivation. Being a junior at Shih Hsin University, Jun-yao yearned to get the gist of wine-mixing techniques and to learn the names of all the various ingredients, for which he studied original references, such as an English book entitled

Wine-Mixing Bible. In Jun-yao's case, his English learning behaviour might be considered more integratively than instrumentally oriented.

Literature, Culture and Novelty

Li-chuan, Yu-ying and Jun-yao's study tour/experience in an English speaking country, Yu-ying and Ya-ning's reading literary works, and Jun-yao's interest in anything novel or intriguing all seem to have great influence on their learning of English vocabulary.

> *Learning about the latest knowledge or the so-called first-hand information could stimulate my curiosity to explore further, which gave rise to my delight. I fairly enjoyed in such an involvement of exploring new things.* (Jun-yao)

Parental/Social Influence

In the 80s, English learning was not required in average Taiwanese elementary schools' curriculums. With globalization, current contexts of English teaching have transformed, in that English has formally become a required subject for many elementary schools. For at least two decades, the majority of Taiwanese parents have been reflecting much upon the significance of developing their children's English skills. "The earlier, the better" is a common belief. A good English grade is commonly acknowledged as a token of excellent academic performance and a tool for well-paid occupations. In this study, Yu-ying represents a typical model. Her parents supported her and made arrangements for her to sign up for English classes at cram schools at the age of nine to ten so as not to fall behind at the so-called starting line, notwithstanding the fact that English is rarely used or heard in daily life. Back then, this young school pupil did not have a clear understanding of the reason for learning English or reciting English vocabulary.

> *Back then, I had no idea why I had to learn English. It was my parents who*
>
> *urged me to.* (Yu-ying)

The above mentioned case is not unique. The great majority of Taiwanese parents keep abreast with the tidal current—forcing children to learn English as early as possible; it seems to them that making early English-learning arrangement for children seems promising in enhancing primary-school pupils' English proficiency as well as their vocabulary storage.

Influence of Technology

The influence of the invention/innovation of electronic translator and the Internet upon the participants (such as Ya-ning's making use of Yahoo dictionary and the electronic dictionary, and Jun-yao's browsing NBA on the Internet) has been facilitative. By way of the above mentioned intermediaries, up-to-date news and knowledge seemed to efficiently and rapidly meet the diversity of personal requirements.

5. Limitations

There were a number of limitations for this study that should be mentioned. First, some minor factors regarding the participants' English learning may have been inquired into, such as (1) their actual (versus the oral information provided during the interviews) school learning outcomes during different educational phases; and (2) what their teachers' and classmates' impressions were about their English learning. Second, this study has relied solely on reported experiences, the researchers cannot verify these experiences through other methods or techniques. Third, this study involved only four participants, therefore, the data cannot be generalized beyond these four participants. Finally, the themes identified and inferences made were, to some extent, affected by the researchers' own background and experience.

6. Conclusions

This study aimed, by applying a qualitative research method, to explore a multiplicity of English vocabulary strategies that four participants have adopted throughout their various educational stages. At the same time, the investigation aimed to depict the driving force behind the participants' vocabulary learning. The four participants involved in this research have been engaged in English studying for years, and have consequently accumulated a large number of English words. A couple of habitual or personalized vocabulary learning strategies have gradually developed so as to effectively facilitate the participants' assimilation of new English words.

One way of their vocabulary learning seems to be conventional, in that tackling incoming word items could be accomplished by rote imitation and repetition, which is under the classification of cognitive strategy (Hedge, 2001). Apart from repetition and imitation of English words, phrases, and grammatical rules, this study found that the participants' converted distinctive vocabulary strategies in their personal English learning process and their learning motivation evolved as well. For example, Ya-ning's habit of reading English novels, Jun-yao's aspiration of first-hand information on the latest NBA news and fine skills for

wine-mixing, all indicate the diverse driving forces of English word accumulation. Furthermore, Ya-ning's implementation of context cues to grasp the gist of journals in increasing efficiency seems also related to the use of cognitive strategies (Oxford-Carpenter, 1989), in that connections and inferences were made to facilitate her learning.

Moreover, adopting an extensive reading approach, Ya-ning and Yu-ying's English word use gradually developed. As was reported by them, over a long period of time, they were, to some extent, able to discard inflexible vocabulary learning strategy (such as rote learning) and form a couple of other ones for absorbing English word knowledge on their own accord, and in turn, speak or write English more like a native speaker.

Based on the analysis of the interviews, three of the participants were found to gather and expand their breadth of English vocabulary knowledge by way of extensive reading to a great extent. The strengths of extensive reading seemed to be related to the aid of meaningful connections or associations between each single word and its contexts, the rich contexts (compensatory strategy in Oxford's definition) provided by novel-reading were said to be helpful to them for keeping their interest in learning English. Extensive reading, from a long-term point of view, helped to enhance these three participants' vocabulary knowledge and, in turn, maintain their English learning aspirations. They were able to take the initiative to scan whatever they enjoyed and read English articles, novels, or magazines without memorizing new word items intentionally. The following summarizes the major findings of the study regarding the participants' vocabulary learning strategies and source of motivation.

6.1 Efficacy of Extensive Reading

The positive effects exerting on the efficient expanding of English vocabulary via extensive reading were recognized and identified by most of the participants. In line with what Cheng (2009) has found, highly proficient students (as were the participants in this study) use deep strategies to discover a new word's meaning like guessing from the text and analyzing affixes and roots. Their high intrinsic motivation may have resulted in their actively obtaining other related knowledge.

6.2 Learner Motivation

Motivation, to a great extent, serves as a major role in these participants' attitudes and automaticity of English/vocabulary learning. Instrumental motivation has a commanding influence over the participants during their initial, junior-high school period of English learning; nevertheless, in the absence of effective and productive vocabulary strategy use in

different educational phases, participants' breakthrough or turning point with regard to English/vocabulary acquisition occurred while they gradually came into contact with Western culture or English/British literature reading. The participants even had the intention of studying abroad to experience in a foreign culture. Their English learning at this stage appeared to be somehow influenced by integrative orientations. It seems that the participants' instrumental motivation and integrative motivation subtly interweaved, alternately activating their English learning in addition to their vocabulary strategy use.

6.3 Parents' Expectation and Social Influence

According to the participants, during the phase of high school, curriculum-related achievements signaled their language learning competence. In addition to self-image, it also greatly affected the impressions and judgments from school teachers, peers, parents and relatives, influencing whether or not an adolescent was considered a decent and successful student.

6.4 Cultural Attraction

The factor of culture, mostly referred to western trends or fads especially among the youths, played an essential role in drawing the participants' attention and, in turn, enhanced their vocabulary learning motivation. It may range from Western classic literature to popular English lyrics and exciting sports contests, such as Jun-yao's craze for NBA, or Ya-ning's habit of reading English novels. In addition, Yu-ying appreciated American/Western cultures and was eager to have a native-like command of English. This seems to echo what Krashen (2003) has suggested that communication in learners' target language facilitates acquisition more than grammar and vocabulary drills.

6.5 Aid of Technology

Tools or vehicles for information exchange thrive around the globe nowadays. To some extent, multi-media, paper presentations along with various visual aids, of which the multidimensional substances are capable of catering for a great variety of learners' personal interests, preferences, as well as varied learning orientations, change and transform English learners' means of contacting with or learning English. In Taiwan's current EFL environment, English learners are confronted with the deficiency of genuine contexts and authentic chances or conditions to use and practice English. Persistent and steady accumulation of English vocabulary is looked upon as thorny yet vital task for average Taiwanese students. However,

by way of modern technology, up-to-date news and knowledge, and diversity of personal requirements could rapidly and efficiently be met; for instance, the participants in this study became exposed to an enormous number of words, phrases, idioms, technical terms and the like, through the use of modern multi-media and channels, which meanwhile furnished them with an atmosphere and environment of joyfulness and flexibility.

6.6 Use of Dictionary

The four participants benefited from the use of a dictionary, from Chinese-English dictionaries at initial stages proceeding to the efficient employment of English-English dictionaries. Take Li-chuan for instance, she consulted dictionaries as the last resort in order to comprehend precise and definite meaning of unknown words. Ya-ning's exploration of (Chinese-English) dictionaries commenced from when she began studying English at junior high. In the context of vocabulary learning, dictionary use may be added in as an important classroom and personal resource (Hedge, 2001; Prichard, 2008). With growing interest in self-support learning strategies, dictionaries have come into focus, which provides an anchor for accuracy which benefits a learner's depth of vocabulary knowledge.

7. Implications

In application, teachers should take advantage of different strategies and classroom activities to teach vocabulary. Appropriate means for English instructors to enhance learners' performance and attitudes may be in the form of arranging study group in class as Li-chuan has experienced at senior-high school. This seems to be in line with what previous studies (Ghaith, 2003; Han, 2009; Lin, 2010; Yang, 2004) have revealed about the positive effects of cooperative learning or learning together in bringing about mutual advantages through interaction between group members. In addition, the concept of social interaction (Cheng, 2012; Lubliner et al., 2008) has emphasized that stronger learners inspire weaker learners in a collaborative platform, and that learners' cognitive development is stimulated through collaborative work among learners, which enhances individuals' original ability.

Next, reading some English articles on the basis of individual preferences could be flexibly assigned as part of homework. In addition, instructors may show learners a couple of reading strategies, such as scanning suggested by Li-chuan, to lessen students' fear or anxiety in reading English articles or in the face of new English vocabulary. It seems that one of the main difficulties reported by the participants was their unfamiliarity with language learning

strategies (as was the case in Chung's 2002 study). As Zamel (1983) has presumed, good strategies need to be introduced to less competent learners to help them focus.

In addition, learners may be advised to be moderately tolerant of ambiguity in dealing with confusing facts and events. As Brown (2000) has claimed, successful language learning requires tolerance of ambiguity at temporary stages in order for ambiguous items to become resolved over time. The acceptance of confusing situations may be related to the willingness to take risks and also the reduction of both inhibition and anxiety (Oxford, 1990). Learners (such as Ya-ning's case in this study) who are moderately tolerant of ambiguity tend to be open-minded in dealing with confusing facts and events, which can be of great assistance in the learning of a new language.

Exposing students to target culture and literature seems to have motivated the participants in this study a great deal in their English learning. This is in line with previous studies (Brown, 2000; Fleet, 2006; Lin, 2001) stressing the importance and benefits of cultural teaching in motivating students to learn, allowing them to gain authentic and practical language instruction, as well as socio-cultural knowledge of the target group. In teaching culture, videos, novels and literature (as in our participants' cases), culture assimilators, culture capsules, and visual aids and so on, may be very useful.

As was pointed out by one of the participants in this study, as well as Lin and Warden (1998), due to poor grades on English examinations, some students have experienced physical punishment by teachers and/or their parents. While the situation has improved to a certain extent, physical punishment due to poor English performance is still being practiced in some educational settings. Special attention should be paid to avoid the above mentioned situation so that learners would feel less depressed or negative about English learning.

Among the important issues raised by the participants was their lack of confidence during their initial stages of English learning. As Lee (2000) has suggested, emphasis on enhancement of learning motivation of elementary school pupils (who are usually unaware of the usefulness/purpose of English) is of paramount importance, since it may enhance their future learning interest in the target language. Another study (Lin, 2001) has also suggested that in order to arouse students' learning aspiration, opportunities should be created for students to achieve good performance during the initial learning stages. Interest in learning a second language may be negatively affected if students get frustrated all the time. In creating opportunities for students to succeed, it may be practical for teachers to assign meaningful homework that is reasonable both in amount and level of difficulty.

Motivation plus continual pursuit of English knowledge seemed to serve as important factors which facilitate the participants in English learning. It seems that what matters are their learning attitudes, behaviors as well as confidence and enthusiasm rather than obtaining rigid instruction without flexibility in, among others, reading topics/materials or personal time arrangement. Their long-term English learning/acquisition, hence, seems to be related to learning motivation which encouraged their automatic attitudes towards English learning, advanced their English studying, and simultaneously broadened their English vocabulary horizon. Similar to what Cheng's study (2008) has revealed, Taiwanese EFL teachers might try to incorporate self-directed learning into their teaching to benefit English learners.

Lastly, dictionary is a very obtainable tool and its use could be advised as an aid to language learning. In addition to its help with spelling and word meanings, being able to use a dictionary effectively and regularly is a practical way to improve language learners' breadth and depth of vocabulary knowledge. As Prichard (2008) asserted, encouraging dictionary use may more efficiently improve language learners' reading comprehension and vocabulary bank. Nowadays, advances in technology have brought about a striking impact on the methods of dictionary use, utilizing new technologies such as handheld electronic dictionaries and online dictionaries have improved the efficacy of dictionary use.

8. Further Research

In this study, the factors of participants' age, gender and educational background have not been considered so as not to obscure the foci—EFL students' motivation together with English vocabulary strategy use; however, these factors remain significant and should be studied further. This study has investigated only the perspective of more successful English learners. Future studies might take less successful learners into account for comparison. A deeper inquiry of the complex interrelations involving the above mentioned factors would help enrich this investigation and broaden understanding of motivation and language learning strategies.

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Appendix: Main Questions for the Interview

1. Since when have you begun to learn the English language (including English alphabets, the phonetic symbols, or basic English conversation)? Please reflect on how much you liked English the time when you first started learning it. Please describe your feelings toward English (word) learning at that time. Clarify your points, please.

2. Did you actively try to find out more about a new English vocabulary outside of the classroom, or even take extra time and efforts to get to know its different meanings or forms? In what ways?

3. Apart from the English courses you've taken, including cram/language school or personal tutoring, have you ever taken any chances to communicate or correspond (using such as E-mail or MSN, etc.) in English with native English speakers? How often have you been in correspondence with them? Please briefly introduce the foreign partner(s), such as their nationality (the place or country s/he comes from), their educational background and the like. In addition, please describe how you felt about the use of English at the time. How did such means enhance your vocabulary knowledge? And how did it affect your English ability, your performance at school, and your attitude towards English learning?

4. What tactics did you use to memorize English vocabulary while reading English texts, English novels or magazines/journals? What did you usually do once you didn't realize the exact meaning of a word?

5. Talk about the reasons why you liked to learn or improve your English? What were the reasons that you were engaged in the learning of English? What were your attitudes toward English vocabulary learning when you were at junior/senior high school, in university and at graduate school?

"It is very hard for teachers to make changes to policies that have become so solidified":
Teacher resistance at corporate eikaiwa franchises in Japan

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Abstract

This qualitative survey study investigates the phenomenon of *teacher resistance* among Japanese bilingual (JB) and English native speaker (ENS) teachers at franchised *eikaiwa gakko* (English conversation schools), a significant venue of language teaching in Japan. Resistance is depicted in terms of the avenues through which participants attempted to subvert or avoid aspects of *eikaiwa* teaching that they found objectionable or unsatisfactory. Furthermore, the implications of participants' actions for the disruption or perpetuation of corporate *eikaiwa* franchises' problematic ideological tenets are discussed. The factors that catalyzed instances of resistance included profit-centric company policies, social isolation, unfulfilling teacher roles and workplace environment. Resistance was enacted through furtive forms such as feigned ignorance and false compliance as well as attempts to directly amend policies through official channels. Generally, ENS teachers enjoyed privileged access to these means of resistance due to their exemption from social pressures and business obligations to which JB teachers were held accountable. Overall, respondents' resistance resulted in isolated disruptions of corporate franchises' profit-making schemes but culminated in few substantive or enduring changes to their policies and practices.

Introduction

Eikaiwa gakko (English conversation schools) are a commonly attended venue of language teaching in Japan. Generally, *eikaiwa* study is defined as "learning English conversation in Japan outside of formal educational institutions" (Kubota, 2011a, p. 474). *Eikaiwa gakko* typically enroll diverse populations of students, including adolescents and teenagers who attend conversation classes to supplement their English instruction at school (Hawley-Nagatomo, 2013), housewives and retirees who study for intellectual stimulation or pleasurable socialization (Kubota, 2011a), and business professionals seeking certification of English proficiency as reflected in standardized exam scores (Kubota, 2011b). *Eikaiwa* teaching methods are often centered on facilitating opportunities for students to speak English in a relaxed atmosphere; they rarely involve the assessment of proficiency through conventional measures such as tests or the enforcement of attendance policies. As such, students' continued participation is dependant on the preservation of their motivation to study English conversation.

There are several strata of *eikaiwa gakko*, including programs run by small private businesses, non-profit organizations, and self-organized groups (Kubota, 2011a). The focus of this paper, however, is *corporate eikaiwa franchises*, which are defined as widely known companies with branch schools in operation throughout Japan under policies and practices set at the executive level. Drawing on qualitative data obtained from open-ended survey questionnaires, I investigate the experiences and perceptions of Japanese bilingual (n=2) and English native speaker (n=5) teachers at corporate *eikaiwa* franchises. My analysis focuses on the phenomenon of *teacher resistance*, an under-researched dimension of the *eikaiwa* paradigm, at the micro level of participants' immediate experiences (i.e., the avenues through which they attempted to alter, avoid or otherwise deal with objectionable or unsatisfactory aspects of their *eikaiwa* teaching) and the macro level of contested cultural reproduction (i.e., the implications of participants' actions, or lack thereof, for the disruption or perpetuation of the implicit social and pedagogical ideologies in which *eikaiwa* franchises are situated). In other words, I comment on the extent to which respondents' reported actions challenged or reinforced socially inscribed beliefs about ideal language teachers, the purposes, benefits, and optimal means of language learning, and so on. Furthermore, I explicate problematic concerns that arise from participants' reported outcomes of resistance. Prior to elaborating on the method of data collection employed in the present study, I review relevant literature in order to establish the importance of teacher-centric research on resistance in *eikaiwa* contexts.

Literature Review

Significance and Characteristics of *Eikaiwa* Franchises in Japan

Dating back to the early 1960s, corporate *eikaiwa* franchises demonstrated sustained growth over the course of subsequent decades (Bailey, 2006; Takahashi, 2013) and remain a popular medium of English learning in contemporary Japan despite an erosion of public confidence following the 2007 collapse of NOVA, the largest chain of conversation schools, amidst allegations of financial misconduct and questionable business practices (Budmar, 2011). While GEOS, another major company, declared bankruptcy in 2010, two nationwide franchises (AEON and ECC) and numerous midsized franchises (e.g. GABA and Berlitz) remain in operation as of this writing.

Because *eikaiwa* franchises are private corporations, their exact enrollment statistics are not available to the general public. However, the AEON website states that "current student enrollment exceeds 100,000 in more than 300 branch schools located within every prefecture of Japan" ("Welcome to the AEON corporation," n.d), while the ECC site asserts that the company has achieved a "student/customer base of close to 380,000" and operates "more than 150 campuses throughout Japan" ("About ECC," 2008). As these figures suggest, *eikaiwa* businesses comprise a lucrative industry -Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (2006) reports that they generated the equivalent of approximately 1.7 billion US dollars in 2005 (cited in Kubota, 2011b).

Eikaiwa corporations are typified by their high profile marketing campaigns and their decidedly profit-driven and native speaker-centric modes of language teaching. Through the saturation of popular media outlets, *eikaiwa* franchises promote the benefits of learning English for leisure or career advancement (Bailey, 2006; Kubota, 2011a, 2011b). A major marketing tool of these corporations is the opportunity to converse with English native speaker (hereafter ENS) teachers, who are usually recruited from what Kachru (1985) termed "inner circle" countries (i.e., nations such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, where prestigious varieties of English are commonly spoken as native languages). However, some franchises also hire Japanese bilingual (hereafter JB) instructors to teach beginner, intermediate and test preparation courses. Though the division of labor between JB and ENS *eikaiwa* teachers and associated issues of professional identity construction are under-investigated topics that fall for the most part beyond the purview of the present study, numerous comments on the collaborative dynamics of their work, and particularly the delegation of business-related responsibilities, are presented below.

Upon enrolling in corporate *eikaiwa* schools, students typically pay upfront for a predetermined number of weekly or biweekly lessons as well as enrollment fees and instructional materials (Kubota, 2011a). The table below demonstrates a sampling of *eikaiwa* lesson fees in Japanese Yen (JPY) and US Dollars (USD) as displayed on franchises' websites.

Table 1

Eikaiwa franchise lesson fees

Company	Lesson Type/Duration	Cost per lesson in JPY/USD (0.92 JPY=1 USD)
AEON	Small group lesson/50 min	7008.75/76.07
ECC	Private lesson/80 min	16274/176.64
GABA	Private lesson/40 min	5000/54.27
Berlitz	Small group lesson/40 min	3675/39.89

Like the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program, which recruits ENS to serve as assistant language teachers in Japan's primary and secondary school classrooms, *eikaiwa* franchises typically establish lax qualification requirements for prospective instructors (Lai, 1999). A bachelor's degree in any field is the baseline criteria for employment, and recruitment efforts tend to target young, open-minded and adventurous individuals rather than experienced second or foreign language teachers. For example, AEON's application information webpage states that teaching for the company requires "dedication, cultural flexibility, organization, respect, creativity, enthusiasm and professionalism" while subsequently mentioning that "Japanese language ability and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching experience are very helpful, but not mandatory" ("Application Requirements," n.d). Likewise, the AEON and ECC websites assert that Japanese bilingual applicants are not required to possess formal language teaching qualifications, as the only prerequisites for employment are baseline standardized test scores and the successful completion of an oral interview. While new ENS and JB hires typically undergo intensive training sessions conducted over brief periods (one week in the case of AEON), it is unlikely that sufficient teaching expertise can be cultivated within such timeframes, especially among those individuals with no prior experience.

Critiques of *Eikaiwa Gakko*

Most studies within the body of research on the *eikaiwa* paradigm of language learning have focused on ideological critique; *eikaiwa gakko* are posited as instantiations of the broader social fetishization of whiteness and native English in Japan (Kubota, 2011a). It is argued that, by importing native teachers and, in some cases, adopting monolingual-normative, "English only" instructional policies, *eikaiwa gakko* both reinforce and commoditize the privileged position of English native speakers in global hierarchies of power and prestige (Kubota, 2011a).

Eikaiwa corporations' marketing materials have also been critiqued for their exploitation of *akogare*: longing (typically that of women) for white men, who are discursively constructed as courteous gentlemen and a means of escape from an oppressively male-dominated society (Appleby, 2013; Bailey, 2006; Kelsky, 2001; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). Capitalizing on images of foreigners with blond hair, blue eyes, or other stereotypically exotic features in order to evoke women's yearning for the compassionate and chivalrous archetype of masculinity they supposedly represent, *eikaiwa* advertisements consistently present "desirable characteristics of the successful English teacher … in terms of gender, race, and looks" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 65). Similarly, Appleby (2013) contended that discourses of masculinity and heterosexuality in *eikaiwa* contexts blur boundaries between "the pedagogical and the sexual" via the implicit eroticization of the relationship between teachers and students (p.122). The author further argued that this conflation sometimes positioned white male *eikaiwa* teachers into the role of an "embodied racial stereotype" (p.134). As a result, these teachers often felt that they were unable to establish themselves as qualified and capable professionals because their employers continually emphasized their physical appearance and other superficial aspects of their teacher identities.

In contrast to the fairly extensive body of work on issues surrounding ENS teachers in Japan, the experiences and perceptions of JB teachers at *eikaiwa* franchises have received far less attention. This disparity may be attributable to the fact that not all *eikaiwa* corporations hire JB instructors; companies such as GABA and GEOS employ Japanese staff only in managerial or clerical positions. The dearth of literature on this topic notwithstanding, the abovementioned tendency for JB *eikaiwa* teachers to be assigned lower level and test preparation courses suggests that they are positioned as "near peer role models" (i.e., figures who are simultaneously inspirational for having realized noteworthy accomplishments and relatable in that they share cultural characteristics with students) (Murphey, 1996). Whereas

ENS teachers are placed into exoticized "foreigner" roles, JB teachers function as familiar exemplars of successful language learning.

Additionally, corporate *eikaiwa* workplaces can be viewed as communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger 1998) - groups of individuals whose professional development is fostered by the sharing of knowledge and experience among its members. Though community members typically have mutual aims or interests, they rarely occupy equal positions. In this regard, Wenger (1998) contended that communities of practice "are not havens of peace and their evolution involves politics of both participation and reification" (p. 101). Hence, in *eikaiwa* communities, the involvement of JB and ENS instructors is characterized by shifting hierarchies of full participation and "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 29), the latter being defined as practice which approximates but is in some sense held in lower regard than the former.

As discussed above, the legitimacy of JB *eikaiwa* teachers is constructed in terms of their firsthand experience with learning English and their achievement of various goals commonly held by Japanese *eikaiwa* students, including high levels of conversational fluency, standardized test scores, or study abroad experiences. While it would seem logical for JB teachers to be positioned favorably in their workplace communities on the basis of their unique capacities to understand pressures and difficulties commonly experienced by Japanese learners, *eikaiwa* corporations' near-exclusive focus on ENS teachers in their marketing materials (Bailey, 2006; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Takahashi, 2013) and monolingual-normative orientations to language teaching (Kubota, 2011a) push JB instructors to the periphery, at least as far as social prestige is concerned. Yet, in being entrusted with preparation courses for high stakes standardized tests such as university entrance exams and the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC), JB teachers are tangentially acknowledged as cultural insiders with relevant expertise.

For ENS teachers, the inverse relationship between legitimacy and peripherality applies: they are often awarded socially prestigious positions because they exhibit characteristics of physical appearance and personality in keeping with idealized, eroticized and commercialized images of desirable teachers (Lai, 1999; Takahashi, 2013). However, the consequence of being privileged as an exotic outsider, as Appleby (2013) argued and participant testimony in the present study further supports, is that ENS teachers' attempts to inhabit more substantive and fulfilling roles based on pedagogical skill or knowledge of Japanese culture are hampered or even thwarted outright by the workplace culture of *eikaiwa* corporations.

Finally, researchers have investigated the motivations and experiences of *eikaiwa* students, including those who learn language as a form of "leisure and consumption" (Kubota, 2011a, p. 474) and those whose study is influenced by the societal assumption that "developing English skills … increases individual economic returns" (Kubota, 2011b, p. 248) As many of the *eikaiwa* lessons that Kubota (2011a) observed eschewed arduous work such as memorization or sustained practice in favor of sociable conversations in a community atmosphere, the author argued that the primary functions of some *eikaiwa* students' language learning are "self-fulfillment, self-actualization, and socializing through an experience in an imagined exotic space removed from daily life" (pp. 474-475). Takahashi (2013) made a similar contention in attributing the enduring commercial success of *eikaiwa gakko* to "their ability to provide what school English education could not offer: small classes, native speaker teachers, conversation-based teaching methods and flexible timetables" (p. 9); to this I would add that the low-pressure environments of *eikaiwa* lessons likely constitute an appealing alternative to the highly competitive, test-centric modes of English instruction prevalent in formal educational venues in Japan.

The Need for Further Teacher-Centric *Eikaiwa* Research

While the overarching ideologies of the *eikaiwa* paradigm have been critiqued and several case studies of students' experiences have been conducted, there is a relative scarcity of research on the experiences of JB and ENS *eikaiwa* teachers. As Hawley-Nagatomo (2013) explained, "one reason why there is little research conducted in the *eikaiwa* context may be because most *eikaiwa* teachers are not academics engaging in and writing up empirical research" (p. 3).

Though the aforementioned tendency of *eikaiwa* franchses to hire inexperienced teachers does indeed give justifiable cause for suspicion about the quality of instruction they offer, it cannot be assumed that *eikaiwa* teachers are uniformly unskilled or unwilling to cultivate their pedagogical repertoires. In this respect, researchers have begun to question prominent perceptions of *eikaiwa* teaching as a transitory profession: Hawley-Nagatomo (2013) noted that numerous individuals have made long-term or permanent careers of the vocation, while four of the participants in the present study maintained their respective *eikaiwa* teaching positions for three years or longer.

Moreover, due to the continued prevalence of corporate *eikaiwa* franchises as venues of English study in Japan, there is a need to more fully understand the contextualized actions and perceptions of agentive individuals teaching amid the larger sociocultural dynamics of

eikaiwa gakko. Within the broader paucity of research on *eikaiwa* teachers, there is a particular need for work that foregrounds the concept of resistance, as I seek to establish in the following section.

Research on Teacher Resistance

Starr (2011) noted that the term "resistance" tends to carry negative connotations in common parlance, "usually [referring] to 'negative' actions and non-action, ill will and resentment, and defensive or confrontational dispositions" (p. 647). In many domains of scholarly work, however, instances of resistance are conceived of not as mere manifestations of obstinate or petulant behavior, but rather as purposeful acts of defiance aimed at "[challenging] or [disrupting] prevailing power relations and the norms that sustain and reproduce them" (Bordo, 1993, p. 199). Accordingly, resistance can be understandable and even commendable when it seeks to impede or sabotage larger systems of discrimination, corruption, or injustice (Starr, 2011).

Though research conducted in this vein often focuses on resistance as exhibited by students, particularly to those aspects of schooling that perpetuate their disadvantageous positioning within existent hegemonic social structures (e.g. Canagarajah, 1997; Kanpol, 1994), there have been numerous studies of teachers' resistance to their employment conditions. Such research typically addresses teachers' *objects of resistance*—morally objectionable or frustrating aspects of their teaching duties—and *means of resistance*—the actions or strategies used in their attempts to subvert or avoid unwelcome obligations. To cite but a few illustrative examples, Lin's (2004) study of school teachers in Hong Kong found that their objects of resistance included increasingly larger class sizes and intensified workloads, which they felt reduced the act of teaching to a perfunctory process of marking errors and performing mandated routines. In discussing the experiences of a Korean secondary school instructor, Kim (2011) demonstrated several means of resistance, including the alteration of lesson plans and adoption of certain behaviors during observations in order to construct facades of compliance with supervisors' expectations. The often-surreptitious nature of resistance was also noted by Canagarajah (1997), who emphasized its manifestation in forms such as "feigned ignorance, false compliance, foot dragging, and mimicry" (p. 189), and Starr (2011), who stressed that "resistance is exercised in myriad overt and covert ways" (p. 656).

Also relevant to the present study is Weiler's (2009) warning that facile invocations of resistance can result in the construction of static binary distinctions between oppressor and

oppressed, whereas actual instances of resistance occur within "complex and overlapping relationships of domination and oppression" (p. 233) This point is of distinct significance to discussions of *eikaiwa* contexts, which upon initial consideration appear to be instantiations of student and teacher privilege rather than marginalization: most *eikaiwa* students study voluntarily and possess sufficient wealth to enroll in courses (Kubota, 2011a), while many ENS teachers are granted access to *eikaiwa* employment opportunities by virtue of their age, nationality, and native speaker status rather than teaching qualifications (Lai, 1999; Piller & Takahashi, 2006).

As succeeding sections seek to establish, however, manifestations of teacher and student privilege in corporate *eikaiwa* contexts are often counterbalanced by their mutual subjugation to the supremacy of profit-seeking imperatives. The experiences of ENS instructors in particular are frequently shaped by interactions and contradictions among the numerous forms of privilege they are afforded and the corporate commoditizations of *native speakerism* and *akogare* through which they are marginalized (as will be discussed in greater detail below). Teacher resistance in corporate *eikaiwa*, therefore, might seek out systems wherein instructors and students autonomously negotiate to determine acceptable principles and practices of English instruction rather than reenact roles and routines prescribed primarily to pursue financial gain.

Regarding research applications, scholars have indicated that the depiction and interpretation of resistance entails several challenges: Arnowitz and Giroux (1985) emphasize the need to distinguish between resistance, which connotes a conscious or unconscious attempt to challenge hegemonic values, and what they term oppositional behavior, through which individuals merely express unwillingness to comply with requested or required components of classroom procedure. McLaren (2009) furthermore cautioned that resistance, whether blatant or covert, is a not a phenomenon to be indiscriminately romanticized, as those who practice it may "implicate themselves even further in their own domination" (p. 78). When appraising a given instance of resistance, therefore, there is a need to carefully scrutinize its nature and consequences.

Despite these concerns, the concept of resistance is of great potential value for illuminating the intersections among structuring social discourses and individual agency in *eikaiwa* teachers' context-specific experiences: Pennycook (2001) contended that, as an interpretive lens, resistance enables researchers to consider "ways in which people are not mere respondents to the dictates of social structure and ideology but rather are social actors who also resist sites of oppression," (p. 65). Research on teacher resistance in corporate

eikaiwa franchises can therefore supplement critiques of the ideologies manifested in *eikaiwa's* broad instructional paradigms by exploring how individuals are engaged in the subversion or reproduction of those ideologies on local levels. Furthermore, research on workplace practices in *eikaiwa* contexts can in and of itself constitute a form of resistance (Brown & Strega, 2005) in that it strives to raise awareness of particular teachers' struggles to oppose systems of hegemony as manifested in corporatized discourses of native speakerism.

Method

I sought to investigate the phenomenon of teacher resistance in corporate *eikaiwa* contexts by surveying current and former JB (n=2) and ENS (n=5) *eikaiwa* instructors via email or the Qualtrics survey website. After providing their signatures on informed consent forms, respondents answered open-ended questions that elicited the nature of their *eikaiwa* teaching duties, satisfactory and unsatisfactory dimensions of their experiences, and the ways in which they attempted to deal with the latter (see Appendix A). As a research tool, open-ended survey questions were suited to my purpose of illuminating individuals' situated means of enacting resistance in specific circumstances rather than establishing statistical trends. In essence, I conducted a series of intrinsic case studies (Stake, 1995) that do not seek to generalize beyond the boundaries of the particular cases described. I do, however, make petite generalizations (Stake, 1995) about commonalities of working practice among the cases in hopes of offering insights that can serve as points of comparison and contrast for future research on *eikaiwa* contexts.

Initial completion of surveys took place from June 18 to July 9, 2012. I subsequently contacted participants via email in order to request elaboration on previous statements and ask follow-up questions.   This approach resulted in prolonged and detailed, albeit asynchronous, discussions of their experiences and perspectives. Survey responses were coded recursively as themes emerged from the data set.

Participants were located using a convenience sampling method: I contacted acquaintances from a previous period of employment in Japan and requested that they suggest qualified participants. Table 2 shows an overview of the participants' demographic information and *eikaiwa* employment histories.

Table 2

Eikaiwa teacher participants

Name	Nationality	*Eikaiwa* employer	Length of employment
Greg (M)	United States	SPEAK	1 year
Ray (M)	New Zealand	SPEAK;	1 year;
		HOME	1 year
Bill (M)	United States	STAR	1 year
Matthew (M)	United States	STAR (two terms)	1 year 5 months;
			4 years 6 months
Tony (M)	United States	STAR	10 years 4 months*
Miyuki (F)	Japan	STAR	5 years 5 months
Hanako (F)	Japan	STAR	3 years 5 months

Note: all individual and company names are pseudonyms. F= female, M= male. *Employment is ongoing.   Length of employment was calculated in February 2013.

Results

The presentation of findings begins with brief descriptions of the duties that participants were expected to perform at *eikaiwa* franchises. Subsequent sections addresses instances of teacher resistance by grouping data into three overarching categories and numerous component subcategories, each of which was coded recursively as themes emerged from the data set: *objects of resistance*, *means of resistance* (see definitions above) and *outcomes of resistance*, defined as participants' reported results of their efforts and the ramifications they carried for the individuals involved. The Results section is primarily focused on participants' immediate experiences, whereas the implications of participants' resistance for macro-level issues of cultural reproduction are addressed in the Discussion section.

Participants' Duties at *Eikaiwa* Franchises

Participants described their responsibilities at *eikaiwa* franchises in terms of teaching and business-related tasks. In addition to preparing and teaching daily lessons, most participants were obliged to conduct interviews with prospective students, counsel current students to renew their contracts by recommending suitable courses of future study, and sell students supplementary study materials. Table 3 below displays the participants' most commonly reported teaching duties, though it should be noted that the frequency with which various duties were reported may not reflect the regularity with which they were actually performed,

as participants may have provided incomplete accounts of their teaching responsibilities when completing the survey.

Table 3

Duties reported by participants

Task	Number of participants who reported performing this task (from a total of 7)
Teaching daily English conversation lessons	7
Interviewing prospective students	4
Counseling students to renew contracts	4
Attending periodic training sessions	4
Selling students supplementary study materials	4
Designing lesson materials	2
Participating in casual "lobby talk" with students between lessons	2

Objects of resistance

The following categories emerged from participants' commentaries on aspects of *eikaiwa* teaching they found frustrating, disagreeable, or unsatisfactory: profit-centric company policies, social isolation, objectionable or unfulfilling teacher roles, and workplace environment.

Profit-centric company policies

Participants cited *eikaiwa* franchises' prioritization of profit as a major source of discontent in that it compromised the effectiveness of their teaching and necessitated unwelcome and anxiety-raising sales tasks. Bill, a former teacher at STAR, referenced the penchant of his school's management staff to "sell the most expensive courses and materials to new and returning students" with the result that students were frequently placed in courses above or below their ability levels. An additional consequence of this sales tactic was that teachers were often faced with the task of accommodating learners of markedly different proficiencies within a single class. Bill further lamented that "despite constant attempts to inform the management that placing students at the wrong level disrupted classes for the teachers and other students alike, the only thing they were interested [in] was meeting the monthly financial quota."

Another ex-employee of STAR, Matthew, echoed Bill's complaints, stating that management staff at his branch "focused on increasing the amount of revenue they could get

from a student instead of satisfying the student's needs as an English pupil." Matthew and Hanako expressed particular reservations about STAR's biannual self-study sales campaigns, during which teachers were expected to sell supplementary materials to students. Matthew related that, while he agreed in principle with encouraging students to engage in additional, self-directed study, he felt the materials were "grossly overpriced" and took exception to the incorporation of sales duties into his responsibilities as a teacher: "Rather than us teachers, the company should have hired sales professionals that would have been more proficient in demonstrating and selling products to our students. *Eikaiwa* teachers are not the same as cell phone salesmen or car salesmen."

Hanako was even more pessimistic in her appraisal of STAR's self-study materials, remarking that "students did not need them" and expressing her belief that the only purpose of the biannual campaigns was to meet financial targets.

Though Tony came to develop positive attitudes toward the *eikaiwa* paradigm of language teaching in the course of his ongoing employment at STAR, he nonetheless remarked that business obligations were a source of dissatisfaction in the early portions of his teaching career. Tony explained that his discontent arose in response to receiving insufficient information at the beginning of his tenure with STAR about how business concerns would influence his teaching duties. As such, Tony was "shocked" when his branch manager asked him to perform tasks such as counseling students to renew to their contracts four to five months prior to the expiration of their present contracts or advising students who had been attending their current classes for as few as two weeks to change to more expensive courses.

Social isolation

One participant, Greg, resisted policies that restricted opportunities for socialization between teachers and students outside of the workplace. Greg's former employer SPEAK strictly prohibited all manners of extracurricular interaction between teachers and students; he attributed this rule to the company's concerns about "both legal responsibility and reputation as well as not wanting to jeopardize financial possibility" (i.e., the fear that students would no longer pay for classes if they could access their teachers outside of SPEAK). Greg, who identifies as a gay male, furthermore related that the company reacted with swift and strong action when it was discovered that he had developed a platonic relationship with a female student:

My job was threatened and I was moved to another school once the … school director

got wind of it. It was funny because when one of the *gaijin* [foreigner] trainers called

me to first confront me about it he said that he had heard I was making unwanted sexual advances against a female student and I was like, 'Dude, I'm gay!'

This narrative evokes the rigidity of SPEAK's directive that contact between teachers and students be restricted to lessons that students had purchased in order to prevent inappropriate relationships but also ensure that access to ENS remained a profitable company resource. Additionally, Greg's ironic use of the term gaijin, a Japanese word for "foreigner" that can carry derogatory connotations, to refer to another non-Japanese employee intimates the alienation he felt as an ENS being held at a distance from domains of social interaction beyond the regimented confines of his classes.

Objectionable or unfulfilling teacher roles

Participants also felt that their roles and duties as *eikaiwa* teachers included disagreeable or demeaning components, some of which are extensions of the profit-centric policies previously addressed. Bill remarked that STAR's codes governing employees' dress and appearance, in combination with a policy that forbade ENS instructors from speaking Japanese on company grounds, served to pigeonhole him into a reductive and depersonalized "foreigner" image. Guidelines requiring instructors to "wear light colored suits ... [with] conservative ties and have clean-cut hair" led Bill to conclude that "*eikaiwa* schools … place a great deal of emphasis on maintaining the image of a clean cut, energetic foreigner." In Bill's view, STAR sought to moreover regulate ENS teachers' personalities and behaviors: "they encouraged teachers to be very energetic, outgoing, and even a bit clownish. While the company did not outright say it, they expected you to be an entertainer as well as a teacher."

As stifling as he found these rules, Bill's greatest source of alienation was the company's "English only" policy, which applied to casual "lobby talk" with students between classes as well as classroom instruction. Bill felt that being prohibited from speaking to students in their native language constituted a substantial impediment to improving his own Japanese proficiency, which he in turn associated with becoming a legitimate member of Japanese society. In this regard, he remarked that working at STAR "felt like being in an English speaking bubble." While Bill acknowledged that some students would likely be unreceptive to the frequent use of Japanese because they attended *eikaiwa gakko* for the purposes of practicing English, he nevertheless felt that a total prohibition of Japanese usage restricted his capacity for self-expression and hindered further development of his interest in Japanese language and culture.

In contrast to Bill's grievances, JB instructors characterized the objects of their resistance largely in terms of additional business duties imposed upon them precisely because of their abilities to speak Japanese fluently. Miyuki stated that, though counseling duties were shared by ENS and JB teachers at her school, she bore the ultimate responsibility for persuading students to invest in additional courses because of her ability to make use of their shared first language: "Since I could use Japanese during the renewal counseling, I sometimes had to be pretty persuasive."

Miyuki also reported that, when her branch school experienced periods of financial strain, pressure from her manager to increase contract renewals rose to intense and occasionally overwhelming levels; she was even required to conduct second or third counselings with students who had previously declined to continue their *eikaiwa* studies and strongly push them towards renewal. Being compelled to pressure students in this manner was a highly stressful experience that made Miyuki feel as if she lost their trust. Her dilemma was compounded by negative consequences such as harsh comments or cold reception from management staff if her renewal counselings were unsuccessful.

Hanako related a similar series of experiences wherein her Japanese fluency was used by management to justify the assignment of tasks unrelated to teaching. As with Miyuki, Hanako stated that her obligations were typically business-oriented and mentally taxing:

> It was hard for me to meet the financial targets. Since I was often worried about this obligation, I sometimes could not concentrate on my teaching. I didn't enjoy having to devote more effort to business matters than teaching matters.

Hanako further reported that responsibilities such as these eventually grew to be so time-consuming as to supplant her teaching altogether, culminating in her decision to quit her job:

> When I started working at this company, I taught four or five classes a day. However, around the time I left, the management had given me so many responsibilities for business matters that I didn't have any classes to teach. The reason that I left the company is that I was not able to devote my time to what I had initially wanted to do.

The tendency for JB staff to carry greater burdens associated with meeting business goals than their ENS counterparts was also reported by Matthew, who commented, "My Japanese colleagues often were required to do more counseling with students than I was due to the fact that they spoke Japanese fluently," while Bill noted that Japanese staff "had additional duties when it came to sales campaign weeks and other business aspects of the job." Ray remarked, "I felt really bad for the Japanese staff … They would often work from

10:30[am]-9pm, for lousy wages and were given ludicrous sales targets (and pathetic commissions)."

Workplace environment

Bill and Ray also expressed discontent with aspects of their respective workplace environments beyond the policies and practices previously described.   While the issues that they referenced were manifested in idiosyncratic forms such as personality conflicts, several of their remarks are related here because they evoke the larger discourses of linguistic and cultural essentialism that shape, and are shaped by, the *eikaiwa* paradigm of language teaching.

Bill described the atmosphere at his branch school primarily in terms of management staff's propensity to be "very aloof with the foreign teachers, and severe with the Japanese teachers." Within this negative environment, Bill was particularly aggravated by instances in which management "[insulted] the teaching staff in my presence under the assumption that I could not understand what they were saying in Japanese."   By presupposing limitations to Bill's comprehension of Japanese in the course of nonchalantly denigrating him and his colleagues, supervisors exacerbated the reductive, non-Japanese speaking "foreigner" role into which he felt STAR's prohibitive policies served to position him.

In assessing his workplace environments at HOME and SPEAK, Ray criticized the behaviors and perceived mindsets of Japanese coworkers. As mentioned above, Ray expressed empathy for the extensive obligations imposed on his Japanese colleagues as well as the comparatively low wages they received. Ray's compassion, however, seemed to be tempered by frustration with what he perceived as Japanese staff's tendencies to uncritically accept the dictates of company policy: "They were all very nice and polite, but towed the line way too much, and didn't question things nearly enough for me." Because Ray bristled at the bureaucratic culture of his *eikaiwa* employers and the subservient roles he felt employees were expected to inhabit, he was exasperated by his coworkers' apparent willingness to comply with established systems in spite of their various inefficiencies:

> [Japanese staff] were also short sighted and bogged down with paper trails, hierarchy snafus, and nothing ever seemed to get actioned … A lot of times, a system would be in place that was far from optimal, and just created extra work for everyone. In my mind I had plenty of good ideas on how to improve this, but I got the feeling that Japanese people had learned from a young age to know your role, etc. so things would

never change. Things were often the way they were [because] 'that's the way they were'. It bugged me and showed a disrespect for everyone's time.

These remarks are problematic firstly in that they appear to be concerned with reaffirming the superiority of Ray's own skeptical and individualistic disposition rather than questioning its appropriateness within Japanese workplace culture and secondly in their assignation of essentializing traits to Japanese people as a whole. Such sentiments prompt consideration of whether resistance predicated on sweeping generalizations that erase individual diversity within broad cultural groups can challenge corporate hegemony with any ethical validity.

Means of resistance

To varying degrees, participants attempted to subvert or avoid objectionable aspects of their *eikaiwa* teaching through the following actions or strategies: disengaging from business tasks, feigning ignorance, and pursuing change through official channels. A commonality among these means of resistance is that they were less readily available to JB teachers due to social pressures and business obligations from which ENS teachers were exempt.

Disengaging from business tasks

Lacking any discernable means of rejecting business tasks outright, participants sometimes made superficial or halfhearted gestures towards fulfilling them in order to avoid being rebuked by management. Tony stated,

> As a first year teacher, I dealt with my business responsibilities by not doing them well. I had no idea why I was doing what I was asked to, so my heart wasn't in it. I am sure my counselings weren't very good and my [rates of success] probably match.

Thus, in appearing to conform to management's requirements while actually undermining them, participants engaged in clandestine modes of resistance such as those described by Canagarajah (1997).

Feigning ignorance

Another furtive form of resistance practiced by participants was to pretend not to understand the nature or extent of their responsibilities so as to evade them or make excuses when questioned about them at a later date. Ray remarked that this was a particularly effective strategy during his tenure at HOME due to management's perception of non-Japanese as lacking cultural savvy:

I think that it was accepted that *baka gaijin* [stupid foreigners] didn't understand the subtleties of Japanese culture, so [we] could get away with stuff when Japanese were expected to know better. So we had a much better chance of sidestepping the [nonsense] and red tape that Japanese companies are famous for … most of us would skive off if the opportunity presented itself, play dumb at times, etc.

Ray's use of the Japanese term *baka gaijin*, a pejorative meaning "stupid foreigner," may have been intended to place sarcastic emphasis on his employer's presumption of ENS teachers' ignorance, yet it reinforces the notion that such assumptions, however dismissive or insulting, facilitated opportunities for ENS instructors to avoid bothersome obligations while JB teachers had no such option.

Pursuing change through official channels

While the preceding two means of resistance were predicated on subterfuge and false compliance, participants also sought to effect change through official channels. Bill expressed his misgivings about "management only caring about financial quotas" to managerial staff themselves as well as his trainer at STAR's regional head office; he found the former were indifferent to his concerns while the latter, though sympathetic, ultimately discouraged him from seeking out any substantive change to his branch's business workings: "I was advised by my trainer to just keep quiet and do my best to teach good lessons."

Matthew also reported that he made repeated and organized efforts to alter what he felt were problematic components of STAR's *modus operandi*. While management was unreceptive to most of Matthew's suggestions, he did obtain their consent to incorporate a new proficiency assessment procedure into the student counseling process. When it came time for his students to decide whether to renew their contracts, Matthew tested their retention of previously studied grammar points and vocabulary and made recommendations for further study based on their performance. In Matthew's estimation, supplementing STAR's normal system of renewal counseling with this method "helped a lot of our students make more informed decisions regarding their English instruction instead of being manipulated by the management" into signing contracts for expensive courses that were not suited to their present ability levels.

In the course of his ongoing career with STAR, Tony has advanced first to the position of trainer and then to that of recruiter; he now lives in the United States and hires ENS teacher candidates for the company. Because Tony remains aware that sales duties are a source of great frustration for many teachers, he has endeavored to straightforwardly disclose

business-related aspects of *eikaiwa* teaching at the candidate recruitment stage and inform prospective employees "with as much detail as possible what tasks will they be asked to perform." Thus, Tony sought to diminish the likelihood that future teachers will repeat his own negative experience of commencing work at an *eikaiwa* franchise having been provided with inadequate information about the nature of teachers' responsibilities.

Outcomes of resistance

Aside from Matthew's partial amendment of his branch school's placement procedures, participants reported that their resistance culminated in few enduring changes to the status quo; successes were mostly limited to the temporary avoidance of wearisome duties that would soon be re-encountered. Accordingly, most respondents eventually resigned themselves to the implausibility of effecting significant changes at *eikaiwa* franchises: Miyuki notified management of her concerns about her counseling duties in the early stages of her five year career at STAR, but she soon came to realize she had no recourse but to follow the manager's directives: "If it was a manager's order, we … had to follow that." Ray related that his aggravation with the systems employed at corporate *eikaiwa* franchises quickly lapsed into cynical acquiescence: "I soon learned that there was nothing I could really do, unless I was prepared to slave away for a decade, and even then, unlikely." Matthew reached a similarly pessimistic conclusion when evaluating his efforts to revise STAR's policies and procedures, stating:

> For the most part, STAR's policies regarding revenue from a student are unchangeable. These rules have existed since the company's inception, and since it is a for-profit company, revenue is the focus of the company's business. It is very hard for foreign teaching staff members to make changes [to policies] that have become so solidified.

Accrued frustrations with the apparent intractability of their roles were a major reason that participants, with the exception of Tony, quit their jobs at corporate *eikaiwa* franchises. The majority of ENS respondents found employment at other teaching venues in Japan. Greg obtained a university teaching job that paid a higher salary and was in his opinion more suited to his qualifications. Bill became an assistant language teacher at a public junior high school; he commented that teaching English in this capacity was substantially more fulfilling because he had plenty of opportunities to speak Japanese with colleagues and greater freedom in planning and teaching lessons. Ray continued working at various *eikaiwa gakko* but restricted his employers to smaller, owner-operated companies, which he felt provided "much more

autonomy, flexibility and dedication to providing a quality service." Conversely, Miyuki and Hanako left the English teaching profession entirely upon quitting their *eikaiwa* positions.

Discussion

Previous research repeatedly contends that the central ideological tenets of the *eikaiwa* paradigm are to perpetuate the privileging of native Englishes and foreground racialized identity markers in the discursive construction of desirable teachers in order to commoditize access to ENS instructors (Appleby, 2013; Bailey, 2006; Kelsky, 2001; Kubota, 2011a; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). The preceding sections indicate that these ideologies exerted a decisive and often negative influence on the nature of participants' *eikaiwa* teaching experiences. Bearing in mind Arnowitz and Giroux's (1985) distinction between *resistance* as the implicit or overt disruption of hegemony and *oppositional behavior* as mere unwillingness to comply with established rules and regulations, I now comment on the extent to which respondents' reported means of defying their dictated roles constituted challenges to the perpetuation of *eikaiwa* corporations' prevailing values.

Resistance, oppositional behavior, or something in-between?

In keeping with Weiler's (2009) depiction of resistance as an inherently complex phenomenon situated in ever-shifting dynamics of dominance and oppression, the relationship between participants' means of resistance and the contestation or reproduction of cultural ideologies is multifaceted and to some extent contradictory even within the experiences of particular teachers. In some cases, participants' efforts to establish alternative practices were motivated by overt ethical opposition to systems wherein the courses of action that most benefitted students' learning of English were subordinated to those that resulted in the greatest financial gain for *eikaiwa* companies: Matthew contested his employer's tendency to sell the most expensive courses to returning students by making efforts to introduce a new system of proficiency evaluation intended to help students to better judge the effectiveness of their English instruction and determine the next appropriate stage of their studies accordingly.

In other cases, participants did not indict *eikaiwa* franchises' broader corporatization of the educational process so much as express resentment that business duties were required of them personally: In commenting that STAR should have employed outside personnel to sell supplementary study materials to students, Matthew seemed to take issue with his obligation to perform sales tasks while neglecting to interrogate the broader implications of subjecting students to marketing campaigns in a classroom environment. Tony's efforts to raise

prospective *eikaiwa* teachers' awareness of the business-related responsibilities they would be expected to perform can likewise be interpreted as an attempt to circumvent potential discontent with the profit-centric policies of *eikaiwa* corporations rather than amend or subvert them.

Murky distinctions between resistance and oppositional behavior are also apparent in Greg's defiance of SPEAK's rules prohibiting extracurricular interaction between teachers and students. Greg's covert platonic socializing with a female student could be construed as an act of resistance toward restrictions placed on ENS teacher's social autonomy to ensure they remained lucrative company assets accessible only through purchased periods of classroom interaction. His response to the company's reprimands, however, emphasizes his belief that SPEAK's reaction was excessive in light of his sexual orientation rather than any ideologically situated critique of the company's restrictive socialization policy.

Participants' comments moreover raise the question of whether certain actions and strategies such as feigning ignorance, shirking or deferring obligations, or completing unwelcome tasks half-heartedly are more accurately classified as oppositional behaviors than resistance in *eikaiwa* contexts. While such actions could amount to resistance insofar as they result in isolated disruptions of corporate franchises' profit-making schemes, they constitute neither a consistent challenge to the capitalistic appropriation of language teaching nor a long term means of staking out more ethically responsive teaching practices for *eikaiwa* students.

ENS teachers' resistance: Exacerbating JB teachers' marginalization?

Building upon McLaren's (2009) admonition that those who engage in resistance may succeed only in intensifying their own oppression, respondents' experiences suggest the disconcerting possibility that ENS teachers who evade irksome duties or perform them apathetically may worsen the burdens of their JB colleagues. Through the limited number of participants in the present study precludes the generalization of findings, it is significant to note that JB and ENS participants reported that the former carried more extensive business obligations and greater culpability for the outcomes of students' contract renewal counselings. As such, a troubling conundrum arises from Miyuki's accounts of being compelled to pressure towards contract renewal those students who had declined to continue their studies after being counseled by her ENS coworkers: if Miyuki's ENS colleagues made half-hearted counseling efforts, they may have indirectly delegated additional high-pressure sales tasks to her regardless of whether their actions were motivated by indifference or an ethical desire to cease the perceived economic exploitation of students.

Another form of marginalization may occur when ENS teachers attribute the workplace behaviors of their JB counterparts to cultural stereotypes, thereby decrying seemingly uniform gestures of conformity to social expectations while failing to consider the various inner attitudes social actors have toward their given roles. Ray in particular appeared to conclude his experiences teaching at *eikaiwa* franchises having constructed a binary distinction between the valorized self and his Japanese colleagues as a maligned and monolithic other. Beyond the obvious problematic ramifications of dismissing Japanese workers as homogeneously passive and subservient, such discrimination is likely to reinforce perceptions of irreconcilable cultural differences and impede ENS and JB teachers' capacity to unite in the pursuit of alternative, mutually beneficial systems of *eikaiwa* teaching.

Fluctuating systems of privilege and marginalization in the experiences of ENS teachers

Previous studies have emphasized how romanticized images of male ENS teachers are utilized by *eikaiwa* franchises to exploit *akogare* (longing) for marketing purposes (Piller & Takahashi, 2006) and perpetuate the discursive construction of native Englishes as linguistic ideals (Kubota, 2011a). As a result, ENS enjoy privileged access to employment opportunities at *eikaiwa gakko* and other venues of English teaching in Japan even when they lack relevant qualifications (Lai, 1999).

Participants' commentaries, however, indicate that the very same commoditized discourses that privilege ENS teachers also position them into reductive and isolating roles. Greg faced extensive constraints on opportunities for social interaction outside of SPEAK, while Bill felt that he was systematically prevented from enacting his desired means of self-representation via STAR's regulations governing teachers' appearance, demeanor, and use of Japanese on company grounds. In order to adhere to *eikaiwa* franchises' preferred image of ENS teachers as aesthetically pleasing and wholly exotic objects of student desire (Appleby, 2013; Piller & Takahashi, 2006), ENS participants were forced into functionally English-monolingual roles regardless of the extent of their Japanese proficiency and their desire to learn and use the language. Such policies not only hold disaffecting consequences for individual teachers but also reflect *eikaiwa* franchishes' continued adherence to antiquated pedagogical models in which students' and teachers' first and second languages are posited as discrete monolingualisms rather than entities amenable to hybridization, strategic code-switching, and translation (Cummins, 2005).

Conclusion

In sum, the present study elicited a depiction of teacher resistance in corporate *eikaiwa* contexts. The factors that catalyzed instances of resistance among respondents included profit-centric policies, social isolation, unfulfilling teacher roles and workplace environment. Participants attempted to enact resistance through furtive forms such as feigned ignorance and apathetic execution of bothersome tasks as well as the direct amendment of established policies through official channels. Within the limited number of participants, ENS teachers were advantaged in their access to these means of resistance due to their exemption from social pressures and additional business obligations to which JB teachers were held accountable. Overall, respondents reported that their resistance culminated in very few substantive or enduring changes to corporate *eikaiwa* franchises' policies and practices, with the result that the majority of participants eventually quit their *eikaiwa* teaching positions.

Additionally, the present study has illuminated numerous issues in need of further investigation. Case studies of individual corporate *eikaiwa* contexts, and particularly those wherein ENS and JB teachers work together, could be conducted to compare each party's respective duties, teaching approaches, and methods of workplace interaction. While investigating topics such as these was not a primary purpose of the present study, participants were asked to comment on their working relationships with teacher colleagues at their respective *eikaiwa* schools. Several respondents made statements that evoked a unidirectional process of collaboration wherein JB teachers commonly sought guidance from their ENS counterparts but not vice versa: Bill described collaboration practices at his branch school by stating, "usually, the Japanese staff would approach the foreign staff with questions about grammar usage, nuances, and example sentences. They would also often ask about how to explain subtle differences in certain words or grammar points." Miyuki intimated that similar procedures were employed at her school, remarking, "fortunately, I could work with some great foreign teachers so whenever I had trouble explaining English grammar in my class, I consulted with my colleagues before lessons." Of the ENS participants, only Tony mentioned actively soliciting teaching advice from Japanese colleagues. In light of these preliminary findings, additional explorations of collaboration between JB and ENS teachers are needed to further illuminate how and to what extent norms of workplace communication serve to validate ENS teachers' discursively constructed expertise while concurrently devaluing JB teachers' linguistic and cultural knowledge bases.

Moreover, observations of *eikaiwa* teaching would be especially enlightening for the examination of how and to what extent resistance is manifested in pedagogical decisions and

classroom events, though accessing *eikaiwa* franchises for the purposes of such research may be difficult.   Inquiries concerning *eikaiwa* teachers' perspectives and experiences could furthermore be expanded to include those of management staff at corporate *eikaiwa* franchises. As depicted by participants in the present study, this group constitutes an adversarial and borderline nefarious presence. However, one could, without excusing the behaviors reported above, imagine that managerial staff navigate their own conflicts and stresses while struggling to meet the expectations of their employers; their viewpoints would therefore be a welcome inclusion in future investigations of the *eikaiwa* paradigm of language teaching.

Lastly, the troubling similarities in Miyuki and Hanako's *eikaiwa* teaching experiences, coupled with their common decision to leave the English teaching profession rather than seek out alternative teaching opportunities as male participants did, suggests the possibility of a gendered component to the division of labor in *eikaiwa* contexts and the degree of career mobility enjoyed by English teachers in Japan. Large-scale surveys could consequently be employed to ascertain the rates of gender representation in corporate *eikaiwa* as well as the comparative career durations, duties, and satisfaction levels of male and female *eikaiwa* teachers.

It is hoped that the findings of this case study can be utilized as points of comparison and contrast for future research on *eikaiwa gakko* and the experiences of individual teachers therein, thereby enabling larger patterns of resistant behaviors to emerge via the combination of various cases in a collected case study (Stake, 1995).

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Appendix A: Survey questions

1) What were your duties and responsibilities as an *eikaiwa* teacher?

2) What did you like about teaching at an *eikaiwa* corporation?

3) What did you dislike about teaching at an *eikaiwa* corporation?

4) Did you attempt to change, avoid, or otherwise deal with unsatisfactory aspects of teaching at an *eikaiwa* corporation? If so, how?

5) How would you describe your working relationship with teacher colleagues?

6) How would you describe your working relationship with managerial staff?

7) Why did you stop working for an *eikaiwa* corporation? (If applicable)

The Frequency of use and Perceived effectiveness of Memorization Vocabulary Learning Strategies among university students of English Literature as a major in Pakistan

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Bio data

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Abstract

This study concerns the Memorization Vocabulary Learning Strategies (MemVLS) of an under-researched learner population, of university students majoring in English Literature at the masters level in Pakistan. 36 participants responded to a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews about frequency of use of MemVLS and their perceived effectiveness. The

findings suggest that looking for chances to encounter newly learnt words in resources such as English language newspapers/magazines or books on literature, writing words in sentences, using words in everyday conversation in English, and listening to English-Language TV programmes are strategies both most frequently used and perceived to be most effective. The keyword method, followed by listening to words on computers/tape-recorders/mobile phones/mp3 or electronic dictionaries, and repeating words aloud are reported as the least-frequently used and considered least effective strategies. Comparisons are drawn with other populations in the interests of understanding how far VLS use is universally similar. Some common findings of other studies, such as the disuse of the keyword associative method, are replicated, but some interesting differences are also uncovered. These seem to be less due to our participants being literature specialists than to their level of proficiency, the English medium nature of their course, and their awareness of the need to learn vocabulary through and for integrative use in the four skills.

Keywords: language learning strategies, vocabulary learning strategies, memorization, literature majors

1. Introduction

One of the vital aspects in learning a language is vocabulary since it constitutes the largest component of any language (Carter & McCarthy, 1988). Moreover, it is commonly observed that even ungrammatical sentences may convey a little meaning but without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed (Wilkins, 1972). The value of vocabulary may even be seen in learning a mother tongue, where there is always a continuous process of learning new words and adding new meanings to words already learnt (Thornbury, 2002). Hence, vocabulary is, indeed, one of the most important components of a language and the core of language learning and communication.

Since vocabulary learning is central to language learning, the need to investigate the various ways of learning it seems indispensable. In this respect, O'Malley and Chamot (1990), Oxford (1990), and Maclntyre (1994) point out that strategies are essential tools since learners cannot be directly taught sufficient words in the classroom. Strategies occupy a key position in theories of communicative competence (e.g. in the subcomponent called 'strategic competence' in Canale & Swain, 1980) and are an important aspect of learners' autonomy. They have also been aligned with cognitive theories of learning such as Anderson's ACT* framework (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990).   It is therefore useful and necessary for students to

be aware of suitable vocabulary learning strategies (herein referred to as VLS), so that they may take more responsibility for their own learning.

Based on considerable research, several language learning strategies and VLS taxonomies have been proposed by researchers such as Rubin (1981), O'Malley & Chamot (1990), Oxford (1990), Schmitt (1997), Marin-Marin (2005), and Al-Fuhaid (2004). Studies like those of Marin-Marin (2005), and Al-Fuhaid (2004) show that discovery vocabulary learning strategies (i.e. strategies used to find out information about new words) are often used more than memory vocabulary learning strategies (i.e. strategies used to retain that information), but we argue that discovery is not useful without memory of what is discovered, since forgetting is a major problem with vocabulary in my context (and many others). Indeed, the main burden on students is often not discovery, as teachers in the classroom generally explain new words or students consult dictionaries for such information, but rather memory/retention.   For that reason it is memory strategies that are the focus of this paper.

Furthermore, learners' choice and frequency of use of strategies may be influenced by their evaluation of them. Since the use of strategies is for their own benefit, therefore, their perceptions of the effectiveness of each strategy should be considered (Schmitt, 1997). Negative attitudes and beliefs often lead to poor strategy use (Oxford, 1990). Indeed Horwitz (1999) also found that learners' attitude towards language learning did affect their actions (i.e. strategy use). Nevertheless, such attitudes have been far less researched than strategy use, and not always in a way that allows for any relationship between the two to be investigated (e.g. Dóczi, 2011): hence we target both and aim to see if we can indeed confirm a correlation between strategy use and perceived value.

A further motivation for this paper is that, to the best of my knowledge, no study has been done on the frequency of use and perceived effectiveness of VLS in general or MemVLS in particular among university students of English Literature as a major at the MA level. This population might be expected to differ from those usually researched, which are generally at the under-graduate or school level, and even where they are English majors are usually not literature oriented (e.g. Marin-Marin, 2005). Research across the full range of types of learner is needed so as to be able to determine whether VLS use and perceived effectiveness varies substantially depending on level of learner, specialism, or indeed country, or whether there exist universal habits and preferences in this area of learning.

2. Review of Literature

The term "learning strategy" has been defined by various researchers in a variety of ways, Cohen (1990, p. 5) for example says: "learning strategies are viewed as learning processes which are consciously selected by the learner", while Stern (1992, p. 261) believes: "strategy…expresses the intentionality of language learning", and Oxford (1990, p. 8) states: "learning strategies are specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective, and more transferable to new situations". Though, learning strategies have been labeled and defined through various terminologies such as "learning processes" and "specific actions" yet a consensus with respect to their function seems to exist that strategies intrinsically develop learners' autonomy and are intended to contribute to better learning of a language (Oxford, 1990). Based on the above, the working definition of Memorization VLS for the current study is: the specific actions involving some kind of repetition, making associations, or using some form of practice performed by learners with the aim of committing newly learnt vocabulary items to memory (consolidation) so aiding later retrieval.

It is worth pointing out here that Schmitt (1997) and many subsequent studies define "memory" strategies more narrowly in contrast to "cognitive" strategies taking the view that, contrary to cognitive, memory strategies focus specifically on manipulative mental processing involving associations, mental imagery or grouping whereas, cognitive strategies include repetition. By contrast, this study would place these kinds of strategies all into the memorization category since the ultimate aim of all these strategies is the storage and retrieval of L2 vocabulary.

Moreover, I have for the sake of convenience subdivided MemVLS due to their intrinsic nature into repetition, association, and integrative practice strategies (similarly to Marin-Marin, 2005). Schmitt's (1997) cognitive and memory strategies are placed in the repetition and association categories of MemVLS respectively. Repetition MemVLS are strategies of simple repetition without involving any mental linkages and associations such as saying words aloud or silently, and reading, listening or writing the L2 items alone or together with the L1 meaning. Association MemVLS involve deep cognitive processing exploiting mental linkages and associations. Lastly, integrative practice MemVLS involve words used in communicative contexts rather than as the isolated focus of attention. What follows is a detailed discussion of these three categories with reference to previous research work.

2.1 Repetition-based Memory Vocabulary Learning   Strategies

Three features are specially important with respect to repetition: the medium through which repetition is done, i.e. repeated reading or writing or speaking or listening; what kind of information is repeated, that is, the target word is only repeated or it is repeated either with an L2 synonym or the L1 translation/meaning; and how effective learners perceive repetition strategies to be.

In Marin-Marin's (2005) study, the modes of repetition most frequently used by Mexican EFL undergraduate students (N = 144) majoring in English Language Teaching (ELT) were repeating a word silently, followed by saying a word aloud repeatedly, writing down the word repeatedly, and listening to recorded words. This is corroborated by Al-Fuhaid (2004) who reported that verbal repetition achieved relatively high frequency of use among Saudi EFL undergraduate students (N = 50) majoring in English and Translation studies, followed by written repetition, and repeated listening to tape-recorded words. The verbal and written strategies were also evaluated as useful and very useful by the students respectively. The frequent use of repetition confirms the findings of Chamot (1987) and Lawson and Hogben (1996) that verbal and written repetition strategies are very common among L2/EFL learners. This suggests that the frequent use of these forms of repetition may be a universal.

The low frequency of auditory repetition from a recorder may be due to the fact that the above studies were done some years ago, but new devices such as computers, handheld electronic-dictionaries, MP3 players, iPods and mobiles are now available with voice recording and replay facilities. Even recent studies such as Dóczi (2011) did not ask respondents systematically about new technology. Despite their easy accessibility, however, I do not expect to find my participants using such devices frequently since the majority of students in Pakistan cannot afford them. In addition, educational institutions in Pakistan may not have sufficient facilities, like computer labs or language laboratories. Hence, strategies involving these are not encouraged.

With respect to the type of information repeated with or without the English word, Marin-Marin (2005) found that repeating the word alone was more frequently used, followed by repeating the word with examples, or with the L2 definition, and also repeating word and translation, and repeating the spelling of the word. In my context teaching of English at all levels of education is largely literature based and it is done through translation in the schools and colleges in particular, and in some universities.   Therefore, frequent use of repeating a word and its translation is anticipated since students are more familiar with the L1 items

which may assist the retention of L2 items, and also repeating a word in the sentence from the literary work where it is met.

2.2 Association-based Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies

Learners not only use simple written and oral repetition strategies to retain L2 vocabulary, but also various kinds of mnemonic associations (Cohen, 1990). In this respect, Marin-Marin (2005) reports that associating words with the contextual/situational use, and visualizing the word's written form or meaning were the most frequently used strategies. Other strategies with high mean scores were associating word with physical action and relating word to synonyms and antonyms respectively. This is supported by Al-Fuhaid (2004) stating that associating a new word to the sentence or phrase where it was met, and associating a new word to its synonyms or antonyms were more frequently used and considered useful among memory VLS.

I expect that my participants would more often use strategies involving association of a word with the context where it is met since they frequently meet words in literary contexts. Moreover, they may repeatedly associate a word with its synonyms and antonyms in order to build up sufficient vocabulary since, being students of English Literature as a major, they are expected to be versatile in the selection of words while writing an essay in exams instead of repeating the same words.

The higher use of association strategies than repetition in Marin-Marin's (2005) study and the almost similar frequency reported by Al-Fuhaid (2004) suggests that their participants were cognitively developed enough to create mental links and associations instead of just relying on simple repetition. Al-Fuhaid (2004) also stated that association strategies were considered more useful than repetition strategies. This may likely be due to learners' level of education and maturity since the pattern of strategy use may change "as a learner either matures or becomes more proficient in the target language" (Schmitt, 1997, p. 223). Hence, my participants are also expected to report similar higher frequency of use of association MemVLS than repetition due to being at a higher level of education than the participants in the above studies and being cognitively mature.

On the other hand, Marin-Marin (2005) and Al-Fuhaid (2004) found the keyword method (KM), despite being demonstrated to be very effective by psychological experiments (Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Sternberg, 1987; Hulstijn, 1997; Rodriguez & Sadoski, 2000; Shapiro and Waters, 2005), to be the least frequently used and judged ineffective. This may be attributed to two reasons: firstly, learners may not be familiar with or taught this strategy;

secondly, they may have developed their own strategies which have proved more effective than this, therefore, they prefer to rely on them. Low use and ineffectiveness of the keyword method among my participants is also anticipated given that MemVLS in general and keyword method in particular have likely not been explicitly taught.

2.3 Integrative Practice-based Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies

It is commonly observed that L2 learners not only try to consolidate newly learnt words with word focused MemVLS like those above, but also search for opportunities to encounter those new words and utilize the words that have already been learnt in context, typically real communicative ones. Marin-Marin (2005) discovered that looking for opportunities to encounter new words or review words in English emerged as the most frequently used strategy among further-consolidation strategies, in my terms integrative practice MemVLS, followed by using as many new words as possible in everyday conversation or when writing in English. By contrast, making up imagined conversations and stories in which to use new words was moderately used. In a recent study of 4th and 5th year English majors at university in Hungary, Dóczi (2011) found over 90% of students claiming to make an effort to use new words in speaking and writing, with 70% doing so when interacting with native speakers and a lower 63% exploiting movies, newscasts and the like receptively. This implies that such learners do not think of learning L2 vocabulary in isolation through repetition and association as the most effective method. Rather, they practise items in the four language skills.

Though my participants are of a different level, from a different country, and on a literature focused programme, I would expect a similar high reported frequency of use (also high perceived effectiveness) of the integrative practice MemVLS (IP MemVLS) category in general, and particularly seeking for opportunities to encounter new words, and then integrating them with the four skills. This is because their level of education and the nature of the course encourages them to develop vocabulary along with the four skills (mainly on their own) as against their previous education whose main focus was on reading and writing so as to get through annual exams. At this level, they may be more motivated and try to develop particularly their speaking and listening skills by communicating in English with their teachers, classmates inside and outside the classroom, with close friends, even with educated people who can speak English, and listening/watching to BBC, CNN, English channels, and movies and the like.

Research Questions

Having demonstrated that none of the above studies were conducted in Pakistan or with English Literature oriented students of the MA level, this study would ask the following research questions so as to be in a position to explore how far the results of the current study in fact resemble or differ from those conducted in other EFL contexts, with students of different specialisms and at a lower level of education.

1. Which Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies do Masters level students of English Literature in Pakistan use the most and least frequently? Do they differ from what is found in studies of learners with other specialisms and at other educational levels?

2. Which Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies do Masters level students of English Literature in Pakistan perceive as the most and least effective? Is there a positive correlation between perceived effectiveness and claimed use?

Method

4.1 Participants

Participants were 36 EFL Pakistani students, enrolled in the first or second year of a two year MA programme for English Literature majors with an emphasis on teaching English Literature, at the University of Balochistan. They had similar school backgrounds and had all completed a previous BA programme as English Literature majors. Their age varied between 19 and 25 years, but the majority of them were of the usual university level age (18 to 22 years). All the participants had taken the obligatory entry test in English before entry into the MA programme. 28 of the participants had intermediate and eight had low-intermediate self-reported language proficiency. Ten out of the thirty-six volunteered for the interviews, of whom five were selected by the researcher to represent both levels of proficiency (three second year males, and two first year students - one female and one male).

Balochistan is a multi-lingual province, so the participants came from different first language communities, often with Urdu as a second language and English as a third language (though for convenience in this paper we refer to Urdu as L1 and English as L2). In addition, they belonged to what is widely perceived as the middle or working class and represent a large proportion of MA students in Pakistan. We class them as EFL rather than ESL students for the following reason. English is an official language of Pakistan yet there are mainly three types of education institution: elite English medium (mostly private and few in number), non-elite English medium (private and in large number) and government Urdu medium

schools (state and in large number) (Colman, 2010; Rehman, 2010). The first type of schooling is meant for the wealthy and powerful. The medium of instruction is English and all the courses are modeled after the Scottish and the UK National Curricula. "The whole atmosphere of school, playground and home is English-using" (Rehman, 2010, pp. 251). Hence, English is a second language for them (Rehman, 2010). The second type is English medium by name. Some courses like science and mathematics are taught in English but the medium of instruction is largely Urdu. The third type is Urdu oriented and English is taught as a subject through translation. Basically, these two types of schools are meant for middle or working class students such as ours who do not use English routinely out of class. English is thus a foreign language for my participants who come from these non-elite and Urdu medium institutions. Vocabulary instruction and its assessment at these institutions are not prioritized: rather translation and grammar are much favoured.

4.2 Instruments

Two data gathering instruments were used: the quantitative MemVLS-questionnaire and follow up qualitative semi-structured interviews. The interview data is used to confirm the validity of participants' replies to the questionnaire statements and also to provide further interpretation of the questionnaire results.

The questionnaire comprises two sections: Section I contained eight questions regarding participants' background information while Section II included twenty-seven 6-point Likert-type items grouped into three sub-sections (1-11 repetition items, 12-21 association items, and 22-27 integrative practice items: see Appendix A), corresponding to the three types of memorization VLS. The response scale for frequency of use (1-6) ranged from *never or almost never true of me to always true of me*. For perceived effectiveness the scale (1-6) ran from *not at all useful to extremely useful*.

The memorization VLS items were based on existing strategy questionnaires in the literature (e.g. Rubin, 1981; Oxford, 1990; Schmitt, 1997; Marin-Marin, 2005; Al-Fuhaid, 2004) and on my experience of what might be relevant in my context. At the end of the questionnaire an open item was added eliciting any other MemVLS they used and perceived effective. A second expert was consulted to check content validity of the items. To check the internal reliability of the subquestionnaires concerning frequency of use and perceived effectiveness, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated ($\alpha = .744$ and .820 respectively).

The questionnaire was written in English and not translated into Urdu because the participants were English major MA students who were expected to be comfortable with it. It was first piloted with four English major MA students from the same background who did not take part in the main study. It was learnt from the pilot study that the items needed no replacement or improvement, and to allow approximately 20 minutes for completing the questionnaire in the main study.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit retrospective information from the participants as the interview questions built on their answers to the questionnaire items. There were three main questions with some prompts: A) What kind of repetitions do you perform to memorize a new English word and how effective do you perceive them to be? B) What types of associations do you make to retain the newly learnt words and how useful do you think they are? C) What integrative practices do you employ to further consolidate the newly learnt words and how effective do you consider them?

Data Collection Procedures

The data was collected in June, 2011 at the University of Balochistan, after permission was obtained from the head of the English department. Before the questionnaire was administered in a lecture-room at recess time, participants were informed of the purpose of the study. Subsequently, the consent forms with the MemVLS questionnaires were distributed among them. They were informed that the study was primarily to find out about them as learners of English and was not an evaluation of their ability, hence there was no need to copy from others. I used the initials of respondents' names to protect their identity. Participants were asked to report on which strategies they currently used and perceived effective and not what they had previously used in the past or intended to use in the future. On average, it took each respondent 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire. On completion their cooperation was warmly appreciated.

Interviews were conducted at the same place and time two weeks after the questionnaire and recorded on a mobile recording device. The interviewees were informed of the purpose of the interviews and asked some general questions to break the ice. The individual interviews lasted for about thirty minutes each and were conducted by the researcher in Urdu. In the quantitative data collection through the questionnaire, scales provided the possible responses, and respondents were simply required to circle the most appropriate response, so it was reasonable to use English. In the qualitative data collection through interviews, however,

participants were asked to express their unprompted views, so for clarity of thought it was deemed more suitable to conduct interviews in Urdu.

Data Analysis

The quantitative data gathered through MemVLS-Q were analyzed with SPSS 18 (Statistical Product and Service Solutions), primarily for descriptive statistics (means and correlations). Interview data was carefully transcribed and translated into English and used mainly as supportive confirmation for the interpretation of the questionnaire results without detailed coding.   In the reporting of results below we preserve the confidentiality of the interviewees by referring to them as S1, S2 etc.

5   Results and Discussion

This section is divided into two main parts which correspond to the research questions. In the first part, I will present, interpret and discuss the descriptive statistics of the top-five and bottom-five most and least frequently used Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies. In the second part, I will pursue the same procedure for perceived effectiveness of these strategies.

5.1   MemVLS: Reported Frequencies of Use

Generally speaking, the participants showed a moderate use of MemVLS: overall mean = 3.50, towards the middle of the 1 to 6 frequency scale. Thirteen strategies had a mean score above, one in the middle and thirteen below the mid-point (See Appendix A for frequency of use of all twenty-seven MemVLS in rank order of popularity). The comparatively moderate use of MemVLS, which is slightly lower than in other studies like Marin-Marin (2005) who reported the use of MemVLS (overall mean = 3.80) just above the middle of his 1 to 6 scale, may be due to two reasons.

Firstly, the participants had not been trained in MemVLS in the educational system. As we said above, language learning has been strongly associated with grammar in Pakistan, hence grammar is explicitly taught in schools and colleges at the expense of the teaching and learning of vocabulary, VLS and MemVLS in particular. The first year S2 says: "…I did not receive any instruction in VLS in general and MemVLS in particular except for some of the strategies that were not part of the curriculum - rather the teacher himself used to advise us to use them for better retention such as saying a word aloud, writing a word repeatedly."

Secondly, in order to pass the exams most of the students memorize the model essays available in the bazaar, so they do not pay sufficient attention to learning the difficult

vocabulary in the original texts. As a second year S3 affirms: "I have guide books of every module which are comprehensible due to their use of simple language. I memorize a certain number of essays (literary) that are frequently asked in exams. Doing this, the chances of committing grammatical and lexical mistakes are radically decreased".

5.1.1   The Top five Most Frequently Used MemVLS

Table 1 shows which Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies are claimed to be most frequently used by Pakistani EFL university English Literature major students. Notably four out of the five are integrative practice strategies, representing all four language skills, and only one is a repetition strategy. This does not match Marin-Marin (2005) and Al-Fuhaid (2004), for example: in Marin-Marin only one of the top five MemVLS is integrative practice corresponding to my strategies 27 and 25, and two are repetition and two are association ones. Also the repetition strategy which is top here is not the one that is top in his study (which is silent repetition).

The frequent use of the strategies involving newspapers, TV and conversation is interesting. It suggests that words from the literary texts which the students study may not actually be their main target to learn. This goes against teacher encouragement to students to read classic literary texts so as to develop academic and literary vocabulary, since such texts are especially demanding in vocabulary. Indeed final year S4 states a dual aim: "I like reading English novels, especially the modern ones to improve my reading proficiency, literary and day-to-day vocabulary and expressions". Possible motives for using a wider range of sources also include learning how native-speakers of English pronounce words: "I carefully listen to the way English people pronounce words in English movies since we do not have native-speakers as English teachers" (final year S5). Other reasons mentioned are: learning colloquial language; improving the listening skill; newsprint material being cheap and easily available in the university and outside.

Table 1

The top five most frequently used MemVLS

Rank	Strategy	Mean	StD
1	27. I read English-language newspapers/magazines or books on literature to consolidate the learnt vocabulary	5.028	1.463
2	22. I write newly learnt words in my own sentences	4.696	1.327
3	23. I use newly learnt words in everyday conversation in English	4.528	1.424
4	8. I repeat the word and its English definitions	4.222	1.472
5	25. I listen to English language TV programs where I may encounter newly learnt words	4.055	1.706

Furthermore, using words in self-made sentences is a very popular form of practice among Pakistani students in general. Teachers in schools and colleges in Pakistan emphasize this strategy and even in exams there are questions requiring use of words in a meaningful context. Interestingly participants also claim to frequently use new words in everyday conversation, showing again that they also want to improve spoken proficiency. This would be with teachers, classmates, close friends and even family members if their English is sufficient, but that would be very rare.

A possible reason for repeating a word and its English definition quite frequently, contrary to my expectation, is the nature of the MA course in English Literature which the participants were taking. The entire course is offered through the medium of English, which means that they were more likely exposed to English definitions rather than Urdu translations from the teachers. In relation to this a final year (S3) says: "I use English definitions as instructed in the MA programme, so as to be proficient enough to write spontaneously in exams and be fluent and accurate while asking questions and giving answers to teachers".

5.1.2 The Bottom five Least Frequently Used MemVLS

The bottom-five MemVLS can be seen in Table 2. Three out of the bottom five are repetition and two are association strategies. This closely resembles Marin-Marin (2005) who also found repetition strategies 6 and 2, and association strategy 20 among the least frequently used in his study despite the quite different population (non-literary BA English majors in Mexico).

Table 2

The bottom five least frequently used MemVLS

Rank	Strategy	Mean	StD
1	20. I use the Keyword Method	2.416	1.826
2	6. I listen repeatedly to the word on a computer or tape-recorder, mp3, mobile phone or electronic-dictionary	2.417	1.713
3	16. I relate words which rhyme together	2.555	1.904
4	2. I repeat the word letter by letter aloud to myself	2.611	1.809
5	9. I silently read new words repeatedly with Urdu translation	2.861	1.775

The low use of the auditory repetition strategy 6 is mainly due to the poor economic condition of my participants. Many Pakistani students may not be able to buy their own personal computers, electronic-dictionaries and other devices. They may only have access to tape-recorders which are now out-dated. In addition to this, access to computers at the university is limited. Many computer and language labs are not accessible out of class time, and at many institutions there may be an insufficient number of computers per student.

Although the letter by letter repetition strategy is indeed very popular in schools, its low use shown in these results may likely be due to the higher level and language proficiency of the participants. This is consistent with Marin-Marin (2005) though his participants were at the undergraduate level.

As far as the rare use of repeating words with Urdu translation is concerned, its frequent use was expected due to my participants' background in Urdu as a medium for education. As mentioned earlier, it seems that this result is a consequence of the students doing an MA as English Literature with all courses offered through the medium of English. Hence they were less likely to repeat words with their Urdu translation than with their English definitions.

Despite the claim that the keyword method is a useful strategy for vocabulary learning since it involves more mental manipulation and deeper processing of an item leading to long-term retention (Craik and Lockhart, 1972; Craik and Tulving, 1975), my participants, like those in Marin-Marin (2005) and Al-Fuhaid (2004), do not seem to be using it. This could be attributed in part to the education system since it was neither taught nor emphasized by teachers in any academic institutions in Pakistan. Linguistic compatibility is also an issue. As stated earlier, the students came from different language communities which are different

from English with respect to the written and sound system. Therefore, it is rare to find a keyword in those languages to form the basis for an association to retain and recall the English word except for loan words. For example, a first year (S2) says: "I do not use it [the KM] because such a method was not taught at all, and at the same time…I do not find much similarity between Brahvi or Balochi and English words".

The rare use of relating words rhyming together may be linked to the confusion it can cause due to the similar sound patterns. This is verified by a first year (S1) saying: "It confuses me to relate meaning with a rhyming word".

Summing up, some similarity of our results may be observed with the studies reviewed earlier but largely they differed from ours with respect to the choice of Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies employed and the frequency of use. The difference may be attributed to the level of education since my participants were post-graduate students not under-graduates like Marin-Marin's (2005) and Al-Fuhaid's (2004). Moreover, the needs and demands of English Literature seem different from those of ELT and Language and Translation studies respectively. It may also be due to my participants' educational background in non-elite English and largely Urdu medium education where there is no explicit teaching of vocabulary, VLS in general and MemVLS in particular.

5.2   MemVLS: Perceived Effectiveness

The participants reported a high overall level of effectiveness of MemVLS (overall mean = 4.04). Twenty strategies had a mean score above, and only seven fell below the mid-point on the scale of 1 to 6 (see Appendix B for the mean scores of effectiveness of all twenty-seven MemVLS in rank order). The high perceived effectiveness compared with moderate frequency of use of MemVLS may be attributed to the participants' high level of motivation to improve their English. They consider many of the individual strategies useful but they cannot frequently employ some of them for financial reasons. For example, the Internet is less frequently used, but it is considered useful as first year S2 says: "I think using the Internet is very helpful because I not only encounter new words but also quickly and efficiently discover their meanings, pronunciation and contextual use that make their retention very easy for me".

5.2.1   The Top five MemVLS Perceived as the Most Effective

The top five most effective MemVLS are given in Table 3.   Almost the same set are top here as for frequency of use. Print media followed by using words in everyday conversation and in sentences attained the highest ratings. Nearly all the interviewees expressed similar views

regarding their effectiveness in providing rich contexts for learning and practicing verbal and written vocabulary. Moreover, newspapers and magazines, unlike literary topics, cover current issues and are commonly discussed in day-to-day life either in the university or outside with friends. In this respect, final year S5 believes: "Context-specific strategies, for me, proved very effective because I forgot most of the difficult vocabulary learnt via word-lists after exams in school and college, but I still remember those that were learnt in texts due to the meaningful progression of a dialogue or a story".

Table 3

The top five MemVLS perceived as most effective

Rank	Strategy	Mean	StD
1	27. I read English-language newspapers/magazines or books on literature to consolidate the learnt vocabulary	5.527	1.207
2	23. I use newly learnt words in everyday conversation in English	5.305	1.348
3	22. I write newly learnt words in my own sentences	5.222	0.929
4	25. I listen to English-Language TV programs where I may encounter newly learnt words	5.000	1.621
5	24. I make up imagined conversations and stories in which I use new words	4.528	1.482

The interviewees also considered it extremely useful to listen to English language TV programmes, mainly for two reasons. First, listening to the correct pronunciation makes it easy to remember words. Second, the combination of picture, sound and the English subtitles also helps. In relation to this, first-year S1 says: "I listen to English news on TV to enhance my listening skill, and pay special attention to the vocabulary that newscasters use and pronounce". This illustrates that they are motivated and can benefit if they focus on helping themselves to retain words through integrative practice in real or imagined conversation rather than word-focused practices (using repetition and association). This accords with what some theorists (e.g. Carter, 1987; McCarthy, 1984) believe. Instead of learning vocabulary as individual items in isolation, vocabulary needs to be practiced in real communication using all the four skills or at least integrated in sentences. In other words, along with recalling the

form-meaning association, one should build up the skill of recognizing and using a word correctly in natural contexts.

5.2.2   The Bottom five MemVLS Perceived as the Least Effective

The five least effective MemVLS are given in Table 4. Three out of the five least effective strategies are forms of repetition and two involve types of association. As a whole, three of the five are also ranked among the least frequently used strategies. The low perceived effectiveness of the KM may be due to the fact that it has never been taught, so students do not realize how effective it could prove to be. The KM requires a learner to find a native language word of similar form to the English word being learnt, so as to form a special association. Although the students came from different language backgrounds,which complicates this requirement, in fact it is possible to find some words in their shared language Urdu that could be used a keywords. For example *danth*, *angaray*, and *mistri* meaning 'teeth', 'burning ashes', and 'builder(s)' could be used to form KM associations with English *dentist*, *angry*, and *mystery* respectively. The majority of the interviewees echoed what final year S4 articulated: "I did not know of the KM before finding it on the questionnaire. I think it could be useful if properly taught".

Repeating a word letter by letter is very popular in schools and colleges, but at the university level participants may have found it no longer as appropriate as other strategies. One student claimed: "It was useful in school and college since we were required to learn limited words and some of the dictated essays from exam point of view. But now it seems ineffective as I have to develop sufficient vocabulary and for that I have developed other effective strategies like making an image of spelling and meaning in mind, and using words in their own sentences" (final year S1).

As mentioned earlier, unlike Marin-Marin (2005), our participants seem not to like silent repetition either with or without L1 meaning/translation. It may be they preferred verbal repetition either with an L1 or L2, because culturally they learn portions of the Holy Quran that way, or written repetition, due to paper-based exams.

Table 4

The bottom five MemVLS perceived as least effective

Rank	Strategy	Mean	StD
1	20. I use the Keyword Method	2.944	1.896
2	2. I repeat the word letter by letter aloud to myself	3.166	1.715
3	10. I silently read new words repeatedly without Urdu translation	3.250	1.794
4	6. I listen repeatedly to the word on a computer or tape recorder, mp3, mobile phone or electronic-dictionary	3.306	1.769
5	17. I remember a word by the initial letters	3.361	2.206

The low perceived effectiveness of listening repeatedly to a word on a computer may be due to the fact that they no longer see much value in strategies involving words in isolation, which indeed all the bottom five focus on, or that they do not think the sound quality of such media is adequate. A final year S3 reports: "I do not see much value in computers or mobile phones for listening to words on them mainly because just listening to words is not sufficient. I just learn the pronunciation of words via this practice but for their long-term retention I either use them in my own sentences or in everyday conversation with friends".

Remembering words by their initial letters may be sometimes effective, but it becomes difficult to remember when one comes across many words. This is voiced by first year S1: "…some of the words are remembered by their initial letters, but mostly it poses confusion when words start with the same initial letters". It is a strategy useful perhaps at lower levels of education when learners' vocabulary sizes are much smaller.

In summary, it is evident as anticipated that all the integrative practice Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies are perceived as highly effective as well as most frequently used. The participants seem conscious of the fact that vocabulary learning is not an isolated skill but rather it is embedded in the four language skills, and also they are at a level of language proficiency to be able to implement this.

6   Conclusion

The principal findings of this study are that the participants on the whole reported a moderate frequency of use and high perceived effectiveness of Memory Vocabulary Learning Strategies. Contrary to some other studies at lower educational levels, four out of the five most

frequently used strategies were integrative practice MemVLS whereas three repetition and two association strategies were placed in the five least frequently used MemVLS. An almost identical set of integrative practice MemVLS were considered the most useful and thus placed in the top five most effective strategies. Such congruence of claimed frequency with perceived effectiveness is also found in the few other studies where the connection has been examined (e.g. Schmitt, 1997) and it clearly makes sense that learners would by and large claim to use those VLS which they think are effective. In our data the correlation of use and effectiveness for all the 27 strategies is very high: $r=.894$, $p<.001$.

Compared with other VLS studies such as those we reviewed, we find a mixture of similarities and differences. Strategies like the keyword method and auditory repetition are disused just as in other studies, and the favour of integrative practice MemVLS is shared with other studies of students at a similarly relatively high proficiency level (albeit BA not MA as ours are). The VLS category of repetition which often dominates in other studies is only weakly represented in the top choices in our data, however, and unexpectedly takes the form primarily of repetition with L2 definition rather than with L1 translation. We explain this as due to the English medium nature of the MA course.

By and large we do not detect much difference created by the fact that our students are literature specialists, possibly due to the nature of the exams in Pakistan and the way students habitually prepare for them, relying on guide books and memorization of essays rather than learning the relevant vocabulary. For instance, remembering words by association with context where met, which we expected to be high for literature students, comes only in 8th place for use and 11th for usefulness, beaten in both instances by association with visual images. Rather more prominent is the effect of our participants' level of proficiency and awareness of the need to learn vocabulary not in isolation but in integration with four language skills, through and for real life communication today. This led to their disuse and low valuation of most repetition strategies, especially those using L1, possibly assisted by the fact that their program is English medium; instead it is the integrative practice MemVLS that consequently dominate, with emphasis on production as well as reception and spoken as well as written mode.

6.1   Implications for Teaching

As was confirmed by the interviews, almost all the interviewees reported that some of the strategies such as the keyword method were new to them and they had never explicitly been instructed in VLS in general and MemVLS in particular at any level of education except on

occasional instances where an individual teacher departed from the syllabus. This points to a need for syllabuses to include explicit attention to VLS.

Moreover, it is noticeable that the strategies which our participants considered effective are also more used, consistent with Horwitz's (1999) claim that learners' attitude influences their actions. Hence, this study prompts language teachers not only to instruct learners in strategies but also to work on developing sensible attitudes towards each strategy.

In addition, we draw the authorities' attention to the need to reform the examination system by including vocabulary assessment in a way that cannot be bypassed by rote learning of model answers to predictable exam questions. Vocabulary learning using effective strategies will not occur unless beneficial washback from the assessment methods necessitates it.

6.2   Recommendations for Future Research

This was a small scale study with limited scope. Though our results illustrated the overall frequency of use and perceived effectiveness of MemVLS and provided some fascinating insights into students' thinking in this area, there were aspects where the researcher lacked sufficient evidence of causation and the sources of the perceived effectiveness of MemVLS. What is still needed, not only in Pakistan but more widely, is a proper study of why students use the VLS they do, and indeed whether they are using them enough/effectively, also measuring participants' vocabulary sizes so that we can see the strategy profiles of more successful learners. We used semi-structured interviews to elicit deeper insights from individual participants but think-aloud report or stimulated recall methods could prove more informative, as they are more immediately connected with actual acts of word learning.

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Appendix A

MemVLS: frequency of use

R/O	MemVLS	Mean	Std.D
1	27. I read English newspapers/magazines books to consolidate learnt vocabulary.	5.028	1.463
2	22. I write newly learnt words in my own sentences.	4.694	1.327
3	23. I use newly learnt words in everyday conversation in English.	4.528	1.424
4	8. I repeat the word and its English definitions.	4.222	1.742
5	25. I listen to English TV programs where I may encounter newly learnt words.	4.055	1.706
6	14. I associate the meaning of a word to a visual image of that meaning in mind.	4.000	1.473
7	7. I write the English word with its Urdu meanings.	3.972	1.919
8	18. I associate words with the place where I see or hear them.	3.888	1.832
9	19. I link the written form of a new word to a visual image of it in my mind.	3.805	1.833
10	12. I relate a new word with its synonyms and antonyms.	3.694	1.801
11	21. I remember words by associating them with physical actions.	3.667	1.656
12	5. I say the English word and its Urdu translation.	3.611	1.793
13	24. I make up imagined conversations and stories in which I use new words.	3.583	1.610
14	3. I repeatedly spell the word letter by letter in my mind.	3.500	1.889
15	4. I write the new word several times.	3.417	1.888
16	26. I use English-Lang. internet to visit sites where I may meet newly learnt words.	3.361	1.929
17	1. I repeat the word as a whole aloud to myself.	3.277	2.008
18	17. I remember a word by the initial letters.	3.222	2.099
19	11. I not only repeat words but also whole idioms and phrases.	3.138	1.759
20	10. I silently read new words repeatedly without Urdu translation.	3.083	1.778
21	13. I remember words by adding prefixes and suffixes.	2.916	1.610
22	15. I associate new words with semantically related word or group of words.	2.888	1.769
23	9. I silently read new words repeatedly with Urdu translation.	2.861	1.775
24	2. I repeat the word letter by letter aloud to myself.	2.611	1.809
25	16. I relate words which rhyme together (e.g. ring with bring).	2.555	1.904
26	6. I listen repeatedly to words on a computer/tape recorder, mp3, or mobile phone.	2.417	1.713
27	20. I use the Keyword Method.	2.416	1.826

Appendix B

MemVLS: perceived effectiveness

R/O	MemVLS	Mean	Std.D
1	27. I read English newspapers or books to consolidate the learnt vocabulary.	5.527	1.207
2	23. I use newly learnt words in everyday conversation in English.	5.305	1.348
3	22. I write newly learnt words in my own sentences.	5.222	.929
4	25. I listen to English TV programs where I may encounter newly learnt words.	5.000	1.621
5	24. I make up imagined conversations and stories in which I use new words.	4.528	1.482
6	12. I relate a new word with its synonyms and antonyms.	4.500	1.630
7	14. I associate the meaning of a word to a visual image of that meaning in mind.	4.444	1.229
8.5	19. I link the written form of a new word to a visual image of it in my mind.	4.194	1.600
8.5	8. I repeat the word and its English definitions.	4.194	1.618
11	26. I use English-Lang. internet to visit sites where I may meet learnt words.	4.167	1.780
11	18. I associate words with the place where I see or hear them.	4.167	1.521
11	7. I write the English word with its Urdu meanings.	4.167	1.681
13	11. I not only repeat words but also whole idioms and phrases.	4.139	1.775
14.5	4. I write the new word several times.	4.000	1.512
14.5	21. I remember words by associating them with physical actions.	4.000	1.530
16	1. I repeat the word as a whole aloud to myself.	3.916	1.810
17	5. I say the English word and its Urdu translation.	3.861	1.743
18	15. I associate new words with semantically related word or group of words.	3.778	1.709
19	13. I remember words by adding prefixes and suffixes.	3.611	1.608
20	9. I silently read new words repeatedly with Urdu translation.	3.583	1.857
21.5	16. I relate words which rhyme together (e.g. ring with bring).	3.417	2.102
21.5	3. I repeatedly spell the word letter by letter in my mind.	3.417	1.947
23	17. I remember a word by the initial letters.	3.361	2.206
24	6. I listen repeatedly to words on a computer/tape recorder, mp3, or mobile phone.	3.306	1.769
25	10. I silently read new words repeatedly without Urdu translation.	3.250	1.794
26	2. I repeat the word letter by letter aloud to myself.	3.166	1.715
27	20. I use the Keyword Method.	2.944	1.896

Team teaching: Four barriers to native English speaking assistant teachers' ability to model native English in Japanese classrooms

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Bio data

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Abstract:

In Japan and other countries around Asia and the world, local English teachers sometimes instruct their students by sharing teaching duties with native English speaking assistant teachers. This team teaching, as it is known, has grown in popularity in Japan since its introduction in the 1980s. According to most literature, the assistants' primary role in the classroom should be to provide students with a model of native English (Brumby & Wada, 1990). Previous research has shown that team teaching motivates Japanese students to learn English as the assistant teacher may be one of the few people they know who speaks English as a native language. Less research has been done on the assistants' classroom practices, especially with regards to whether or not they are used effectively as models of native English.

For this research 19 Japanese teachers of English were interviewed. Using a discourse analytic approach, the interviews revealed that there were in practice four barriers to the assistants' ability to model native English in the classroom: an over-reliance on in-class translation, the assistants' use of simplified English and foreigner talk, the use of scripted talk, and the assistants' use of their limited Japanese language skills.

Keywords: team teaching, ELT, Japan, discourse analysis

Introduction

Every year thousands of people, the majority of whom are in their twenties, travel to Japan to take up appointments as members of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme (CLAIR, 2011). JET participants are mostly employed to act as assistant English teachers (AETs), working in teams with Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) in Japanese secondary school classrooms. The AETs' primary purpose is to assist JTEs with oral communication classes, although the Japanese Ministry of Education's (Monbukagakusho, 2002) policy emphasises the need for the two teachers to work together vis-à-vis setting lesson goals, choosing teaching materials and deciding on teaching methods.

The two teachers are to work together by taking on various roles: modelling pronunciation and communication between two English speakers, acting as resources for expanding on textbooks, evaluating students' progress, and organising lessons, teaching materials and homework. Brumby and Wada (1990, p. 12) recommend that each teacher take on certain roles to a greater extent than others, with the role of pronunciation model and model of "real communication" being listed as "the most accepted role of the AET". It is this role, that of acting as a native English informant and conversation partner, that is the primary concern of this research. In practice, as Fujimoto-Adamson (2005) has pointed out, the JTE may find it necessary to take on the majority of these teaching roles, as AETs often have neither teaching qualifications nor comprehensive knowledge of the students' linguistic abilities.

There are various typical lessons during team taught classes (McConnell, 1996). The AET may discuss his or her home country and ask students for similar information about theirs, while the JTE provides translation when necessary. The JTE may instruct students about a particular point of grammar, model its use with the AET, then circulate with the AET to help students as they practise using it. Both teachers may lead students in the playing of English-medium games such as hangman or crossword puzzles, for example, that purport to give students an opportunity to use their English skills for a purpose that is unusual in the classroom context.

The JET programme is open to participants from numerous countries, and some participants are hired to assist with the instruction of languages other than English, but in 2010 more than 90% (CLAIR, 2011) of the assistant language teachers hired for the programme came from countries where English is the dominant language: The United States of America, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland.

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Team teaching in other Asian contexts

The Japanese government is not the only one in East Asia to hire native English speakers (NES) and NES teachers for language teaching purposes. In China the government does not run a national level programme, but individual regions do hire NESs to work in Chinese schools (Jeon & Lee, 2006; Qiang & Wolff, 2003: Liu, 2008). In Hong Kong, the Native-speaking English Teachers Scheme brings native English speakers (NESs) to work as teachers in primary and secondary schools (EDB, 2012). Participants in the Hong Kong programme must be trained teachers with teaching experience, unlike JET participants who need only be NESs with a university degree in any discipline (Lai, 1999). In South Korea, where the desire to learn English has been called a "mania" (Park & Abelmann, 2004, p. 646) and "fever" (Jeong, 2004, p. 40), the government hires NESs to work in secondary schools through the English Program in Korea, although on a much smaller scale than the JET programme. In Taiwan the government licenses recruiting agencies to hire NESs, but does not do any hiring on its own (Jeon & Lee, 2006).

Despite the introduction of these other plans to bring NESs into public secondary school classrooms around Asia, the JET programme remains influential in the field in terms of its longer history, the greater number of participants involved, the commitment to putting NESs into classrooms in all areas of the country, and the programme's willingness to embrace team teaching as an innovative, if not necessarily effective, teaching method. (On the other hand, the JET programme does not require AET participants to hold teaching qualifications, so it is not necessarily a leader in terms of pedagogical rigour.) For these reasons any analysis of team teaching in Japan can also be seen to be relevant to other educational contexts in East Asia and elsewhere.

Team teaching as a pedagogic device

Current research generally supports the idea that team teaching is beneficial to student learning, although "definitions of team teaching in the literature are based on a cacophony of voices arising from a variety of pedagogical contexts" (Anderson & Speck, 1998, p. 671). The generally positive attitude present in most relevant literature is apparent in Buckley's (2000, p. 4) enthusiastic assertion that team teachers "share insights, arguing with one another and perhaps even challenging students to decide which approach is correct. This experience is exciting. Everybody wins!" Team teaching has been used to teach a range of subjects at all levels of education in various countries. It is perhaps because of this that it is difficult to arrive at a single definition of what it means to team teach. Referring to team teaching by

pairs of instructors, Jang (2006, p. 177) said the "primary concern is the sharing of teaching experiences in the classroom, and [teachers'] co-generative dialoguing with each other." Pugach and Johnson (1995) advocate full equality between the two teachers, while Aline and Hosoda (2006) are less concerned with the equal sharing of duties, arguing that one teacher can be in charge of the class and that both teachers do not have to be in front of the class instructing jointly at all times. Studies like these focus on team teaching as a small collaborative project involving two teachers who are present for most parts of the teaching: lesson planning, content delivery and evaluation. The duties may be shared unequally, but there is an expectation that both teachers will participate in most aspects of the teaching.

In spite of years of research pointing out the benefits to students who are taught by non-native English speaking (NNES) teachers (Medgyes, 1992; Sutherland, 2012; Tajino & Tajino, 2000), it seems to be assumed by many people in Japan, and many in other Asian countries that hire NES teachers, that NES teachers are a pedagogical panacea. The following quotation can stand as a summary for this pro-NES sentiment: "The aforementioned five Asian countries [China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea] have found that hiring NSET [native-speaking English teachers] is one of the most efficient ways to improve the local student English proficiency" (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 57). This quotation concludes an article on the hiring practices of government and private institutions in East Asia. The article contains no evaluation of NES teachers, yet the authors feel confident in asserting that schools can only benefit from their introduction.

In Japan NES teachers have been introduced as part of team teaching practice, the joint classroom instruction and management by a Japanese teacher and an assistant. This, according to Tajino and Walker (1998), has been the major visible change in the ELT curriculum in Japan since the 1980s, beginning with the inception of the JET programme and other similar schemes. Team teaching has spread from being a rarely seen teaching method in a few test classes to being "one of the standard communicative features of public secondary school English education in Japan" (Miyazato, 2001b, p. 232). It has also become popular with students (Miyazato, 2002) and some JTEs (Browne & Wada, 1998).

NES teachers in Japan must teach in teams, as the law mandates the presence of a Japanese government-certified teacher in elementary or secondary school classes (McConnell, 2000). While the motivation for introducing team teaching was undoubtedly positive, the benefits are largely assumed, as with Jeon & Lee's assumption that NES teachers are always beneficial. For example, Benoit and Haugh (2001, no page) make the following claim about team teaching in EFL: "In foreign language teaching, particularly teaching English as a

foreign language [...], usually one in the pair is a native speaking assistant of the target language. [...] The main teacher on the other hand, is usually more experienced and not a native speaker of the target language (hence the desire for a native speaking target language assistant)". This assertion is based on the assumptions that, first, an NES teacher is necessary for English teaching, second, team teaching is dependent on the presence of the NES and, third, that team teaching is the best use of the NES and non-native English teachers' time and effort. While there certainly seem to be benefits to team teaching in language education, with perhaps the most important one being that it has been found to be popular with students in a variety of contexts (Miyazato, 2002), some of the assumptions being made about it may be unfounded.

Teachers' roles in team teaching in Japan

Brumby and Wada (1990) suggested roles for team teachers, especially that the NES take on the role of target language model, but it was left for other researchers to clarify what roles the teachers actually took on. Scholefield (1996) summarised a broad questionnaire survey of 121 JTEs' views on what roles AETs played in their classrooms. The most common roles mentioned were AETs as models, speaking clearly and slowly using a simple vocabulary level, AETs as conversation partners, talking with students using gestures and interesting self-introductions, and AETs as cultural informants, bringing realia, maps, photos and so on, to stimulate class interest.

Scholefield claims these three suggestions provide implicit approval for what she calls Western-style teaching, although she perhaps overlooks the fact that the AETs' limited Japanese language skills and lack of teacher training (cf. Fujimoto-Adamson, 2010) limit them to roles of this nature. AETs must use simple English and gesture for elaboration because they typically cannot speak Japanese, and they cannot use textbooks because they are neither likely to be familiar with the contents nor able to read the instructions in them. Interestingly, few respondents to the survey Scholefield reports on commented on the AETs being native speakers of English. It is of course possible that the AETs' NES status was taken for granted and thus not worthy of commenting on.

Unlike Scholefield, who asked JTEs what roles they thought AETs played, Mahoney (2004) looked at what roles JTEs and AETs thought they *should* each play. He summarised a Japanese Ministry of Education survey to JET programme participants that used both closed and open-ended questions to query JTEs and AETs about their roles in team teaching. This research found that 50 percent of JTEs wanted AETs to act primarily as cultural informants,

mostly of their own culture but also of foreign cultures in general. AETs were less likely to see themselves in this role, with only 40 percent seeing themselves as cultural informants. This may have been because the JET administrators try to emphasise the exchange aspect of the programme to JTEs, thus minimising the need for them to think of AETs as language teachers. As to language, only 40 percent of JTEs compared with 50 percent of AETs felt that the AETs' primary role was to be a language informant. Other roles suggested by both JTEs and AETs included the desire for AETs to act as lesson planning assistants and student motivators. AETs reported that they expected to act as grammar teachers, but no JTEs shared this expectation.

Tajino and Walker's (1998) research explores students' expectations of JTE and AET roles. Not surprisingly, given the attitudes many students have to Japanese and NES English, students expected AETs to help them primarily with their speaking skills and JTEs to help them primarily with reading skills. They reported the complete opposite with regards to which skills they expected to be helped with least, confirming that AETs are often seen as conversation partners while JTEs are seen as teachers of linguistic accuracy. As for roles, JTEs were expected primarily to teach grammar and explain study skills. AETs were expected to help students improve their conversation skills and teach pronunciation.

In these and other articles on team teaching (Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Anderson & Speck, 1998; Carless, 2006; Gorsuch, 2002) there seems to be relatively firm agreement regarding the main roles JTEs and AETs should play, both from teachers' and students' points of view, although there is some disagreement over minor roles (Mahoney, 2004). AETs are to focus on speaking and promoting spoken interactions with students, and to act as cultural resources, either by explaining their own experiences or by bringing in materials to use as aids. Japanese teachers are expected for the most part to handle explicit language instruction, classroom management and most other aspects of a typical class. Many of Brumby and Wada's (1990) original suggestions, such as having teachers share lesson planning duties, homework correction and classroom management, either do not register at all or only as minor items. This may be partly because of the ephemeral nature of the AETs' employment: they are not directly responsible for students, they often see a class only once out of every four visits by a JTE, and they sometimes visit numerous schools as part of their routine. Regardless of the reason, for the most part AETs are freed from almost all responsibilities and have only to arrive in class and talk to fulfil their part of the team's role. JTEs are left with what could be considered the unpleasant aspects of teaching: the routine management issues, the paperwork and the discipline. This may also contribute to what has been called the star quality of the

AET (McConnell, 2000; Sturman, 1992), as they are largely unencumbered by either the physical teaching paraphernalia of a JTE or the potentially negative relationships that JTEs will have developed with some of their students. This lack of responsibility may appear even in the interactions between the two team teachers during class time. Fujimoto-Adamson's (2005) case study found that during the class the AET received support from the JTE, but did not provide much support in return. AETs arrive, teach communication-based lessons that often involve songs, games or other breaks from the usual teacher-centred lessons, then leave until the next visit.

The following sections of this paper's research show that, despite the oft-stated focus on NES teachers as models of 'real communication', these teachers are impeded in several ways from presenting their students with models of native English.

Data Collection

Data for this research was primarily collected through qualitative research interviews, one type of what Kvale (1996) called professional interviews, a class of interviews that also includes police interviews and job interviews. In such interviews the interviewer must "converse with respondents in such a way that alternate considerations are brought into play" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 17), giving participants enough conversational space to form and present their own opinions as freely as they can. Kvale (1996) argues that the interview should attempt to discover the life world of the participant while remaining focused on certain themes of relevance to the research being done. This type of semi-structured interview (Wengraf, 2001) is therefore not completely standardised, for there must be room to allow for individual differences in participants' life worlds, yet it must also be directed with some specificity at particular topics. I kept a list of questions with me to make sure all the topics of interest were covered, but I also followed the participants down whatever avenues of discussion they were willing to lead me. My interview schedule ensured that the interviews would have breadth, but the free discussion following my initial question were an attempt to ensure that the interviews would also have depth.

As the interviews were generally at least one hour long, they can be called in-depth interviews, which Johnson (2001, p.103) says "commonly involve one-on-one, face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and informant, and seek to build the kind of intimacy that is common for mutual self-disclosure." The time scale of an in-depth interview gives the interviewer the opportunity to move beyond the initial superficial level of conversation to achieve a deeper level of understanding (Legard et al., 2003). First responses to initial

questions can be followed by probes that attempt to provide insight into the reasons behind participants' utterances. Responses can be examined by both the researcher and the participant to see if they are opinions, beliefs, or feelings and the depth of commitment by the participant to those answers can be evaluated. The depth of an interview is marked by the appearance of elaborated responses, including participants' recollections of situations and their feelings and opinions about those situations (Merton at al., 1990).

Johnson (2001) argues that in-depth interviewing allows an interviewer to approximate the level of knowledge that participants have about a topic. In this view the participant is a teacher and the interviewer is a student who wants to gain membership, albeit probably only for a limited time, into the group the participant is part of. If successful the interviewer can go beyond the level of a commonsense understanding of the participant's life world to "uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary view" (Johnson, 2001, p. 106). Participants in short interviews may feel it necessary to get "a passing grade" (Merton et al., 1990, p. 100) in an interview by answering questions with a preferred response (Tsui, 1994), that is, the response they think the interviewer wants. During a lengthier in-depth interview the interviewer can give participants time to orient themselves to the interview, rather than to the interviewer, which allows for answers based on the participants' life world rather than interviewer's questions. As Baker & Johnson (1998) argue, lengthier interviews help turn participants into joint meaning makers with the interviewer, empowering participants and giving them opportunities for self-reflection and "therapeutic release" (Sinding & Aronson, 2003, p. 95) as they express themselves to a willing and possibly expert listener.

Data collection of this type may be especially pertinent in Japan. Fujimoto-Adamson's (2004, p. 1) meta-analysis of the methodologies used in team teaching research in Japan put forward "a proposal for qualitative, interview-based research at the local level." She concluded that previous studies' focus on producing generalisable findings had led to a lack of localised information. Her call echoes that of Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi (2005, p. 218), who have highlighted the need for applied linguistics research to "provide a space for the voices of local teachers... situated in diverse socio-cultural contexts of the world."

As a secondary method of data collection for this research I engaged in classroom observation at a Japanese commercial senior high school in Tokyo. During the observation period I also took field notes during informal chats at the same location with teachers and the school principal, and collected some written answers to interview questions, both from participants whom I interviewed and from two who chose not to be interviewed. While a

detailed analysis of the results of the classroom observation is beyond the scope of this paper, the observations did corroborate the analysis presented in the 'practices' section below.

Participants

The 19 interview participants, all Japanese teachers of English in Japanese high schools, were selected using purposive sampling (Barbour, 2009). Of these 12 were currently working as teachers in Japan and the remaining seven were on sabbatical to study in various graduate schools at universities in London, England.

The participants, five men and 14 women, ranged in age from their mid-twenties to mid-forties, with one teacher was in his mid-sixties. Eleven of the nineteen participants had Masters degrees in teaching-related fields from universities in either the United States or Great Britain. Their teaching experience ranged from a new teacher in her first year of full-time work to three teachers in their third decades of teaching. All had worked for at least one year with assistant teachers of English. The teachers' pseudonymous initials used in this paper have no connection to their actual names.

Data Analysis

To analyse my data I was concerned with what is broadly called discourse analysis. Generally, discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use (Brown & Yule, 1983), especially language "beyond the sentence boundary" (van Dijk, 1997, p. 7), as van Dijk and others (Schiffrin, 1994) propose, and also within the sentence. (I am aware that it is often difficult to refer to 'sentences' in spoken language, leading some to prefer other terms like 'utterance', but I will continue here with 'sentence' for convenience's sake.) As Cook (1989) points out, it is well-known that grammar controls what appears within a well-formed sentence, but there are also shared understandings among members of a speech community which help negotiate how a sentence relates to sentences that appear before and after it.

Discourse analysis is also focused on the scrutiny of how knowledge is produced, a concern largely associated with the work of Foucault and his assertion that "effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false" (Foucault, 1980, p. 118). Van Dijk (1997, p. 5) refers to this when he says that an "informal, everyday conversation about immigrants may at the same be part of the complex practice of communicating ethnic stereotypes." Kubota (1999, p. 11) makes van Dijk's general example more specific in her critique of "the essentialized representations of culture found in discussions of teaching" when she argues that researchers and writers often uncritically claim

that Japanese people underemphasize self-expression and creativity. Both of these writers are looking at discourse in the Foucauldian sense, which is less concerned with the tones, sounds, words, and so forth, that make up set of words beyond the sentence level, and is more concerned with the meaning that speakers and listeners produce when they make themselves part of discourse.

This is the analysis of discourse writ large, so it includes the elements of discourse previously mentioned, but also looks at how the elements are construed into a bigger societal view of the topic under discussion. This view of discourse analysis echoes Kvale's (1996) argument that knowledge is created through the shared authorship of the interview. Speech is not a process of verbalising some hidden reserve of pure knowledge, but instead is a discursive process that actually produces knowledge. Further to this, Kvale asserts that varied and even contradictory data is a strength of the research interview, allowing researchers to "capture the multitude of respondents' views of a theme and to picture a manifold and controversial human world" (Kvale, 1996, p. 7).

My analysis was guided by 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), so as I analysed the data I attempted to look for any emergent patterns, while simultaneously being open to the fact that "all data... can constantly modify the theory through comparison" (Glaser, 1999, p. 841). Proponents of grounded theory argue that multiple participants' varied responses provide the researcher with opportunities to make connections between responses to unify them into meaningful themes.

As a result of this grounded theory analysis, the data in was coded by separating it into parts or elements for close examination (Kvale, 1996), leading to the four themes explained and analysed below: translation, simplified English and foreigner talk, scripted talk, and AETs' use of Japanese

Practices: Barriers to AET-student interaction

During the interviews Japanese teachers of English often suggested that AETs should act as models of the target language when they are in the classroom. This finding is not surprising, echoing as it does the previous research on teachers' roles outlined earlier in this paper.

The new finding in this research concerns how the respondents' descriptions of classroom practices make it evident that AETs are often not seen by JTEs to be fulfilling this role. The data supports the idea that JTEs see AETs primarily as models of native English, but that JTEs' descriptions of AETs' linguistic behaviour in the classroom does not support the idea that this is happening. Four classroom practices, namely the use of translation, simplified

English, scripted talk, and the Japanese language, may all interfere with the AETs' provision of native English in use.

Translation

Respondents pointed out that translation of an AET's English by the JTE is a quick and convenient way to overcome communication difficulties, a comment that echoes McConnell's (1996) description of the team teaching process. (All the respondents used 'translate' and related word forms to refer to what might be more appropriately called oral interpretation, so I have used 'translate' in the same sense here. No respondent used any form of the word 'interpret' in their interviews.)

Fujimoto-Adamson's (2010) research showed a JTE using English to attempt a negotiation between the AET and the students after the AET used some difficult vocabulary. Some respondents to my research reported doing the same, but they all reported using translation to help in the same situation. One teacher provided the example of an AET who used 'exaggeration' repeatedly. RR summed up the typical use of translation, saying it was dependent on the JTE's judgement as to whether or not students understood the AET at any point in time. (Transcription notations are included at the end of this article.)

Excerpt 1

```
01 RR    and then so all the information and explanations and
02       directions and the ALTs give <.> the students and then I
03       <.> see the students' faces and I think if the student
04       doesn't don't understand and I explain in Japanese but I
05       try not to use Japanese in the class <.> oral class
```

The final clause of Excerpt 1 shows some ambivalence on RR's behalf. She wants to translate to promote understanding, but she tries not to because it is an oral class, which as we have seen is often the main occasion for Japanese teachers to shift their methodological emphasis from *yakudoku* grammar translation to communicative language teaching (CLT). RR had previously said that she taught her classes using "basically Japanese", but with some attempts to use English for classroom language, viz: "but I try to use some English like please open your textbooks to page ten or something @". Her laugh at the end of this utterance, indicated by '@', may be a sign of embarrassment because she was admitting to the researcher, a native English speaker, that she used Japanese almost exclusively in an English class. When asked if the presence of an AET had any effect on her language of instruction,

she said, "I think I use more /English", an insecure response marked by a rise on the first syllable of "English" that may show doubt.

The JTEs are generally in agreement as to why they feel they should not translate. QQ, DD and NN all provide similar reasons, saying that students who know a Japanese translation will follow any English utterance are likely to ignore the English and wait for the Japanese.

Excerpt 2

```
A 01 QQ      if I do that if I do that in a classroom they will my
A 02         students will not listen to ALTs and just try to listen
A 03         to me


B 01 DD      I don't like to translate um what ALTs say because um if
B 02         I do that my students will look fo:r <.> uh like wait for
B 03         my translations


C 01 NN      um if I translate students don't listen to the assistant
C 02         teacher because um they ex ex expect my Japanese then
C 03         that's <.> that can't be listening exercise
```

The use of translation may have an unintended consequence, as it forces the JTE into a subservient position, something LL explained when she was asked about the need for JTEs and AETs to work together.

Excerpt 3

```
01 LL        yes @ I have to do that <.> I have to cooperate un u:n
02           but <.> in (AET's name)'s class he's strong and his
03           class is also strong like military so I am just a
04           translator and if I am a good translator he's satisfied
```

According to her description the JTE and AET fit the roles typically associated with translation at a diplomatic or professional level, a powerful (line 02 "strong" and line 03 "military") figure whose words are important, and a subservient second (lines 03 and 04 "just a translator") who is responsible for making sure the message gets across to the locals.   LL's choice of subject for the verb phrase "have to cooperate" supports this. Instead of using the pronoun 'we', which might be expected if there was a certain level of power sharing, she says "I have to cooperate", which seems from to show her positioning herself in a subservient role. This could depend on her understanding of these words, but the fact that she refers to the AET as "strong" and "military" seems to support the idea that LL felt compelled to work 'for' that

AET, rather than 'with' him. LL seemed keen to emphasize her minimal role, at least in the case of the AET mentioned in Excerpt 3, as in another place in the interview she said "during the 40 minutes (of class time) my role is to be just a translator". Again the use of "just" before translator minimises the importance of her role and gives us a clue as to her feelings about the situation.

LL's interview also gave the impression that at least one of the AETs she worked with was using his superior knowledge of English to belittle her students and treat them as linguistic inferiors. This put her in the position of having to translate while simultaneously shielding her students from the reality of the AET's remarks.

Excerpt 4

```
01 LL      I didn't understand his character at first and
02         I didn't understand his style at first <.> so I was very
03         <.> ah <.> I didn't know what to do at in the first stage
04         <.> but I was learning that <..> he was very ironic
05         person and this is his style @ <.> when I translate his
06         English into Japanese I have to add something so that
07         students <..> a:h don't feel uncomfortable
```

The Japanese word often given as a translation for 'irony', *hiniku*, is also translated by many dictionaries as 'sarcasm'. There is a scholarly debate in Japan over whether hiniku is more like irony or sarcasm. (See Okamoto (2007) for a summary of the relevant Japanese sources.) Those who have spent time speaking English with Japanese people will be aware of hearing one word in contexts where the other might be expected. As Okamoto (2007, p. 1166) points out, "Japanese hiniku requires the target of criticism to be more explicitly expressed, compared with 'irony'," which does suggest a similarity to sarcasm.

If we accept that "ironic person" in Excerpt 4 has a meaning akin to sarcastic person, it appears that the AET was taking advantage of the students' lack of English ability to mock them in some way. LL seems to have gradually realised this ("I didn't understand... at first") and reacted by attempting to protect her students ("add something") from the AET's sarcasm so that they didn't "feel uncomfortable". It is impossible to know how the AET thought LL would handle his remarks, but it appears that this may be further support of him having an arrogant attitude towards her as he was treating her students with a lack of respect in front of her face and forcing her to translate and simultaneously mitigate the effect of his words to the students.

MM also seems to see the JTE in a peripheral translator role. In Excerpt 5 she explains that AETs, despite being assistants in name, become the focus of team taught classes to the extent that the students become passive participants and JTEs become secondary participants who are only used for their Japanese language skills.

Excerpt 5

```
01 MM      AETs are centred in the class <.> in terms of system they
02         are assistant <..> but in reality <..> I think in most
03         cases AET are speaking AET are talking <.> or asking <.>
04         students are just listening and Japanese teachers <2> are
05         sometimes translate what AET says or something
06         instructions give instructions in Japanese  yeah so I
07         think in reality u:m <.> in most classes AETs are centred
```

This seems to show a split between the intention of team teaching, which emphasised equal participation, and the practice, which has AETs in the primary position and JTEs serving as Japanese language assistants.

There is a final but important point to be made regarding translation; the potential problems it presents to JTEs who are not able to translate English adequately. (Note that this refers only to translating English, not to speaking English.) ZZ said he has trouble translating things that Japanese teachers of other subjects asked him to do.

Excerpt 6

```
01 ZZ      when they face some English problem they always come to
02         us (JTEs) and uh they they question us but the contents
03         is like a you know very special field then I don't
04         understand not the English but the content
```

JTEs, regardless of their language skills, cannot be assumed to be trained translators and so may have no experience with circumlocution, summary or any of the other skills that Newmark (1983) argues are necessary for translation. They may naturally, as Wierzbicka (2003) argues is sometimes the case, provide semantic, word-for-word translations, rather than opting for pragmatic translations that would be more meaningful. In addition, they may be comfortable using English in relation to their own lives and their own work, but they cannot always be expected to be knowledgeable about English used in other fields. In Excerpt 7 MM explains that student expectations that she would translate an AET's self-introduction led her away from her role as a teacher and into a role for which she was unprepared.

Excerpt 7

```
01 MM      sometimes the the terms <.> terms were related to some
02         kind of specific place or specific expression associated
03         with culture or young cultural things <.> so obviously I
04         was not able to translate or <.> precise translation at
05         that time <.> I was I was very criticised by students
06         <.> oh you can't understand English <.> but ex I
07         want to say excuse me maybe <.> native speakers of
08         American don't know that kind of <..> cultural <.> terms
09         <.> so <..> yeah I but in that case I was I was very
10         embarrassed <.> yeah that that that's the negative
11         negative experience in my team teaching
```

Students' perceptions of MM's status and authority as an English teacher may already be in transition, seeing as she is being forced to work side by side with a native speaker of English. Now MM's English expertise is called further into question when she fails to translate something.

The AET's presence and the resulting need for translation has been shown here to variously push JTEs into using a language of instruction that they do not normally think is necessary, marginalise their presence in the classroom, and cause them professional embarrassment. The need for translation also shows that while AETs may be exposing the students to native varieties of English it is not necessarily at a level they understand and so may not be serving any pedagogical purpose.

Simplified English and foreigner talk

The need for translation arises from the AETs' use of overly difficult English. The following four participants also discussed some AETs' use of slow and simplified English, which is not representative of the native English that AETs are supposed to be providing. (cf. Shin & Kellogg (2007) for a description of how this can lead to the JTE's English being more complex than the AET's.)

Excerpt 8

```
A 01 LL    the English he is using is very very simple like do you
A 02       have a question or do you want to ask something a:h <.>
A 03       repeat after me like that


B 01 FF    in the classroom you know they (AETs) of course
```

```
B 02        they are I mean um he tried to speak <.> you know
B 03        a::h <..> to let the students understand everything


C 01 KK     she (an AET) used simple words so that they
C 02        (KK's students) can understand her


D 01 RR     they (AETs) speak very slowly <..> to students and
D 02        to me so I can understand them
```

The comments in Excerpt 8 make it appear that AETs are initiating this type of simplified talk themselves, but there are cases where JTEs ask the AETs to speak in simple English as well.

Excerpt 9

```
A 01 DD    but I tell them to use really simple English because my
A 02       students wouldn't understand um any big words so I I tell
A 03       the ALTs to use short sentences and <.> um say it really
A 04       slow or um draw a picture if they don't understand or um
A 05       <.> like rephrase it


B 01 NN    uh assistant can uh I ask assistant to bring some
B 02       pictures or um try to use uh easy word that students
B 03       learned or um so
```

The emphasis that these two JTEs put on the necessary amount of simplification their students' needs is striking. Because she thinks her students do not understand "big words", DD tells AETs to use several kinds of assistance: (line 01) "really simple English", which is doubly emphatic, (line 03) "short sentences", (lines 03 and 04) slow speech, (line 04) visuals, and (line 05) multiple explanations. NN's comments corroborate the need for simple English and visuals. These two JTEs' comments seem to indicate that AETs need to make extensive modifications to the way they speak if they are to communicate with Japanese students. Language teaching may often feature the use of simplified examples of the target language as a means of allowing students to understand some of what they hear. However, as AETs are positioned discursively as 'real' English speakers something is being lost if they are forced to make such changes. I have never heard a JTE make an open acknowledgement to students in class that AETs were speaking simplified English, nor did a JTE ever tell me that he or she

did acknowledge such to his or her students. There is thus a difference between how AETs are said to be talking to their students and how they are sometimes speaking in reality.

One final point of interest is related to RR's comment in Excerpt 8, where she says AETs speak very slowly to her. The AET may be using 'foreigner talk', (cf. Gass (1997)) as slow, simplified English is sometimes known in the context of NES interactions with NNESs. This can indicate the presence of feelings of status superiority by the native speaker with regards to the non-native speaker (Long, 1983). Lynch (1988, p. 115) has also argued that NNES listeners may report that foreigner talk is condescending, perhaps because NESs who use it are felt to be making "intellectual adjustments, and not merely adjustments to language or discourse". Should any JTEs feel this way it is unlikely to promote good relations between them and their assistants.

<center>Scripted talk</center>

The acronym AET has been jokingly referred to as meaning 'automatic English tape recorder', playing on the fact that AETs sometimes do nothing in class other than read a passage before students repeat it, something that was done with cassette players and is now done with CD players. RR explained that when she has an AET in her class they read dialogues together, saying "textbooks have a like model conversation <..> and we do the model and the AET and JTE and ah we let the students practice the dialogue." KK and MM said they did the same. Of course, most of the textbooks from which they are reading come with CDs that use actors to perform the same dialogues. It could be argued that the CDs are providing performances of scripted dialogue and are thus two steps removed from natural English, but an AET and a JTE are in essence doing the same when they read together.

This is not to say that CDs are accurate reflections of natural English, for they are often recorded presentations of scripted performances. One interview participant, GG, mentioned that he had some experience working with voice actors for textbook CDs. He explained that even the CDs, which were recorded by native English speakers, were not providing students with accurate depictions of any variety of native English.

Excerpt 10

```
01 GG    I once um made um um you know materials teaching
02       materials and uh the text was uh recorded by a was um
03       read out um by American professional narrator living in
04       Japan and they said which speed would you prefer natural
05       English or Tokyo natural you know this is a jar kind of
06       jargon Tokyo natural which means they don't speak or
```

```
07        speak like that with native speakers you know very slowly
08        very artificial variation of English
```

In this excerpt GG shows that he is certainly aware that this kind of spoken English is not representative of anything students might encounter in reality (line 08 "very artificial"), but he also later said that any other kind of English would be "very very hard difficult to understand" for students. When I asked which variety he chose, GG said, "well well of course uh you know Tokyo natural because it's easier for both teachers and ah students to understand". He went on to comment that in fact almost all of the English that Japanese students would hear was mediated like this, whether it was on TV or radio English conversation programmes or from their AETs in school.

AETs' use of Japanese

AETs are not normally required to be at all fluent in Japanese. Respondents mentioned that AETs sometimes used limited Japanese. FF said, "sometimes just for a joke or you know he or she (an AET) will say some Japanese word". However, several interview participants mentioned working with AETs who speak Japanese to the extent that they use it regularly, whether for simple classroom language ('please open your book', and so on) or as a language of instruction.

AETs who speak Japanese may be useful as models of successful language learners, perhaps encouraging students to see that it is possible to learn a language as different from English as their own is. BB said she thought AETs should be able to speak Japanese as it would give them some insight into the language learning process and allow them to model certain language learning techniques they themselves used, but she did not want them to speak Japanese in the class.

On the whole having an AET speak Japanese contravenes the idea that Japanese students need to hear real English as it is spoken by native speakers. KK seems to have realised during her interview that perhaps it was not right to admit that an AET speaks Japanese frequently in the classroom.

Excerpt 11

```
01 KK    I think he speaks Japanese like <.> sixty percent and
02       English forty percent <.> I think I'm going to tell him
03       that @ I want you to speak English @
```

KK didn't elaborate on why she had not yet told him to avoid speaking Japanese, but it may have simply been for the convenience of having him direct the class. Her laughter in line 03 could signify her realisation that it is absurd to have to tell an AET, hired because he is a NES, to use English in her class. She had previously said that AETs were the main actors in her classes (KK: "basically the AETs take initiative I don't") and seemed satisfied with this, so in this case the AET was not really fulfilling his purpose as a model of real English.

LL, on the other hand, said she was actively working to convince an AET in her class to stop speaking Japanese, emphasising in line 02 of the following excerpt that she prefers he speak English.

Excerpt 12

```
01 LL   I'm feeling kind of frustrated about his class <..> so I
02       want to tell him that he should speak English <.> a:nd
03       my students are 16 years old so easily they can
04       understand his English if he speaks only clearly
```

LL's frustrations were such that she had been to speak to her head teacher about this AET in an attempt to get him to adhere more closely to what she believed were the goals of team teaching. Her final comment is telling in that she doesn't ask for him to speak slowly, or simply, or according to scripted dialogues. She just wants him to speak "clearly", which is a reasonable request of any teacher.

Problems with Japanese team teaching

The majority of foreigners in Japan are NNESs, and Japanese people are more likely to use English to communicate with other NNESs than with native speakers (Tanaka, 1995). Thus a more realistic use of team teaching would involve a JTE and an accomplished NNES user of English. As Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2005) have argued, the varieties of English used by Japanese speakers of English and other NNESs are valid in their own right and need not always be positioned as deficient when compared to native English.

Nevertheless, the AET is being made responsible for two of the primary goals of the language classroom. First, the AET is the model for accurate pronunciation and communication. It is the AET's use of English that is made primary, despite the fact that students have two English users before them. The other teacher, the JTE, is an English user who came from a similar linguistic starting point as the students and would therefore seem to be a more natural choice of linguistic target. Second, the AET is being implicitly set up as the

actual purpose for English communication, for it is the AET's language that is expected to motivate the students. These twin pedestals that the AET has been set on, right from the start of the team teaching experiment as is evident from Brumby and Wada's book, have had consequences for team teaching research and practice through its entire run so far. The dominant theme for much of the discourse has become one where the roles and even values of the AET are the focus for discussion, leaving the JTE marginalised.

Crooks (2001, p. 32), for example, says that team teaching was implemented to help shift the curriculum from one based on grammar to one based on communication, "with the AETs' native-speaker abilities being utilized to achieve this aim". The problem is defined as a need to shift from a historically popular Japanese approach to language instruction to a more modern Western one. The answer also comes from the West in the form of the AET. Crooks continues, saying "JTEs have found themselves having to change their teaching practices, putting the language they teach into everyday use in negotiation with the AETs, and approaching English in different ways for the benefit of their students" (2001, p. 32). The implication here again is that the Japanese side needs to be changed. It is JTEs who must change their methods, the methods that they likely experienced as language learners. It is the JTEs who must make accommodations for the AETs' lack of linguistic skill. It is also the JTEs who must seek new ways to benefit their students.

An additional concern for JTEs is that making time for team-taught lessons with AETs reduces the amount of time they have to focus on preparing students for examinations. Fukuzawa (1994) says the Japanese school system is guided by a text-centred curriculum driven by the need to pass exams. This creates a constant 'washback' effect, pushing teachers to focus on exam preparation over other considerations. The washback effect, when neglected, can be an impediment to the implementation of communicative teaching methods (Prodromou, 1995), so teachers may feel that the need for students to succeed on examinations is more important than learning to communicate. JTEs interviewed by Sato and Kleinsasser (2004, p. 806) reported that they were "at a loss to explain the goals and objectives" of communicative language teaching, while teaching for exams felt comfortable because it provided them with a clear, well-defined purpose for their teaching.

Nunan (1992) argues that successful team teaching needs support from administration, time for implementation and enough teacher training for teachers to develop appropriate skills. Carless's (2006) evaluation of these criteria in relation to team teaching in several countries found that in Japan they were not present most of the time. In fact, Carless notes that the one case study of team teaching from Japan he chose as an example of good practice is an

anomaly: the AET had a Master's degree in applied linguistics, spoke Japanese, enjoyed being part of Japanese culture, and worked for a school that allowed him to participate fully in school matters, including attending teachers' meetings and making speeches to the local parents' association. Until more attention is paid to improving team teaching, classroom practices such as the four outlined above show that the reality of team teaching is often at odds with its stated goals.

Conclusion

The JET programme and team teaching both helped drive and were themselves driven by a rapid expansion in the popularity of English education in Japan during the mid to late 1990s (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). During this period of time slogans like 'globalization', 'cultural difference' and 'international understanding' (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006, p. 277) became popular in government-run schools. Seargeant (2005) argues that this went hand-in-hand with a desire for authenticity in foreign language practice, to the extent that foreign language theme parks in which Japanese tourists could interact in English in constructed social and institutional situations were developed and popularised.

The employment of AETs in team teaching may be a reflection of this search for authenticity. AETs are by nature both linguistically authentic native speakers and they are culturally different than JTEs, which may provide students with a different type of motivation to learn English. However, the presence of the four barriers which I have described in this article suggests that AETs cannot always be positioned as providers of authentic native English in classroom interactions.

Transcription Notations

(   ) = text included by researcher for clarification

_____ = emphasis   @ = laughter

<.> = pause of roughly one second   : = lengthened sound

<..> = pause of roughly two seconds   / = rising intonation

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Are Logical Connectors (LCs) Catalysts for EFL Students' Reading Comprehension?

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Abstract

Logical Connectors (LCs) are words and phrases (e.g., for example, however, therefore) that signal the direction of the logical relationship between consecutive sentences. They play an important role in text comprehension at beyond-sentential (discourse) level. LCs signal four distinct types of logical relationships: additive, causative, adversative, and sequential. Previous research findings suggest that readers encounter variable levels of difficulty in understanding different logical relation types, hence their respective LCs. Additives have been found less cognitively demanding for the reader to process than causatives and adversatives; thus, they are the easiest to understand in a text. Using two proficiency tests and two versions of Ozono & Ito's (2003) Logical Relations Reading Test on 429 Jordanian school and English-major undergraduate students, this study examines students' reading comprehensibility of three logical relation types in both L1 (Arabic) and L2 (English): additive, causative, and adversative. The results support previous findings about variability in understanding different logical relation types across both L1 and L2. However, whereas the findings do not refute a cognitive-load explanation for variability in readers' treatment of LCs, they suggest a semantic-based as well as a cognitive-access explanation. The study suggests some considerations to be taken into account in future research towards rigorous investigations of reading comprehensibility associated with LCs and some implications for EFL instruction.

Key Words: EFL reading, Logical connectors, Logical relation type, Cognitive load, Cognitive access.

Introduction

Reading is an interactive, demanding process that requires, among others, command of the language at beyond-sentential (discourse) level. Towards full comprehension of text as a meaningful whole, discourse competence, a major component of communicative competence, demands that the reader perform bottom-up as well as top-down processing (Savignon, 2001). These processes are strongly associated with the two concepts of cohesion and coherence whereby the latter refers to the way all sentences or utterances in a text relate to a single global proposition and the former refers to local connections or structural links between sentences (Savignon, 2001).

Cohesion, according to Halliday & Hasan (1976), is defined as the links that hold a text together and give it meaning or the use of explicit linguistic devices that signal relations between sentences and parts of texts. It is achieved through two major types of cohesive relations (grammatical and lexical) that are then subcategorized into five minor categories of cohesive devices: reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical reiteration and collocation, and conjunction (using logical connectors (LCs)). Reference constitutes items which make reference to other elements in the text; ellipsis involves the deletion of elements the reader can guess from the context; substitution involves the replacement of one term by another in avoidance to repetition; and lexical cohesion which refers to the repetition of the same lexical item, a superordinate, or collocation.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) assert that LCs differ from other cohesive devices in that they function by virtue of their specific meanings. That is, it is difficult for the reader to use them as cohesive devices if s/he fails to understand any of the two ideas a specific LC links. Therefore, by signaling the direction of the logical relationship between the two ideas linked together, LCs help the reader understand the semantic relation between the sentences in a text (Sanders & Noordman, 2000). In other words, they link the actual words we see in order to produce quality writing. Additionally, they lead the reader to feel that the sentences make sense.

In summary, LCs play a crucial role in a text as they (a) indicate the relationship existing among the sentences within a given text and thus lessen the need for complex cognitive processing; (b) facilitate the prediction process while reading; (c) guide the reader to move forward or backward within the text in order to make logical inferences; and (d) help readers develop local cohesion and global coherence. For these reasons, LCs are prevalent in high-quality expository texts (Javis, Grant, Bikowski, & Ferris, 2003).

In addressing LCs, this paper is motivated by several considerations. To begin with, previous research findings, especially those based on EFL learners, have drawn a complex picture of the relationship between these textual signals and comprehension (Zadeh, 2006). Additionally, in the case of EFL learners, particularly Arabs, previous research focuses on writing with little about reading. One more consideration is that the reading problems of EFL students are generally attributed to differences between L1 and L2 without any consideration to factors that might relate to the task, crossing the border between L1 and L2 (Mourtaga, 2006). In addition to these considerations, of no less importance is the researcher's clear understanding of previous research findings. To be specific, the pattern of thought that has emerged following Ozono and Ito's (2003) study is that the cognitive load required for processing different logical relation types varies, especially across readers of variable proficiency levels. It should be noted that those researchers did not examine students' comprehensibility in both L1 and L2. The assumption the current study adopts is that the validity of a cognitive-load hypotheses is better to examine across both L1 and l2 to see if the variability in processing different logical relation types crosses the boundaries of an individual language.

Literature Review

LC Contribution to Text Comprehension/ Discourse Processing

Discourse processing models acknowledge the role of LCs in linking the conceptual relations in a text, hence facilitating comprehension. They make the reader's task easier to construct text representation since they provide explicit information about the relations between segments (Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Carrell (1987) cites various studies in NES/NNES (native speaker of English/non-native speaker of English) contexts with findings illustrating the importance of LCs to guide the reader's interpretation of discourse. Similar findings have been reached by other investigators who addressed logical connectors, in particular. For example, Haberlandt (1982), based on measuring the processing time when LCs (e.g., however) are used in a text, found that sentences that include connectors are faster to read than those devoid of LCs (Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Similarly, Irwin (1986) found that explicit marking of causative relations has a positive effect on the reading comprehension of college students and school students from different grades. Irwin also reported that the recall of causative relationships by NES fifth graders on a delayed, prompted recall task was helpful in recalling ideas from text.

Chung (2000) found LCs to be more beneficial for readers below the advanced proficiency level since they contribute to discourse at a macrostructure than microstructure level, as has been suggested by van Dijk and Kintsch (1983). These findings go in line with what Irwin (1986) explained: that low proficiency readers find difficulty in processing texts at a global level since those readers exhaust working memory with local textual constraints. They depend on LCs to construct global coherence. Meyer, Brandt, and Bluth (1980) showed that connectives facilitate recall among poor ninth-grade comprehenders, but not skilled ones. Degand and Sanders' (2002) investigation of the role connectives play in expository text comprehension in Dutch and French revealed positive contribution by connectives to students' comprehension in both L1 and L2. Ozono (2002) also reported that explicit, rather than implicit, marking of logical relationships using LCs had a positive effect on the comprehension ability of both low and high language proficiency readers. Chung (2000), however, reported that low proficiency readers relatively over-rely on logical relationships explicitly marked using LCs. Thus, they get more benefit from LCs compared to high (and medium) proficiency fellows. Consensus among researchers on the positive contribution of LCs to text comprehension has motivated some scholars (e.g., McNamara, Kintsch, Songer, & Kintsch, 1996) to question whether good texts (those in which logical relations are marked by LCs) are always better. They suggest that a text devoid of explicit LCs can be more beneficial for more knowledgeable readers because it requires more effort towards comprehension (Jones, 2010).

Difficulty in Understanding LCs

Reading comprehension and text processing investigators (e.g., Horiba, 2000; Louwerse, 2001; McNamara et al., 1996) have found a positive role for LCs in reading comprehension. However, these findings suggest that LCs have an association with a relative level of difficulty for readers to process compared to other linguistic items in general and other cohesive devices in particular (Cohen, Glasman, Cohen, Ferrara, & Fine, 1979). Above all, findings reveal some variability in readers' ability to understand different logical relation types (Goldman & Murray, 1992; Ozono & Ito, 2003).

Pointing to the difficulty encountered in understanding LCs, Pulver (1986) notes that even NES students "do not understand the meaning and purpose of LCs and tend to "neglect" them even when explicitly used in the texts they read" (p. 69). With particular emphasis on EFL settings, Cohen et al.'s (1979) studies are widely cited as the first to address EFL students' investment of LCs in reading comprehension. Cohen et al. reported that in their four studies

EFL learners did not manage to pick up on LCs, even with basic ones, with a student noting that "she had never known the meaning of thus " (p. 559). In a nutshell, LCs are challenging for NESs and problematic for NNES to understand.

Variability in Understanding Different LC Types

Whereas LCs can be viewed as one category, the fact is that this collective category has four distinct semantic relationships: (a) additive (e.g., moreover, in addition); (b) causative (e.g., therefore, as a result); (c) adversative (e.g., nevertheless, although); and (d) temporal or sequential (e.g., next, then). Additives signal addition, introduction, or similarity. Causatives signal cause/ effect and reason/result. Adversatives signal conflict, contradiction, or concession, etc.). And sequentials signal a chronological or logical sequence (Celci-Murcia & Freeman, 1983). Halliday (2002) suggests that pairs of consecutive sentences can be related to each other by one of a small set of semantic relations, but the type of semantic relation between linked clause, sentences, or propositions can result in variable levels of constraint in specifying such semantic relation. In this regard, additive semantic relations are the weakest or the least constraining of meaning relationships between propositions (Sanders & Noordman, 2000; Goldman & Murray, 1992). Thus, their corresponding connectors can be followed by any information that continues the topic without necessarily adding much knowledge about the relationship between conjoined propositions (Martin, 1983; Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Causatives, on the other hand, provide a particularly strong link by expressing a specific relation between a cause or a reason and an effect or a result (Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Adversatives do the same in showing the specific meaning of contrary to the expectation (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) and specify a departure from the logical argument that is developed up to the point where they appear in the text (Goldman & Murray, 1992).

Goldman and Murray's (1992) studies are probably the first to address variability in processing different logical relation types. They conducted three consecutive experiments to examine NES (native English speaker) and NNES (non-native English speaker) students' ability to use LCs appropriately. Using a rational cloze task, the researchers constructed four passages with blank slots for students to fill in using the appropriate LC among four alternatives each representing a type of logical relation (additive, adversative, and causative). Additives were expected to be the easiest since all they required is to determine an elaboration relationship. Causatives were assumed to occur frequently as a result of students' exposure to narratives, in which causatives are usually prevalent. NES students were expected to outperform NNES students in LC use while the latter group was expected to describe the use

of connectors better based on exposure to formal instruction compared to the intuitive knowledge of NES students.

In the first experiment, asked to fill-in blank spaces and orally justify their item selection, NES and NNES students' responses showed significant difference with the means of correct responses 6.34/8 and 4.88/8, respectively, and with a main effect for the type of connector. Post-hoc comparisons for the source of variance in the LC type revealed a significant difference between additive and causative LCs (combined) and adversatives and sequential LCs (combined). While students made more mistakes in response to slots requiring adversative and sequential LCs, they reported a ratio of 95% appropriate justifications for these types compared to only 75% appropriate justifications on easier LCs (additives and causatives). This means that students provided higher confidence rating in their responses to more difficult LC types. This last finding led the researchers to conduct a second experiment to examine whether another group of NES students would report similar confidence rates (on a 7-point scale: very low confident through very high confident). Again, adversative and sequential connectors (combined) were answered correctly less frequently but received higher confidence ratings than the other two connector types.

To confirm these findings, a third experiment was conducted including NNES students with a lower level of proficiency to whom the passages were adjusted. Confirmatory to the results of the first two experiments, the least correctly answered were the slots calling for adversative (nonetheless, rather) and sequential LCs (second, next). With this third group of students, there was no statistically significant difference between confidence rates relevant to the difference in the type of LC. To conclude, Goldman and Murray (1992) found that certain types of logical relations were consistently more difficult than others. Sequential LCs were the most difficult, followed by adversatives, and then causatives and additives. These findings were contrary to the researchers' hypotheses that causatives would be as difficult as adversatives. Goldman and Murray attributed the unexpected difficulty of adversatives to their low frequency in textbooks and the need for more understanding of the logical relationship. Their first study, the only one to include both NES and NNES students, revealed a significant difference between NES and NNES students' use of LCs in favor of NESs.

More recently, Ozono and Ito (2003) explored 60 Japanese students' use in reading of three LCs: additive *for example*, causative *therefore*, and adversative *however*. The participants were presented with 6 reading passages purposefully selected to match students' linguistic knowledge, with each passage consisting of 4 sentences. The fourth sentences started with a blank space for students to fill in using the appropriate connector (each of the

three connectors was the correct choice for 2 sentences). Scored by one point for each correct response, the three connectors from easy to difficult (regardless of proficiency level) were: additive for example (the mean of correct responses was 1.23/2), followed by causative therefore (1.10/2), and finally however (1.00/2), with no statistically significant difference. However, there was a statistically significant difference between the two proficiency levels. Unlike proficient readers who were not much influenced by the type of the logical relation expressed, low proficiency readers favored for example over therefore, and the latter over however. It should be noted that in a previous study, Ozono (2002) found that low proficiency readers find the adversative however significantly more difficult than the causative because.

Research Questions

The current study aimed to explore differences, if any, in processing different logical relation types and whether variability in comprehensibility is evident in both L1 and L2. The study is guided by the following questions:

- Is there any statistically significant difference ($\alpha=.05$) in EFL learners' comprehensibility of different logical relation types in reading comprehension?

- Is there any statistically significant difference ($\alpha=.05$) between EFL students' comprehensibility of different logical relation types in L1 (Arabic in this case) compared to L2 (English)?

Research Methods and Procedure

Subjects

The participants of this study were 429 students representing both: school students (tenth, eleventh and twelfth graders, n=216) and English-major undergraduates (n=213). Participants were randomly selected from a major public university in Jordan and the public schools in the city where the university is located. All participants had Arabic as their L1 and had sufficient exposure to English (around thirteen years for the undergraduates and an average of eleven for school learners). Participation in the study was on a voluntary basis, and no compensation was offered. Data about students' proficiency levels appear in section 2.2.

Instrumentation

Previous research attributes the inconsistent results of studies addressing LCs to the lack of control to such variables as text length and difficulty, reader familiarity with the topic, and

types of tasks and prompts (Zadeh, 2006). To arrive at comparable findings, this study used two versions of Ozono and Ito's (2003) Logical Relations Reading Test (one version in L1 (Arabic) and an equivalent version in English) and two proficiency tests designed for the purpose of this study. Ozono and Ito's (2003) test addresses three logical relation types (illustrative, adversative, and causative) represented by for example, however, and therefore, respectively. The test considers that: (a) students do not need to consult a dictionary; (b) the average number of words in the passages is comparable (M= 69.3); and (c) the target logical connective (for example, however, or therefore) appears in the fourth sentence of each passage. The test uses a multiple-choice format; students were required to read each passage carefully and select the most appropriate LC (for example, however, or therefore) in light of understanding the semantic relation it conveys and its appropriateness for the context. To reduce the possibility of answering correctly by chance, one more LC; namely in addition was added (more details in Ozono & Ito, 2003). Since the test had six short passages two of which called for the same LC, a student's maximum score on each test was six out of six, and the maximum score on each LC was two out of two.

To obtain data about students' use of LCs in their mother tongue (Arabic), the Logical Relations Reading Test, originally in English, was translated into Arabic. Back-translation was used to ensure that the two versions (English and Arabic) of the test were equivalent.

In order to assess students' proficiency level in L1 and L2, two proficiency tests were designed for the purpose of the study with a format similar to the one used in the TOEFL test. To verify the validity of the two test versions (English and Arabic), each was presented to a five-member panel of university professors (one with a specialty of measurement and evaluation and the other four were specialized in the respective language). Reliability was ensured using a test-retest procedure on two different samples (one for each test version) with reliability coefficients of .79 and .83 for the English and Arabic tests, respectively. Since the maximum possible score earned on each of these tests was 50, the cut-scores for student classification according to proficiency level were: (a) below 17 (low); 17-33 (intermediate); and 34-50 (advanced).

Procedure

The participants of this study were selected based on convenient sampling. They were approached in their regular classes in the presence of their instructors. They were informed about the general purpose of the study and requested to sign the informed consent form. To make the task of matching each student's responses on the four tests easier, each student was

assigned a number. The students were then presented with the two proficiency tests each at a time. Following the completion of each test, students' papers were collected, and the next test was presented. The English version of the Logical Relations Reading Test was introduced before the Arabic version to avoid familiarity with the passages. Each participant's responses were matched in a profile, with each profile including, in addition to the informed consent form, two copies of the proficiency test (Arabic and English) and two copies of the Logical Relations Reading Test (Arabic and English).

The data from each student's profile was fed into and analyzed using SPSS Software version 20. Descriptive (mainly mean and standard deviation values) and referential statistics (t test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)) were used to answer the research questions. When ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference, post-hoc comparisons were carried out using Scheffe.

Results

Variability in Understanding Different Logical Relation Types

In order to answer the first research question addressing the influence of different logical relation types on EFL learners' text comprehensibility, students' answers were analyzed in both the English and the Arabic versions of the test for the three LCs clustered as well as individually. On the English version, the mean score for students' answers was 2.48, SD= 1.56, a value that falls below the average (3 out of six), supporting the general difficulty encountered in dealing with LCs. As for individual LCs, the easiest was for example, with the highest mean score (M=1.04 out of 2, SD= .74), followed by however (M=.76, SD= .71), and then therefore (M=.69, SD= .69). Noticeably, the difference in these calculated means indicates a gap between the mean score on for example, and each of however and therefore (.28 and .35, respectively) compared to the difference between the mean score on however and therefore (.07).

To see whether these mean differences in students' comprehensibility of the three logical relation types in English were significant, One Way ANOVA with repeated measures was used. The results indicated a significant difference [F (2, 856) = 41.58, p ≤ .05]. This difference, post-hoc comparisons indicated, was significant between students' responses on for example (M=1.04, SD=.74), on the one hand, and each of therefore (M= .69, SD=.69) and however (M= .76, SD=.71) (p ≤.01). This suggests that for example was significantly easier to understand than each of therefore and however. Yet, the difference between the mean responses on however compared to therefore was not significant.

The mean score for the correct answers on the Arabic version was 3.84, SD= 1.62, a value that falls above the average score (3 out of 6). At the level of individual LCs, the easiest was for example (M=1.43 out of 2, SD= .68), followed by however (M=1.35, SD= .71), and then therefore (M= 1.06, SD= .76). Similar analysis of variability in students' comprehensibility of the three logical relations in Arabic was carried out using One Way ANOVA with repeated measures. The results indicated significant differences in the comprehensibility of the three logical relations in Arabic as well [F (2, 856) = 47.45, p ≤ 0.001]. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that the difference was significant between students' responses on for example (M=.72, SD=.34), on the one hand, and each of therefore (M= .53, SD=.38) and however (M= .67, SD=.36) (p ≤ .001). Nonetheless, the mean difference between the mean scores on however compared to therefore was not significant.

Cross-Language Variability in Understanding Different Logical Relation Types

To see if students' mean scores on the English, compared to the Arabic, version of the test differed significantly (α=.05) at the level of LCs collectively as well as individually, paired sample t-test was used. The results showed that there was a statistically significant difference between students' mean score on the three LCs in English (M= 2.48, SD=1.56) and Arabic (M=3.84, SD=1.63); t (428) = -16.72, p ≤ .01. This statistically significant difference extends to English for example (M=.52, SD=.37) and Arabic for example (M=.71, SD=.34), t(428)= , p ≤ .05, English therefore (M=.34, SD=.34) and Arabic therefore (M=.53, SD=.38); t(428)= -9.24, p ≤ .05, and English however (M=.38, SD=.35) compared to Arabic however (M=.67, SD=.36), t(428)= -14.77 , p ≤ .05. These results indicate that it was consistently easier for students to comprehend L1 LCs compared to their English equivalents.

Proficiency Level

According to their results on the English proficiency test, students were categorized into three English proficiency groups: low (*n*= 99, *M*=11.95, *SD* = 2.85 with a ratio of 23.1%), intermediate (*n*= 129, *M* =24.63, *SD* =4.43with a ratio of 30.1%), and advanced (*n*= 201, *M*=36.96, *SD* = 3.77 constituting 46.9% of the participants). The difference among the mean scores of the three student proficiency level groups, tested using One Way ANOVA, was significant [*F*(2, 426)= 1535.11, *p* ≤ .01]. The results of multiple comparisons indicated that the source of difference was between each group and each of the other two.

As for results on the Arabic proficiency test, the three groups were also low (n= 74, M=14.6622, SD= 2.06919), intermediate (n= 139, M=25.53, SD =4.12), and advanced (n= 216, M =39.99, SD = 3.04). The difference among the mean scores of the three student proficiency level groups, tested using One Way ANOVA, was significant [F (2, 426)= 1896.82, p ≤ .01]. The results of multiple comparisons revealed that the source of difference was also between each group and each of the other two.

The results of descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) presented in Table 1 indicate that students' performance on the Logical Relations Reading Test varied according to their proficiency levels. A look at their mean scores on the English test first indicates that the mean score of low-proficiency students was 1.78 compared to 2.63 for intermediate-proficiency students, and 2.74 for advanced-proficiency students. This extends to their mean scores on the Arabic version of the test as well; low-, intermediate-, and advanced-proficiency students' scores were 3.05, 3.76, and 4.27, respectively. Likewise, there is no evidence that suggests otherwise when considering students' responses at the level of any individual LC.

Table 1

Results on the Logical Relations Reading Test according to proficiency level

	Proficiency Level	English		Arabic	
		Mean	SD.	Mean	SD
Mean Score on LCs (out of 6)	Low	1.78	1.52	3.05	1.76
	Intermediate	2.63	1.46	3.76	1.58
	Advanced	2.74	1.55	4.27	1.44
	Total	2.48	1.56	3.84	1.63
For example (out of 2)	Low	.39	.37	.62	.37
	Intermediate	.54	.35	.68	.34
	Advanced	.58	.37	.78	.31
	Total	.52	.37	.71	.34
Therefore (out of 2)	Low	.26	.31	.39	.37
	Intermediate	.37	.35	.53	.38
	Advanced	.38	.35	.60	.37
	Total	.35	.34	.53	.38
However (out of 2)	Low	.25	.33	.52	.38
	Intermediate	.42	.36	.67	.36
	Advanced	.42	.35	.75	.32
	Total	.38	.35	.67	.36

It is noteworthy that the relative variability in the challenge posed by a given logical relation type is comparable across the three proficiency level groups. That is, when there was a drop in the scores of advanced-level students on the English test as they transit from *for example* to *however* and *therefore*, respectively, with mean values of 2.74 to .42 and .38, the pattern was not different compared to that of low-proficiency level students. This extends to students' responses on the Arabic version of the exam as well.

These differences in the calculated mean scores of students representing different proficiency levels were further investigated for significance using One Way ANOVA. The results, presented in Table 2, indicate that students' mean scores across variable proficiency levels varied significantly at the level of collective (combined) LCs as well as at the level of individual LCs. Not only this, but the difference was also significant among students' responses across each of L1 and L2.

Table 2

One Way ANOVA for students' scores on the English and Arabic Logical Relations Reading Test by proficiency level

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Arabic LCs (Combined)	Between Groups	100.33	2	50.17	20.62	.001*
	Within Groups	1036.25	426	2.43		
	Total	1136.58	428			
English LCs (Combined)	Between Groups	64.84	2	32.42	14.09	.001*
	Within Groups	980.28	426	2.30		
	Total	1045.12	428			
English *for example*	Between Groups	2.32	2	1.16	8.73	.001*
	Within Groups	56.53	426	.13		
	Total	58.85	428			
English *therefore*	Between Groups	.94	2	.47	4.01	.019*
	Within Groups	49.70	426	.12		
	Total	50.63	428			
English *however*	Between Groups	2.44	2	1.22	10.15	.001*
	Within Groups	51.13	426	.122		
	Total	53.57	428			
Arabic *for example*	Between Groups	1.89	2	.942	8.49	.001*
	Within Groups	47.38	426	.112		
	Total	49.27	428			
Arabic *therefore*	Between Groups	3.01	2	1.51	10.82	.001*
	Within Groups	59.31	426	.14		
	Total	62.33	428			
Arabic *however*	Between Groups	3.78	2	1.90	15.97	.001*
	Within Groups	50.45	426	.12		
	Total	54.24	428			

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The results of post-hoc multiple comparisons revealed that the mean difference in students' scores on each of the two test versions was significant according to the proficiency level across the proficiency groups in each language. One pattern was observed, however. The non-significant comparisons were only eight (three related to group responses on L1 version and 5 related to responses on L2 version). In seven out of these, the non-significance was observed between the intermediate proficiency-level group and the advanced-proficiency group.

That the non-significance was almost consistently associated with these two groups might suggest that there is a threshold of language proficiency level beyond which treatment of LCs does not make a tangible difference. Whereas the difference in the total score on English was non-significant between the intermediate and advanced groups, it was between the low and intermediate groups on the Arabic test. No significant differences were observed in students' performance on each of English *for example*, *however*, or *therefore*, nor on Arabic *therefore* or *however*.

Discussion

Variability in Understanding Different Logical Relation Types

The results of this study revealed that EFL students' investment of LCs in text comprehension is a demanding task. Clearly, their mean score on the English test falls below the pass score, and even on the Arabic test, the mean score was relatively low. These results support previous research findings that suggest a difficulty associated with students' ability to invest LCs as cohesive devices. In particular, they support Pulver's (1986) finding that students not only find difficulty in understanding the meaning and purpose of LCs but also neglect them even when they explicitly mark a given logical relationship. The finding also lends support to Cohen et al.'s (1979) findings suggesting that some students fail to understand the meaning of LCs, even basic ones like *thus*.

Moreover, students' performance associated with individual LCs suggests that EFL readers' text comprehensibility can be affected by different logical relations (illustrative, adversative and causative). This is congruent with the findings of other studies (e.g. Goldman and Murray, 1992) that suggesting that different logical relation types vary in their contribution to reading comprehension. Ordered from easy to difficult, *for example* ranked first, followed by *however,* and then *therefore*. Notably, the mean difference between performance on *for example* and each of the other two LCs was relatively wider than the difference between scores on each of the other two. This indicates a higher level of challenge encountered in the treatment of *however* and *therefore* compared to *for example*.

More than one consideration can stand behind this latter result. First, a semantic-based interpretation suggests that different logical relation types vary in their contribution to text comprehension. According to this understanding, additives in general (illustrative *for example* being one) have a relative low semantic contribution compared to causatives and adversatives. Additives have often been described as less constraining to the meaning than the other two types.

As pointed out by Halliday (2002), any pair of consecutive sentences can be related by a small set of semantic relations, yet the type of logical/semantic relation between linked clause, sentences, or propositions can result in variable levels of constraint in specifying such relation. The relative easiness in understanding additive semantic relations can be attributed to the fact that they are the weakest or the least constraining of meaning relationships between propositions (Goldman & Murray, 1992). Their respective connectors in turn can be followed by any information that continues the topic without necessarily adding much knowledge about the relationship between conjoined propositions (Martin, 1983). It is for this weak constraint they pose on meaning that *and*, as an example, might replace *but* in a compound sentence without much alteration to the meaning but not vice versa. Causatives, on the other hand, according to Black (1985) pose a stronger constraint on the meaning between propositions since they provide a strong linkage by expressing a specific relation between a cause, or a reason, and an effect, or a result (Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Adversatives also have a relative strength as they specify departure from the logical argument developed up to where they appear (Goldman & Murray, 1992). The point to make is that the relative variability in comprehending different logical LCs might be justified by the strength of the respective semantic relation a given LC signals or conveys. The applicability of a semantic-based approach in considering variability among different LCs seems to be applicable not only at the level of different logical relation types but also within the same logical relation type.

Fraser (1998) proposed an intersubstitutability hypothesis which entails that within the adversative category, *but* can be used to replace *however*, but not the opposite, which is justified by the function different LCs perform; *but* expresses a general contrast compared to *however*. *Although* and *however*, according to Fraser place priority on the proposition following them, so both of them are more difficult than *but*. The more restriction on the occurrence of *however* compared to *but* is illustrated by the phenomenon that *however* can always be substituted by *but*, but not vice versa. According to this view, *but* is the most general, followed by *however* followed by *nevertheless* (Fraser, 1998). This variability among different LCs in the level of specificity in their meaning is quite important in the context of this study suggesting that it is insufficient to say that X or Y is a LC that belongs to this or that category in absence of full understanding of the possible implications of this selection on the results. Thus, had this and other studies used a LC like *but* as representative of adversatives, students' performance could have possibly been better on adversatives, a recommendation further research might consider.

Second, writing research should open a new avenue for research addressing LCs whether in reading. Motivated by an understanding of the relationship between reading and writing, the

researcher in the current study compared students' mean scores on the three target LCs with results obtained from students' writing research. Asassfeh (2005) for example addressed perception and actual use of LCs in the academic expository writing of graduate NNES students and NES controls with results showing that each of the two student groups used *for example* more frequently than they used *however* or *therefore*. *However* was also used more frequently than *therefore*. In another study addressing English-major EFL undergraduates' use of LCs, Asassfeh (in progress) found that *for example* appeared in students' writing sample 47 times compared to only 15 occurrences for *therefore* and 18 for *however*. These results hint that students might have variability in the cognitive access to different LCs.

It seems that a third plausible ground for explaining the variable difficulty students encounter in dealing with different types of LCs lies in students' exposure to different LCs. That is, students' familiarity with a given LC might play a decisive role in determining the level of difficulty in understanding it. To exemplify, whereas both *and* and *furthermore* belong to the additive category, it seems reasonable to assume that students will encounter more difficulty in dealing with *furthermore* due to the lower exposure to this LC compared to another more frequently used one like *and*. This stated, out of curiosity, the researcher in the current study asked 10 experienced EFL teachers about their estimation of the use frequency in students' textbooks of the three LCs targeted in the current study. There was a consensus among them that *for example* appears most frequently, followed by *however* and finally *therefore*, which goes in line with the order of the same connectors from easy to difficult according to the results of this study.

Cross-language Variability in Understanding Different Logical Relation Types

The results showed a statistically significant difference in students' comprehensibility of LCs across the Arabic version of the Logical Relation Reading Test and the equivalent English version of the same test. These differences were at the level of both: collective as well as individual LCs. In considering these results, it is wise recalling that previous research findings have developed some conditions for readers' investment of LCs in reading comprehension. First, research findings suggest that readers must have the ability to identify LCs and consider them as markers of text or discourse compared to isolated sentences. According to Nunan (1999), readers should also possess the background knowledge about the topic addressed.

Kintsch (1985) explains that readers should have the world knowledge required to construct the situation model based on the text ideas. Others emphasize the necessity of determining the relationship between the two propositions a LC connects. One possible reason

behind the cross-language variability, accordingly, might lie in EFL students' lower ability to detect a given LC. As Cohen et al. (1979) reported, EFL learners did not manage to pick up even basic LCs. Another possibility is that compared to NESs, EFL students do not view LCs as possessing the potential to link text propositions. Students' higher linguistic ability, manifest in their proficiency, could have played a role in shaping their ability to construct meaning from propositions in L1 compared to L2 could also be an additional factor in creating the significant difference in their mean scores on the two test versions. This significant difference has also been reported by Goldman and Murray (1992) between the mean scores of NES and NNES students.

Proficiency Level

The results pertinent to the relationship between performances on the Logical Relation Reading test by the three proficiency groups revealed statistically significant differences at a cross-language level, at the level of collective LCs, as well as at the level of individual LCs. The mean score on the English version of the test, however, revealed that the gap between the low-proficiency group and the intermediate-level group was wider than the gap between the mean of the latter group and the advance-proficiency group. This was true at the level of students' performance on the English test associated with the collective category of LCs as well as at the level of individual LCs. Nonetheless, the gap was narrower in the groups' performance on the Arabic test whether at the level of LCs collectively or individually. In all cases, it remains true that the pattern reflecting students' performance suggesting that advanced-proficiency students outperformed the intermediate group which, in turn, outperformed the low-proficiency group was not broken. That is, across the two languages and at the levels of collective as well as individual LCs the results were consistently in favor of the advanced-proficiency group, followed by the intermediate and, finally, the low-proficiency group. These findings contradict other findings (e.g., Goldman & Murray, 1992; Ozono & Ito, 2003) suggesting that students' preference associated with different logical relation types vary according to proficiency level.

Whereas that was the general pattern, it should not go without saying that the results of post-hoc comparisons revealed that some mean differences in students' performance were not significant. The majority of these were between the intermediate and advanced proficiency groups. The impact of proficiency level on logical relation comprehensibility, accordingly, seems to function effectively up to a given point where the impact of differences in proficiency level might have a minimal role only in shaping readers' comprehensibility of various logical relations, an assumption that needs further exploration.

Conclusion

The most important motive behind this paper is the new line of research suggesting variability in understanding/processing different logical relation types in reading comprehension. The paper addressed not only whether there is really such variability in EFL reading comprehension but also whether this variability exists across both L1 and L2 (Arabic and English respectively in this study context). At a general level, the findings of this study support previous research findings suggesting variability. This proved to be the case across both L1 and L2. A LC that poses a higher level of difficulty in L1 does so for the same readers in L2 as well. The findings also support the argument that readers' investment of LCs in reading comprehension correlates positively with their proficiency level.

However, unlike previous research findings that suggest that readers representing different proficiency levels vary in the logical relation types they find difficult, the findings of the current study suggest that when a logical relation type was difficult, it was so across different proficiency levels. This was true across both L1 and L2.

These findings have implications on future research and EFL teaching practice. To begin with, the order of logical relation types according to the level of difficulty associated with the logical relation type requires further investigation. Previous research attributes the variability in readers' ability to understand different logical relation types to the cognitive load. Adversatives, according to this hypothesis, are considered the most demanding to understand because they take a causative relation one step further. That is, an adversative relation is a causative one but its result does not agree with the cause. This is what makes an adversative relation more difficult than a causative one that does not require going beyond understanding that X causes Y. It is according to this view that additives are considered the easiest, followed by causatives, and finally adversatives. Whereas the findings of this study support the hypothesis that additives are the easiest to understand, the other two logical relation types (causatives and adversatives) give contradictory conclusions. Whereas previous research suggests that adversative *however* is more difficult than causative *therefore*, this study suggests otherwise. This latter finding is valid in this study in the case of both L1 and L2.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that the variable difficulty encountered in understanding different logical relation types is not independent of the exact LC chosen to represent a given logical relation type. Further research may examine whether altering a LC that represents a particular logical relation type with another. It would be interesting to see any difference in the results if the LC used in this study are replaced by others (e.g., additive *and*, causative *so*, and adversative *but*). This can serve in determining whether the difficulty emerges

from the type of logical relationship or other characteristics such as the use frequency of specific LCs.

Particularly in the area of language learning/teaching, a line has been drawn between task complexity and task difficulty. Unlike task difficulty, which is conditioned to the qualities and characteristics of the language learner, a complex task is complex regardless of those characteristics. With this in mind, this paper suggests a cognitive-access basis for explaining the variability in understanding different logical relation types. It seems there is variability in learners' mental access to different LCs, which in turn plays a role in determining the extent to which a LC can be used easily or with a relative degree of difficulty. Whereas a cognitive load hypothesis (Ozono & Ito, 2003) suggests that certain logical relation types cause more processing effort, a cognitive access hypothesis acknowledges the importance of familiarity with a specific LC and the level of exposure to it in determining the effort required towards its appropriate use. It follows that the issue of whether a given connector belongs to this or that logical relation category might be of less importance compared to whether learners are aware of the semantic and structural implications of using that specific LC.

With direct link to EFL textbooks and teaching methodology, several considerations emerge from the findings of this study. First, the findings of this study reveal that LCs are challenging not only in L2 contexts but also in students' mother tongue. The magic word reading instructors are invited to consider is "logic." As their label suggests, LCs require the reader to be able to realize the type of logical basis that relates two events together. If the reader fails to understand each idea or event, the task of LC investment in reading comprehension becomes unattainable. It is no wonder, accordingly, that some instructors wonder whether they should be teaching language or logic. Reading instructors should provide students with sufficient examples in order to help them see how the change in a LC alters the meaning dramatically. This practice should arouse students' attention and heighten their sensitivity to the subtle differences between different LCs.

Additionally, especially given the reciprocal relationship between both reading and writing, it seems unwise not to acknowledge the importance of LCs in EFL writing textbooks where the general tendency has been to introduce them in the form of lists. These lists typically divide them according to whether they link clauses or sentences and/or divide them according to the semantic function a group of LCs has as if the individual LCs within that group were synonymous. This necessitates that these textbooks be modified to emphasize the difference in the semantic function each LC has so that students become ready to invest it as a bridge that link ideas or events together.

Finally, EFL instructors are invited to help their students become more conscious of the implications of encountering a given LC in a reading text. Adversative and causative LCs should motivate students to pay closer attention to the ideas linked using such LCs compared to easier additive ones.

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Personality and Development of Second Language Pragmatic Competence

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Bio data

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Abstract

This study examined the effect of personality on the development of pragmatic competence among second language (L2) learners of English. Participants were 48 Japanese college students of English in an English-medium university in Japan. They completed a speaking test (k=12) that assessed their ability to produce two speech acts: requests and opinions, in high- and low-imposition situations. The measure was given three times over one academic year to track down development. Speech acts were analyzed for appropriateness (rated on a 5-point-scale) and fluency (planning time and speech rate). Participants' personality was measured via Keirsey's (1998) temperament sorter, and its effect on change in appropriateness and fluency was assessed. Results revealed no significant effect of the introvert-extrovert dimension on any aspects of pragmatic change. However, there was a significant effect of the feeling-thinking dimension on appropriateness and planning time.

Introduction

The study of learner characteristics, or individual differences (IDs), has a long tradition in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) research (e.g., for a review, see Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), a branch of SLA that investigates second language (L2) learners' ability to perform social functions appropriately, has followed this tradition and

accumulated a large body of literature that addressed learners' characteristics that affect pragmatic abilities (e.g., Kasper & Rose, 2002; Kuriscak, 2010). Among the ID factors examined, L2 proficiency has accumulated the most research (e.g., for a review, see Kasper & Rose, 2002; Kasper & Röver, 2005). However, the literature is limited when other ID factors are concerned. In Kasper & Rose's (2002) seminal book, only a small amount of ID research is cited. These studies examined such factors as age (Kim, 2002), gender (Rintel, 1984, Kerekes, 1992), motivation (LoCastro, 2001), and social identity (Iino, 1996, Siegal, 1996). This study aims to fill the gap and examines the effect of personality in L2 learners' ability to produce speech acts appropriately and fluently.

Background

The study of IDs has been a paramount area of SLA research that explains individual variations in L2 performance and predicts success in L2 learning (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Ellis, 2005). Previous research has examined a broad range of ID factors, such as personality, intelligence, aptitude, memory, anxiety, motivation, personality, learner beliefs, learning styles and strategies, and general proficiency (Dörnyei, 2009).

In the field of ILP, however, the ID factors examined to date are largely concentrated on L2 proficiency. Numerous cross-sectional studies compared L2 pragmatic performances across different proficiency levels determined by standardized exams, grade level, or length of formal study (e.g., Dalmau & Gotor, 2007; Félix-Brasdefer, 2007; Garcia, 2004; Geyer, 2007; Röver, 2005; Taguchi, 2007a; Xu et al., 2009). These studies have revealed that higher proficiency leads to better pragmatic performance but does not guarantee native-like performance.

Aside from proficiency, other ID factors have been addressed only sparsely in pragmatics. Kasper & Rose's (2002) seminal book cited only a handful of studies on IDs. These studies examined factors such as gender (Kerekes, 1992; Rintel, 1984), age (Kim, 2002), and social identity (Iino, 1996, Siegal, 1996). A decade after Kasper & Rose's book, the field of ILP has expanded the body of studies on IDs. Some recent studies include Shimura's (2003) study on personality and pragmatic production, Takahashi's (2005) study on the effect of motivation on pragmatic learning, Taguchi's (2008a, 2008b) studies on the effects of lexical access skill and working memory in pragmatic comprehension, Yates's (2005) study on the effect of gender, and Davis's (2007) study on the role of subjectivity in pragmatic choice.

Among these ID factors examined, personality is probably the least examined factor in the ILP research. Yet, personality is an important factor to consider because it closely interacts with affect and in turn influences learners' access to target language contact and social practice which are necessary for L2 development. Previous studies revealed that personality affected the amount of L2 communication and cultural adjustment (McIntyre, 1994; McIntyre & Charos, 1996; Yashima, 1999). Yashima (1999), for instance, showed that extraverts adjusted better to a host country during study abroad. Hence, personality is an important topic to explore in L2 studies.

Previous findings on personality and L2 learning are somewhat inconsistent (see Dewaele & Furnham, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005, 2006; Ellis, 2005, for a review). For instance, Carrell et al.'s (1996) study found correlations between extraversion/introversion trait and vocabulary knowledge, as well as between judging/perceiving trait with grammar, but there were no other correlations. In another study, Lalonde and Gardner (1984) examined the relationship among personality, attitudes, motivation, language aptitude, and L2 achievement, and found no relationship between personality and measures of L2 French achievement and proficiency. Dewaele and Furnham's review (1999) discussed a relationship between personality and oral fluency. They claimed that extroverts are more fluent than introverts: they tend to speak fast, hesitate less often, and produce longer utterances. Confirming this claim, Dewaele (2004) found a tendency of extroverts using more colloquial expressions and being more verbous than introverts. Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002), on the other hand, reported that extroverts used more emotion words.

In the field of ILP, only a few studies have examined the relationship between personality and pragmatic competence. Verhoeven and Vermeer (2002) assessed communicative competence among young Dutch learners of English in relation to personality. Results showed that the trait of openness to communication significantly correlated with pragmatic competence, but the trait of extraversion did not. In another study, Shimura (2003) examined the relationship between personality and pragmatic competence in the speech act of advise-giving. Seventy Japanese college students of English completed the task of writing a formal advice letter. Linguistic strategies were analyzed according to three response categories: direct, hedged, and indirect advice. There was a significant effect of personality type on the choice of strategies: introversion types used more direct expressions than extroversion types.

Because only a few studies have examined the relationship between personality and L2 pragmatic competence, more research is needed in this area. Personality is an important

construct to examine in pragmatics because pragmatic competence encompasses a wide range of knowledge properties, such as linguistic knowledge, knowledge of conventions of language use, and sociocultural norms of interaction, which are likely to develop through social integration and interaction. Because personality could mediate learners' access to social interaction, it would be interesting to examine the relationship between personality traits and pragmatic competence.

In addition, previous studies were almost exclusively confined to a single-moment design by examining the relationship between personality and pragmatic competence at a single point of time, and very few studies have addressed the role of personality from a developmental perspective. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of personality in pragmatic acquisition, a longitudinal design should be employed in the future research.

Finally, most previous studies operationalized pragmatic competence as accurate comprehension and production of pragmatic functions, but fluency aspect of pragmatic performance has been ignored in the analysis of personality effect. This is a serious neglect, considering that a growing number of recent studies have measured both knowledge (i.e., accuracy) and processing (i.e., fluency) in pragmatic performance. These studies revealed that knowledge and processing dimensions are distinct from one another: they exhibit different developmental rates, and they are affected differently by the amount of language contact and cognitive variables (Taguchi, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b). Hence, the effect of personality should be examined in both fluency and accuracy dimensions of pragmatic competence.

The present study aims to fill these gaps in the literature. The study is set to examine whether or not personality traits affect development in appropriate and fluent production of speech acts among learners of L2 English.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 48 Japanese students of English as a foreign language (EFL) in an English-medium university in Japan.[1] In the school all courses are taught in English, 50-60% of the instructors are foreign nationals, and 10-15% of the student population are international students. The participants (hereafter EFL learners) were first-semester Japanese students enrolled in the intensive English program. There were 16 males and 32 females, ranging in

age from 18 to 21 with an average age of 18.33 (*SD*=.66).[2] They lived in a dormitory with international students.

Instrument

A computerized oral discourse completion test (oral DCT) was developed to examine L2 learners' ability to convey intentions appropriately and fluently in speech acts. Participants read situational descriptions and produced two speech acts: requests and opinions.[3] Requests and opinions were divided into two situational categories based on three contextual factors: interlocutors' power difference (P), social distance (D), and the size of imposition (R) (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In one situation type, the power relationship was equal, the distance between the interlocutors was small, and the degree of imposition was small (PDR-low). In the other situation type, the listener had greater power, the interlocutor distance was larger, and the degree of imposition was also large (PDR-high). See Table 1 for sample speech acts.

Table 1
Sample target speech acts

PDR-low
      Asking a friend for a pen
      Expressing a negative opinion about a friend's clothes

PDR-high
      Asking a professor for an extension of an assignment
      Expressing a negative opinion to a professor about his class

The length of situational descriptions was controlled across test items. The number of words used in each description ranged from 55 to 57 with a mean of 55.55 (*SD*=.60). The vocabulary used to write descriptions came from the top 3,000 words in the JACET (Japan Association of College English Teachers) basic word list (JACET, 2003). The final version of the instrument had 14 items: four PDR-low speech acts, four PDR-high speech acts, four filler items, and two practice items. The oral DCT was computerized using the Revolution software (Runtime Revolution Ltd., 1997). The situations were presented on the screen. The instrument was piloted with 25 native English speakers and 12 ESL students prior to the main study. A parallel version of the test was prepared to minimize the practice effect coming from repeated administration of the test. I made slight modifications to proper nouns, object names, dates and times, and conversation topics. Different filler items were used each time.

Evaluation of Speech Acts: Appropriateness and Fluency

Participants' speech acts were evaluated on appropriateness and fluency. Appropriateness was defined as the ability to perform speech acts at the proper level of politeness, directness, and formality. It was assessed using a five-point rating scale ranging from 1 (very poor) to 5 (excellent) (see Appendix A). Four native speakers of English evaluated the samples.[4] Interrater reliability for the appropriateness rating was $r=.92$. About 2.2% of the samples had two points off in rating. They were discussed in the follow-up meetings to reach a consensus.

Following Taguchi (2007a), fluency was measured as two temporal variables: pre-task planning time and speech rate. Planning time was operationalized as the time taken to prepare for each speech act. Speech rate was operationalized as fluidity of language use and measured as the number of words spoken per minute. False starts and repetitions were excluded from word count.

Personality Type Survey

This study used Keirsey's (1998) temperament sorter as a measure of personality. The survey draws on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (1976) and is designed to assess four personality dimensions: extraversion-extroversion, feeling-thinking, perceiving-judging, and sensing-intuition. Extraversion types prefer to focus their attention on the outer world, while introversion types focus on the inner world. Intuitive types prefer abstract and imaginative ideas, while sensing types are more empirically inclined and prefer details. Thinking types follow rational principles and objective criteria in making decisions, while feeling types follow subjective criteria and value interpersonal relationships. Judging types favor a planned, orderly way of doing things and prefer closure, while perception types prefer spontaneity and like to keep things open-ended.

Each dimension was assessed with 20 items that asked participants to choose between two statements that better described their character. This study used items for the introversion-extraversion and feeling-thinking dimensions because they were relevant to pragmatic competence that draws on social concepts such as sociocultural sensitivity, interaction, politeness and face-work. See sample survey items:

Introversion-extraversion

1. At a party do you:

    a. interact with many, including strangers   b. interact with a few, known to you

Feeling-thinking

12. Which appeals to you more:

    a. consistency of thought   b. harmonious human relationships

The survey was translated into Japanese by the researcher. Back translation was conducted by another Japanese bilingual, and the consistency in translation was checked.[5]

Data Collection Procedures

The oral DCT was given individually three times over one academic year. Students put on headphones and read directions in English with Japanese translations. They were told to read each situational scenario and respond as if they were in a real situation and performing the role. They had two practice items. Each item started with a situational scenario on the computer screen. They were allowed to take as much time to read the scenario and prepare for the speech act. When they were ready, they clicked on the "continue" button. Planning time was measured between the moment when the situational scenario appeared on the computer screen until the moment when the participants clicked on the "continue" button. Once they clicked the button, the scenario disappeared and the message "start speaking" appeared on the screen. After they finished the item, they moved on to the next item. The computer recorded their speech. After the test, participants completed the personality survey.

Data Analysis Procedures

The purpose of this study was to examine the effect of personality on the development of pragmatic competence. Pragmatic competence was operationalized as the ability to produce two speech acts (i.e., requests and opinions) appropriately and fluently. Appropriateness was evaluated on a scale between 1 and 5 in two situation types: PDR-low (requests and opinions combined; k=4, total scale of 0-20) and PDR-high speech acts (requests and opinions combined; k=4, total scale of 0-20). Fluency was assessed by two temporal measures: planning time (average time taken to prepare for each speech act) and speech rate (number of words spoken per minute). The effect of personality on pragmatic change was examined by using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) procedures (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002), with "time" as an independent variable, pragmatic abilities (i.e., appropriateness and fluency) as dependent variables, and personality as covariate. Normality of distributions of residuals was checked by inspecting Q-Q plots. Because planning time data was not normally distributed, following Tabachnick & Fidell (2001), a logarithmic transformation was performed before submitting the data to statistical analyses. The alpha-level was set at .05.[6]

Results

Development of Speech Act Production

Tables 2 through 4 display descriptive statistics of appropriateness scores, planning time, and speech rate at three time points. Over time, the EFL students in this study changed toward more appropriate and fluent production of speech acts.

Table 2. *Appropriateness scores, descriptive statistics*

	Mean	*SD*	Min.	Max.
PDR-low speech acts				
Time 1	3.88	1.02	1.25	5.00
Time 2	4.08	.46	2.38	4.75
Time 3	4.73	.31	3.50	5.00
PDR-high speech acts				
Time 1	2.63	.64	1.00	4.00
Time 2	2.71	.50	1.75	4.25
Time 3	3.13	.48	2.13	4.25

Notes. PDR-low and high speech acts include requests and opinions combined. Appropriateness was assessed on a five-point scale ranging from 1 to 5.

Table 3. *Planning time, descriptive statistics*

	Mean	*SD*	Min.	Max.
PDR-low speech acts				
Time 1	48.13	14.80	22.63	90.31
Time 2	43.13	11.40	21.93	97.22
Time 3	33.32	9.79	16.32	68.62
PDR-high speech acts				
Time 1	63.04	20.72	27.27	124.28
Time 2	53.43	14.96	17.50	107.29
Time 3	41.87	13.26	17.27	86.60

Notes. Planning time = average number of seconds taken to prepare for each speech act.

Table 4. *Speech rate, descriptive statistics*

	Mean	*SD*	Min.	Max.
PDR-low speech acts				
Time 1	84.03	23.36	44.89	139.96
Time 2	92.45	19.94	56.10	153.35
Time 3	90.23	22.37	48.65	157.64
PDR-high speech acts				
Time 1	72.86	18.66	36.62	117.34

Time 2	78.17	19.95	37.73	143.92
Time 3	83.40	17.99	52.41	140.85

Notes. Speech rate refers to the average number of words spoken per minute.

One notable trend in the descriptive statistics is that the PDR-high speech acts were more difficult and slower to produce than the PDR-low speech acts across time periods. Slow progress with the PDR-high speech acts seemed to come from the students' limited knowledge of pragmalinguistic forms required for this type of speech act (e.g., hedging, mitigated expressions). It was found that the students had a restricted range of pragmalinguistic forms and overgeneralized one or two forms over a range of functions. The excerpt below illustrates this point. For the PDR-high request of asking a teacher for an extension of an assignment, over time this student abandoned the imperative form with "please" and used "could you" instead, but the target-like structure of mitigated request (e.g., request embedded in bi-clausal structure such as "I'm wondering if" or "Do you mind if") did not appear in the entire study period. This student's appropriateness score was 2.0 at Time 1, 3.0 at Time 2, and 3.5 at Time 3.

Learner #11 (Level 1, male)

Time 1
Dr. Lee, I, I had a cold, so so please, please put off the deadline more two days.

Time 2
Mr. Robinson, I was very busy with two exams and meeting doctors. So please wait two, two days more to work on it.

Time 3
I don't have enough time to finish my homework, so could you postpone the deadline?

In contrast, a few students showed increasing awareness of appropriate semantic moves to use to mitigate the face-threat in the PDR-high speech acts. The excerpt below illustrates this point. This is the situation of expressing disagreement with a teacher about receiving a C for mid-term grade. At Time 1, this student started the speech act with direct expression of frustration, "I don't think it's fair," and he closed the speech act with the same tone. However, at Time 2, he prefaced the complaint with "I have something to tell you." After providing sufficient grounding, the student asked for an explanation for the grade he received. This request for an explanation appeared again at Time 3, but this time in a more open-ended question, i.e. "Is there any reason for that?" Also note that there was a change in the lexis from "I don't think it's *fair*" at Time 1 to "I don't think it is *reasonable*" at Time 3. The phrase "not reasonable" is more solicitous than "not fair" and appropriate in this formal situation.

Learner #30 (Level 2, male)

Time 1
Ah excuse me ah this is not I think it's I don't think it's fair. While it may be true that I I didn't I didn't participate in your class much, but I I I have something to do well ah homework, so it is not unfair, I think.

Time 2
Ah, I have something to tell you about my grade in mid-semester, mid-term. Ah, actually I missed two class and, ah, three homework, but ah, ah my test was, ah, 80%, and I always speaking, I was always speaking up in class. How do you explain about it?

Time 3
Ah Professor William. Ah I have something to talk about talk about with you. Well ah I checked, I checked my grade. And I don't think it is reasonable. Ah actually I missed three classes but ah I may, I made it on my exam on exam every time. Is there any reason for that?

Effect of Personality on the Development of Speech Act Production

The main purpose of this study was to assess the effect of personality on changes of speech act production. The independent variable was "time", and the dependent variables were appropriateness score, planning time, and speech rate. Personality factor was entered as covariates into the HLM analysis. Results revealed no significant effect of the introvert-extrovert dimension on any aspects of pragmatic abilities. However, there was a significant interaction effect of "time" and the feeling-thinking dimension on the appropriateness of PDR-high speech acts. In other words, there was a different effect of the feeling-thinking dimension on the appropriateness score across times periods. The effect of personality was found at Time 1-2, $F=12.53$, $p=.001$ (Cohen's $d=.19$), but not at Time 2-3, $F=.56$, $p=.46$. Hence, we can conclude that the feeling-thinking trait affected the change in pragmatic development in the first semester, but not in the second semester.

The appropriateness score rose corresponding to the "thinking" trait at Time 1-2. However, it should be noted that the "feeling" types had higher appropriateness score at Time 1 (mean=2.93, $SD=.57$) than the "thinking" type (mean=2.30, $SD=.41$), and the difference between these two personality traits was statistically significant ($t=4.13$, $p=.000$). Hence, the interaction effect at Time 1-2 means that the "feeling" types dropped their score at Time 2, while the "thinking" types increased their scores at Time 2. Both types achieved a similar

appropriateness score at Time 2: a mean of 2.73 for the "feeling" type and 2.70 for the "thinking" type.

As a *post hoc* analysis, linguistic expressions used for PDR-high speech acts at Time 1 were compared between the "feeling" and "thinking" types. Due to the space limit, I will present analyses of the request speech act only. Main request-making expressions were classified according to a coding framework adopted from Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), and the frequencies were compared between 19 learners who belonged to the "feeling" type and 19 learners who belonged to the "thinking" type, after excluding the learners who fell in the middle of the "feeling-thinking" continuum. See Table 5 for the coding categories.

Table 5
Coding categories of request-making expressions

I. Direct expressions

   1. Imperatives: The illocutionary force is conveyed by imperative sentences.
        e.g. *Please lend me a pen.*
   2. Performatives: The illocutionary force is stated by performative verbs.
        e.g., *I'd like to ask you to lend me a pen.*
   3. Obligation Statements: The illocutionary force is derivable in obligatory sentences.
        e.g., *You should lend me a pen.*
   4. Want Statements: The illocutionary force is derivable in want/wish sentences.
        e.g., *I want you to lend me a pen.*

II. Indirect Expressions

   5. Preparatory questions: Reference to preparatory conditions.
        e.g., *Could you lend me a pen?*
   6. Suggestions: The illocutionary intent is phrased as a suggestion.
        e.g., *How about lending me a pen?*
   7. Permissions: The speaker asks for the hearer's permission.
        e.g., *May I borrow a pen?*
   8. Mitigated Preparatory: Reference to preparatory conditions in embedded sentences.
        e.g., *I'm wondering if you could lend me a pen.*
   9. Hint: Questions or statements with implicit reference to the action.
        e.g., *My pen just quit.*

Table 6 displays the results. The "feeling" types used indirect strategies more than twice than the "thinking" types. In contrast, the "thinking" types used "want statements" three times as often as the "feeling" types. These differences seemed to be reflected in the higher appropriateness scores that the "feeling" types received at Time 1.

Table 6

Frequencies of PDR-high request expressions at Time 1

	"Feeling" type (*n*=19)	"Thinking" type (*n*=19)
I. Direct Expressions		
1. Imperatives	26.3% (10)	23.8% (10)
2. Performatives	26.3% (10)	11.9% (5)
3. Obligation statements	0	0
4. Want statements	15.8% (6)	50.0% (21)
Total	**68.4%**	**85.7%**
II. Indirect Expressions		
5. Preparatory questions	26.3% (10)	11.9% (5)
6. Permissions	0	0
7. Suggestions	0	0
8. Mitigated preparatory	5.3% (2)	0
9. Hint	0	2.4% (1)
Total	**31.6%**	**14.3%**

Notes. The numbers in the parentheses show the raw counts. % was calculated by dividing the raw count by the total number of requests. Each learner produced two PDR-high requests, so the total number of requests analyzed was 38 for each group.

In addition to the appropriateness score, the feeling-thinking trait also showed significant interaction effect with "time" on planning time for the PDR-high speech acts. The effect of the trait on planning time was found at Time 1-2, F=4.16, p=.04 (Cohen's d=.10), but not at Time 2-3, F=.31, p=.58. The planning time of PDR-high speech acts showed a greater decrease corresponding to the "feeling" type personality, but the effect was very small. Finally, the thinking-feeling trait had no effect on speech rate.

Discussion

This study found that appropriate production of the PDR-high speech acts was not affected by the extrovert-introvert dimension, but was affected by the thinking-feeling dimension. According to Myers and Briggs (1976), the "thinking" types tend to focus on their thoughts, while the "feeling" types pay more attention to their feelings and make decisions based on their emotion and desire. While the "thinking" types are concerned with getting sufficient information to weigh options and make decisions that are both balanced and right for them, the "feeling" types are concerned with harmony, empathy and interpersonal relationships when making choices. In this study, the effect of this personality dimension revealed a

complex picture. The "thinking" types increased their appropriateness scores from Time 1 to Time 2, while the "feeling" types decreased their scores. However, at Time 1, the "feeling" types had a significantly higher appropriateness score than the "thinking" types, as shown in the *post hoc* analyses of linguistic expressions. The "feeling" types tended to be more indirect in their choice of request expressions, favoring preparatory and mitigated-preparatory forms over direct, explicit wish-making requests. Indirectness of the "feeling" types could be the reflection of their tendency to value empathy and personal relations.

Similar to the appropriateness scores, for the planning time of PDR-high speech acts, the feeling-thinking dimension showed an interaction effect with "time." The "feeling" types became faster in planning although the effect was limited to the first semester. In contrast, the "thinking" types had no advantage in planning speed. Hence, we can conclude that, while the "thinking" trait was advantageous for the appropriate production of the speech acts, this trait did not affect planning speed. These findings imply that there is a distinction between knowledge and processing dimensions of pragmatic competence. Knowledge (as reflected in the appropriateness score) and processing (as reflected in fluency) was affected differently by the personality trait.

The finding that the feeling-thinking dimension positively affected planning speed is not surprising because the feeling-thinking dimension reflects people's preferred way of decision-making. The "feeling" types tend to listen to their heart and make decisions based on their emotion and desire. The "thinking" types are more analytically-oriented and make decisions based on a logical, objective examination of issues (Myers & Briggs, 1976). Hence, it is possible that the "thinking" types did not improve much in planning speed because they were more analytical and careful in decision-making. As a result, they took a longer time to proceed with the task. This effect appeared in PDR-high but not in PDR-low speech acts, probably because of the greater amount of sociocultural information to process in the former.

Finally speech rate, another temporal variable examined in this study, was not affected by any personality dimensions, suggesting that the two temporal measures used in this study (planning time and speech rate) represent different aspects of fluency, due to different types of processing demands required in each aspect. Learners engage in different types of processing at different phases of spoken production. Because speaking tasks are considered more anxiety provoking than other skill areas (e.g., Young 1992), it is possible that affective factors such as anxiety, tension, and fear, as well as personality factors such as risk-taking, may have influenced planning time. As a result, it was affected more strongly by the thinking-feeling trait in this study. On the other hand, cognitive factors such as attention allocation, semantic

access, and phonological coding may have affected speech rate because learners were required to produce and monitor their speech on-line. As a result, personality traits did not affect speech rate as they did planning time.

Conclusion and Limitations of the Study

This study showed that personality affected the development of some aspects of pragmatic competence but not all, suggesting that personality and the structure of pragmatic competence (i.e., appropriateness, planning time, and speech rate) interact with one another.

This study has several limitations that need to be addressed in future research. First, because this study examined only one individual differences factor, future research should explore a greater number of affective and cognitive factors to expand the scope. With a larger sample size, future research could use a different statistical method such as structural equation modeling and path analysis to visualize the hierarchy and direction of interaction among multiple ID factors affecting pragmatic competence. Similarly, this research is limited in that it examined the development of one aspect of pragmatic competence, namely production of speech acts. Future research should expand the scope of the target pragmatic features and track down the change of different pragmatic sub-competencies in relation to learner-specific factors over more extended period of time.

Notes

1. In addition to the L2 learners, 24 native speakers of English participated in the study and provided base-line data. Due to the space limit, the data is not reported here.

2. The sample was skewed toward women because the male-female ratio in the institution is three-to-seven. I acknowledge the possibility that findings from this study were gender-biased.

3. I acknowledge the weakness of the DCT instrument. While it allows researchers to collect a large amount of data quickly, responses lack authenticity (Geluykens, 2007). In DCT, participants have more time to plan their responses than in face-to-face conversations. These limitations should be kept in mind when interpreting the present findings.

4. Four raters of mixed cultural background: an Australian white male and female, an African-American male, and a female Japanese-American, evaluated the samples. They had little background in Applied Linguistics or related field, and had limited experience in teaching English. They were not instructors of the participants.

5. Cronbach's alpha was: .80 for the extrovert/introvert items and .54 for thinking/feeling items.

6. When there was no interaction effect but main effect, the model was adjusted by re-running HLM without interaction effects. The main effect of covariate was confirmed in all cases. Effect size (Cohen's *d*) was calculated by dividing parameter estimate by the standard deviation of dependent variable. Model fit was checked by inspecting the residuals-covariate scatter plot.

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Appendix A

Appropriateness rating scale used for the evaluation of speech acts

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5 Excellent
Almost perfectly appropriate and effective in the level of directness, politeness and formality.

4 Good
Not perfect but adequately appropriate in the level of directness, politeness, and formality. Expressions are a little off from target-like, but pretty good.

3 Fair
Somewhat appropriate in the level of directness, politeness, and formality. Expressions are more direct or indirect than the situation requires. (e.g., What did you speak?)

2 Poor
Clearly inappropriate. Expressions sound almost rude or too demanding. (e.g., You say that?)

1 Very poor
Not sure if the target speech act is performed.

From Reading to translation- the effects of L1/L2 supplementary reading on Taiwanese university students' translation performance

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Abstract

This study adopted translation as the measurement to examine the effect of background knowledge, provided in the form of reading from university students' first (Chinese) or second (English) language, on their performance of an English-to-Chinese translation text. 150 EFL English majors were involved in this study. They took a GEPT reading test and a translation pre-test as the evaluation of their English reading proficiency and translation performance on the designated topic. Before taking the post-translation test, they were randomly divided into two groups, half receiving Chinese reading material, and the other half in English. Statistical analyses were conducted to examine the improved scores between L1 and L2 reading treatment and also the effect of reading for participants of different reading proficiency. The results showed that while all participants demonstrated more content familiarity after reading, the group who received Chinese treatment performed significantly

better than the English group. The study then discovered that participants of different English reading proficiency did not show difference in the improvement of translation after receiving either Chinese or English reading treatment. Finally, pedagogical implications were discussed in the end.

Key words: background knowledge, L1/L2 reading, translation

INTRODUCTION

The present study aimed to add to the scant research investigating how reading materials facilitate the performance of translation at the tertiary level education in Taiwan. Research into first and second language reading has placed considerable emphasis on the facilitative role background knowledge plays in reading comprehension. In the EFL context, the input language of one's background knowledge could have been from readers' L1 or L2, this research attempted to explore the improvement of comprehension manifested through the translation performance by providing students with reading materials from these two language sources as their pre-translation background knowledge. In Taiwan, tertiary language education is aspired to produce students with strong competence in mother tongue Chinese, and a foreign language, primarily English. A general consensus is that, a competent language user in both Chinese and English are desired by the country for its social and economic development. Therefore, university students are expected to read and comprehend both English and Chinese texts as is the case for most students in English as foreign language (EFL) environments. The students at tertiary level are constantly confronted with new information in written form, either Chinese or English, to progress in the learning curve.

Being in academically-oriented universities, Taiwanese students generally are literate in Chinese; a greater variance, however, exists in their English proficiency. When reading both L1 and L2 texts, skillful readers usually relate what is read to what they have known by accessing their prior knowledge for comprehension. Readers use their existing knowledge to fill the gap in the reading process, to connect the information within the text to one's knowledge base. Readers usually do not observe any reality directly, but via a perceptual framework, which is the knowledge base that individuals use to make sense of the world. In the procurement of knowledge, reading materials from whichever language source would, theoretically, contribute to the building of a knowledge base. However, little has been reported about the interaction between the "world" knowledge, defined as the content

knowledge, which might be provided through L1, or L2; and their "form" or "linguistic" knowledge, substantiated in the proficiency level of L2. An empirical study therefore is required to elucidate the interaction of the "form" knowledge, and the "world" knowledge provided through different languages.

In this regard, the purpose of the study is two-fold. Firstly, the authors attempted to confirm the facilitative role pre-translation materials play for Taiwanese EFL learners. Taking a step further, the contributions of supplementary materials from two language sources are also the focus of the study. The researchers attempted to identify whether L1 or L2 assist students' translation better. Secondly, as the "world" knowledge and "form" knowledge interact in the reading comprehension, the researchers endeavor to establish the relationship between these two forms of knowledge. We set out to explore how "world knowledge" assisted the translation performance of students who possess different levels of English "form" knowledge. That is, this study was designed to allow the interactions of the variables between the proficiency levels and supplementary materials to happen. Three research questions were raised to address the above-mentioned issues:

(1) Is the information provided as a pre-translation reading activity useful to the performance of translation for EFL learners?

(2) What is the contribution of the different knowledge sources to reading comprehension as demonstrated in a translation task?

(3) As the students' English proficiency level varies, would higher proficiency readers or lower proficiency readers benefit more from the pre-translation reading materials?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research encompasses theoretical constructs in three dimensions. The first layer of the theoretical construct focuses on the interrelations of the knowledge bases. The existing knowledge base influences the interpretation of the text. As the provision of "world" knowledge from a supplementary reading interacts with the already established knowledge base, the interactions among the prior linguistic, text related skills and the effects of content knowledge, is the primary focus of the study. Different readers develop somewhat different understandings of what a text 'means' since they differ in their knowledge and experiences. The study firstly, looks into the construct of prior knowledge that influences readers' understanding. Secondly, as the reading materials are from readers' L1 or L2, the researchers found it necessary to lay a solid theoretical ground concerning the utilization of L1 and L2 in reading comprehension. Also, the importance of supplementary materials will be briefly

mentioned. Thirdly, in measuring the reading comprehension, the researchers utilized translation. The relevant literature is discussed to validate the application of translation as a measuring tool.

Reading Comprehension and Prior Knowledge

Reading comprehension requires the interaction between the written text and the prior knowledge accessible to the reader that is relevant to making meaning with the text. To define comprehension, the explication of this term has long extended beyond simply a process of getting meaning from print. Reading researchers such as Smith (1975) has proposed so early in the 80's that comprehension is a reduction of uncertainty. Based on Smith's (1975) assumption, a reader must eliminate the alternatives to comprehend a text. Without the assistance of prior knowledge, all the possible alternatives might appear to be correct. Similar notion is established from the cognitive perspectives, as what is read must be perceived or associated with the contents of the memory system to make sense (Rumelhart,1980). The reading process engages the reader in decoding, memory storage and retrieval, integration and updating, etc. Therefore, the interaction between the reader and the text determines whether a reader comprehends a text. This constructive nature of reading draws the attention to the interaction between the text and the reader's knowledge.

Schema activation in reading: Linguistic (form) and content (world) schemata

We can trace the concept of reader's knowledge in the theory of schema, which was originally proposed by Bartlett (1932). Schematic theory was widely used to account for information storage and reconfiguration in the memory. It served a crucial role in providing an explanation on how old knowledge interacts with new knowledge. Schemata help people make sense of the world because "people understand new experiences by activating relevant schemas in their mind" (Cook, 1997, p. 86). As a schema is the reader's organized knowledge of the world, it might impact how s/he interprets the words on the print. Therefore, a reader has schemata (a connected network of schema) stored to provide him/her a cognitive template to access world knowledge (Anderson & Pearson, 1984). Schemata are psychological constructs of concepts consistent with someone's personal experiences. A reader might use the story schema established previously to interpret the theme or plot of a story. S/he could also use a schema to interpret the text and the writer's intention (Greene, 1988). That is to say, having read something new, a reader would have probably reconstructed a new schema, and

encapsulated the knowledge for the situation, so the next time the same topic or subject is encountered in text, s/he will have background knowledge to activate the similar situated schemata in order to elicit accurate inferences about what the writer is referring to.

Reading involves the reader's schemata in the process of interpreting information. Grabe (1988, p. 56) points out that reading is an interactive process between written words and the reader. Reading is to "combine textual information with the information a reader brings to a text." The interaction requires the readers to process both the text-based and knowledge-based information before making an interpretation. Since schemata represent the generic concepts stored in memory, when a schema is activated, it involves connections of different bodies of knowledge stored in the brain to make meaning of the incoming information encoded in a text.

Two general kinds of schemata are thought to be used by readers in interpreting a text. The first is generally referred to as textual schema, which is about the knowledge of texts. In a sense, it refers to the knowledge of form (Anderson, James & Larry, 1983; Armbruster, 1986; Carrell 1984 a; Carrell 1984 b). This type of schema mainly covers the textual elements of the text. A reader needs to activate the lower-level cognitive processing such as lexical access and syntactic parsing during reading; at the same time, cognitive processing enables the readers to discern the text form, such as a narrative story schema from a scientific report schema. The other type of schemata, conceptual, or content schema, focuses on what the text is about. When this type of schema is activated, words are connected to form semantic proposition. This is to say, the reader activates content schema for semantic proposition.

In summary, adopting Eskey's (1986) definition, prior knowledge is crucial to reading. In the EFL environment such as Taiwan, two major knowledge variables interact in the English reading activity: linguistic (form) and substance (world) knowledge. Roughly defined, linguistic variables entail the elements in a text, such as word meaning, syntax, and in a broader sense, discourse convention, which is what Eskey refers to as "knowledge of form". The other variable of knowledge is defined as "knowledge of substance", referring to topic-specific, cultural, or pragmatic knowledge. The substance knowledge involves the "conceptual" elements, sometimes encoded as "world" or 'content' knowledge by others (e.g., Colina, 2003). Language comprehension involves multilevel processing which is the combinations of both schemata: at the lexical and syntactic levels, at the semantic levels, and also at the higher conceptual levels (e.g., Grabe, 1988, 1991; Nassaji, 2002Stanovich, 1986; van Dijk & Kintsch,1983).

To make comprehension happen, a reader has to put the world knowledge into the picture of the comprehension process, that is, the content knowledge base has to be activated. The content schema embodies the reader's existing knowledge about a topic, and a reader goes beyond the literal meaning of the text. Reading is a knowledge driven process in which the reader has to synthesize, summarize, or extrapolate to obtain a whole picture of the text. When comparing these two schemata, for most monolingual readers, Anderson et al. (1983, p.271) points out, "there is good reason to believe that content schemata are more important to reading comprehension than textual schemata." The quality of reading comprehension is determined in large part by the quality of information the reader brings to the text; and mostly, refers to the readers' organized knowledge or mental model of the world.

Nunan (1999, p.201) also states that "schema theory is based on the notion that past experiences lead to the creation of mental frameworks that help us make sense of new experiences." In other words, when a reader first encounters a new topic, relevant information is not accessible in a reader's knowledge base, in that situation, the reader might be drifting in the unknown sea of reading because his/her experience is insufficient to construct an appropriate schema for reading comprehension. A successful comprehension is for readers to make the link between current text information to their prior knowledge. The construction occurs continuously as the reader draws upon knowledge by accessing memory to process its meaning. In the design of this study, providing supplementary materials in reading therefore intends to help the participants construct the appropriate schema when they encounter an unfamiliar translating topic. The establishment of the schema allows them to predict the written discourse, and which in turn facilitates comprehension. The reading material might enable the readers to bridge the gap between what is on the text with what is stored in the memory.

Relationship between L1 and L2 Reading Comprehension

Reading research has acknowledged that prior knowledge could be facilitating to comprehension (see Anderson & Pearson, 1984). Empirical studies demonstrated that building and activating background knowledge is important (Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983; Carrell,1984 c; Carrell,1989). It is more complex however, to understand how the input language, the reader's L1 or L2, affects the building of the knowledge base for reading comprehension. In the tertiary level, the input of new knowledge could have come from either L1 or L2. The literacy of L1 does not pose difficulty for most EFL university students. The variance of EFL learners' L2 reading proficiency, however,

might impact the understanding of the written text to a certain degree. Lin (2002) conducted a study regarding Chinese secondary and tertiary level students' perception on prior knowledge. It was found that as the EFL students' L2 proficiency increased, they tended to attach less importance to their linguistic knowledge, but the perceived world knowledge seemed to gain greater significance. Even so, the actual reading comprehension performance among different proficiency levels was not investigated in his study.

The overriding purpose to reading in both L1 and L2 is for the reader to interpret the message the writer intended from a text. As mentioned, in L1 and L2 reading, comprehension is based upon the reader's linguistic knowledge, general knowledge of the world, and also, the extent to which that knowledge is activated during the reading process. There is a consensus over the crucial role of prior knowledge in both L1 and L2 reading comprehension. Viewed collectively, the viewpoints from most of the contemporary L2 reading studies have been shaped by the extensive body of research by cognitive psychologists on L1 reading comprehension (Grabe, 1991). Current L1 reading research commonly assumes that reading comprehension stems from reader-text interaction (Kintch, 1998). In L2 reading, it is generally agreed that limited linguistic knowledge might restrict readers' ability to establish that reader-text interaction. The nature of comprehension in L2 therefore requires the reader to reach a certain level of competence. As mentioned by Clarke (1980), insufficient proficiency in L2 impacts severely one's ability to read in L2. Clarke (1979) termed this condition "short-circuit", more commonly referred to as the "linguistic threshold" (Bernhardt & Kamil, 1995). According to Clarke's explanation, skillful L1 readers but incompetent L2 reader would encounter a language ceiling when they are reading L2. The transfer or application of L1 reading to L2 is not simple. L2 readers must first reach a certain level of proficiency before being able to apply their L1 reading skills to L2 to comprehend the text.

The importance of supplementary material and its effect from L1/L2 sources
Over last couple decades, the Ll studies have proven that supplementary materials, defined as the preview information, was effective in facilitating comprehension of expository passages for students of different proficiency levels (McCormick, 1989). Cognitively, the theoretical importance of providing supportive information echoes Stanovich's (1980) interactive compensatory model by which Reading is considered a interactive process in which the reader uses both bottom-up and top-down processing the text.

For both first and second language, reading starts with recognition of words. Singer (1994) pointed out that mature readers differ from beginning readers in that they have already

obtained automaticity in word recognition, so that their memory is freed up to focus on higher-level processing, while the lower level readers still concentrate on decoding, which consumes their attention on individual words. In our study, it is hypothesized that if the higher level world knowledge is provided in L1, it might compensate for the lack of linguistic knowledge for those students with relatively lower L2 competence, as the acquirement of world knowledge might free up a certain level of mental resources to deal with L2 linguistic elements in the reading text. The students might probably benefit from the top-down processing of the text after reading the supplementary materials.

Translation as a Means to Measure Comprehension

Reading process is essentially unobservable. The students' comprehension performance could only be indirectly reflected on the comprehension tasks. In this study, unlike what is commonly adopted as an assessment of writing in the Joint College Entrance Examination in Taiwan, of which the Chinese sentences are designed to be translated into English, the researchers adopted translation tasks as an indirect means to examine the performance in reading comprehension. Translation was once perceived as a valid measurement to test the accuracy of comprehension (e.g., Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995); however, it was no longer considered as a standard measurement in recent decades due to its close association with the grammar translation method. Given that grammar translation had received harsh criticism, it is understandable that translation obtained little attention as a verification tool for reading under the foreign language teaching practices, and for a long time, translation was mostly recognized and utilized as a cognitive strategy in reading (e.g., O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). However, there seems to be a comeback in the use of translation in the EFL setting; for example, translation into L1 is applied in the university entrance exam in Japan as a valid and reliable testing method for reading comprehension (Buck, 1992; Ito, 2004). The translation in this study therefore, is not referring to the grammar translation method which focuses on individual words, but to a more communicative function of translation whereby university students need to understand text thoroughly before producing the translation for the target readers. The researchers decided to recruit the EFL students who have received the basic translation courses and understand the principles to complete the translation task.

The main purpose of reading is to comprehend the ideas interpretable in the material. Translating messages on the text would be a solid test to examine students' performance in the grasp of meaning, which is considered an important training for bilingual use. Undeniably, translation in contemporary world provides intellectual support to connect Taiwanese with the

globalized economy. At the university level, translation covers more than developing translation skills per se, but also the kind of bilingual communicative competence. As Cook (2010) mentions, translation could be an end and also a means of language teaching and learning: as an end, it is aimed at the training of professionals (see Duff, 1989; Gile, 1995; Kelly 2005; Kussmaul 1995, Nord 1991); as a means, it focuses on the use of translation in language teaching and learning (see Malmkjaer, 1998). Therefore, as Duff claims, "translation happens everywhere, all the time, so why not in the classroom?" (Duff, 1989, p.6)

As linguistic landscape has dramatically changed, the use of L1 in a L2 classroom is no longer a contentious issue (Auerbach, 1993; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). The contemporary theory points toward a direction of permitting students to utilize the literacy skills they have already obtained through their L1. Translation into L1 does not require students to show their L2 productive ability, but they display their understanding of the L2 text by translating the text into L1. Through the activities we can make a feasible measure of their understanding of the L2 text. To translate, the students have to process the linguistic input from the text at different levels (orthographic/phonological, lexical/semantic, syntactic/propositional, etc.) Based on the sequential model of translation proposed by Gile (1993 p.108), translation starts with understanding words, or a small group of words. The meaning on the text is inferred by the translator to form a hypothesis, and will be checked mentally to be considered plausible by the translator before moving to the reformulation phase. The cognitive processes taking place during text comprehension demand the activation of the translator's prior knowledge. Since the words on the page only provide a guideline to scaffold the meaning of a text, it is the translator who constructs the meaning by searching for relevant information from both the linguistic and world knowledge bases. Also, it is the translator who verifies inferences, determines the interpretation/representation, and finally makes understanding possible. Therefore, the activation of the translator's knowledge, who at this stage is also the reader, determines the comprehensible or incomprehensible of the text.

Reading for translation

When considering translation as a task, it often requires comprehending a text that the students are not familiarized. Successful translation is a result of predicting what the text is. Gile (1995, p. 98) mentions, "with the exception of journalists, translators need to systematically process the full contents of texts in fields they sometimes do not specialize in." A pre-translation reading supplement helps bridge that knowledge gap. The empirical studies regarding the influence of background information on the quality of translation seems to be

scarce (Kim, 2006). It is necessary to investigate the relationship between translation and knowledge provision of background knowledge from reading. The schema-theoretic perspective of reading could be utilized in translation. The function of a text is pointing a direction to readers concerning how they should retrieve and construct meaning from their own previously acquired knowledge. That is, a translator needs to build background knowledge to translate well. How a text is processed has to do with the prior knowledge that is stored in translators/readers' mind, and how translators/readers activate or utilize stored (encoded) knowledge with the combination of new information during reading (Nassaji, 2002). As relevant prior knowledge affects readers' comprehension, the optimal use of conceptual knowledge from input may facilitate the translators to generate knowledge-based expectations which are used as background knowledge that direct the translators on the path of translating. To finish a translation task, schemata in general and content schema plays important role reading process. No doubt, schemata activation is closely tied to the success of translation product. The activation of schemata helps the translator, being the reader of the source text, to fill the gap that exists in a text.

Reading in a foreign language to translate into mother tongue requires in-depth comprehension. The cognitive operation for readers to translate is to process the input in order to obtain a representation of the text. Readers use information from both the text and his/her own world knowledge to build up meaningful representations. Many students do not possess the required world knowledge to successfully construct representations. For most foreign language learners who begin to learn how to translate, the problem is usually the unfilled gap between what they actually know, and what they should know. Most of the authentic texts written in English are meant for native speakers of the language to read, not for the EFL readers to translate. Readers suffer from deficiencies either at the content or the language aspects which interfere with their attempts to comprehend the texts.

It is evident that translation and reading are interconnected. Considering translators as the readers would bring English comprehension into focus, especially when dealing with EFL novice translators. Translating is a process of how a translator produces equivalences from the source text into another language by first decoding the meaning on a text. This decoding process, which requires the reader's in-depth knowledge, is reading. It is expected of readers to utilize their background knowledge of the topic to decode the text. Even for professional translators, very few could translate topics of all fields, as it is nearly impossible for a translator to be an expert in everything. Most translators have to read to develop the knowledge necessary to deal with the material to be translated. The first research question

regarding the effects of pre-translation reading activity is meant to explore the schemata building effects through reading for EFL translator trainees.

As for the second and third research questions, they reflect the reality of translator training. A translator has to utilize the information that is available to him/her, and the information could be provided through a reader's L1 or L2. Taiwanese tertiary level students are literate in their mother tongue, Chinese; however, the literacy development in the second language differs widely. The materials in L1 can be understood more profoundly, precisely, and coherently than in their L2. The students at the tertiary level have possessed linguistic competence in L1, but lack full competence in L2 reading. Little has been reported in literature about the influence of different language on one's acquisition of knowledge; specifically, how readers at different L2 proficiency levels perform in translation when L1/L2 reading input comes into play. More empirical studies are required to elucidate the interaction between knowledge building and the different language sources of reading.

This study therefore attempted to probe deeper into the issues of knowledge construction. The researchers intend to shed light on the integration between the pre-translation materials and the linguistics factors of English proficiency on the translation performance. To this end, the inter-connectivity among content schema building, language sources, and proficiency level are identified as factors influencing the translation performance.

METHOD

Participants

One hundred and fifty four students in three private universities from seven translation classes agreed and signed up by their instructors to participate in the study. At separate universities, the first and third researchers taught five of the translation courses as the instructors. And two other instructors who were colleagues of the researchers also agreed to enlist their students for the study. In the spring semester of year 2012, the researchers conducted the experiment during the 13th to 16th week in a semester of 18 weeks. The weeks chosen were based on the assumptions that the participants had been taken the course for at least 13 weeks and were familiarized with translation projects. The participants were linguistically and culturally homogeneous in the sense that they had lived in Taiwan since they were born. They were randomly recruited from English departments in northern Taiwan. As the study was to examine the influence of knowledge input on the translation, the participants were all English majors who had received training in translation. The researchers did not recruit any non-English majors students for the reasons that the translation courses were not offered to

non-English major students in the majority of universities in Taiwan. The translation performance could not be measured through a communicative approach if the students have not taken any related translation courses. All the participants in the study were informed that the translation and reading assignments were part of the participation credit for the translation courses, and the students agreed to spend their class time completing the study. All the participating students finished the tasks of this study during their translation class. Among these students, only fifteen of them were the third and fourth year English majors, while all the others were in their second year as English major students. All of the participants had at least taken one semester of translation course before joining in the study. Taken the translation course, they have had opportunities to translate in assignments and practiced the basic principles of translation.

Procedures

A reading test followed by a pre/post-test translation test design was adopted for the study. Prior to the translation, the students were given a reading test taken from one of the four components of the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) developed by Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC). The GEPT test is a five-level, criterion-referenced EFL testing system. The reading test items used in this study were high-intermediate level, taken directly from the Official Guide for GEPT Review (2011). This level is thought to be the threshold proficiency for non-English major university graduates in general. The reading test is in the first stage of the test, along with a listening test, which was not applied in this study. The testing time and scoring were the same as regulated by LTTC. It is stipulated by LTTC that test-takers must score 160 or above, with a minimum part score of 72 on both reading and listening (60% of 120 score points) to pass the first stage.

Since the students did not take the listening part of the test, the scores obtained from the reading test were independently categorized into "non-passing", "low passing", and "high passing" by the researchers. The students who have passed the cutoff points 72 would be considered "low passing"; among them, those who passed 96 would be categorized as "high-passing", and as for those who scored below 72 points were considered "non-passing."

Regardless of their English reading proficiency levels, all students took the same translation tests. Prior to the pre-test, a translation brief written in Chinese was given to the students. The brief mentioned that the task was assigned by a home owner who was looking for the American style house remodeling and was written based on Nord's (1991) principles. The primary purpose in preparing a translation brief before commissioning a translation is to

encourage analytic thought and to prompt an assessment of the suitability of the word choices for its intended target reader. The pre-and-post test translation texts were of the same topic, of similar length, and of similar readability level. Both of the translation texts were featuring the plumbing fixtures. This is a topic generally neglected by Taiwanese students especially when some of the tub choices such as vintage tubs are not readily available in Taiwanese plumbing market. The length for the two tests was roughly the same, with 167 words in the pre-tests and 189 words in the post-test respectively. The Flesch–Kincaid reading grade level was rated as 9.1 in the pre-test, 9.4 in the post-test. For the duration of the translation tests, both lasted for forty-five minutes.

The students were firstly given the reading test of the high intermediate level GEPT from LTTC, following by the pre-test translation, the reading treatment, and the post-test translation. The reading proficiency test was conducted one week before the translation test. The pre-test translation, reading treatment, and post-test translation were conducted in the same week. Both pre and post translation tests lasted for 40 minutes. Between the pre-test and post-test translation, all the participants were given a reading treatment. The supplementary reading treatment was administered after the students' pre- test translation was completed. The instructors gave students twenty minutes to read the supplementary information. In the end, 68 participants were provided the Chinese reading treatment before the post translation test; and the others, 86 were given the English version of the same reading materials. The students of the two groups receiving different reading treatment were of similar English proficiency level in their reading tests. The unbalanced number of participants in two groups was due to the reason that, one class consisting of 19 students originally agreed to participate in the study abruptly withdrew from the research. The instructor of this class had decided to make other arrangement for her class. Therefore, the study was left with uneven number of participants in the two treatment groups. Both groups of the students were given fifteen minutes to read the materials without dictionary of any kind, prior to the post translation test. The reading materials were collected by the researchers after their reading. The students were not allowed to go back to the reading while they were translating in the posttest.

Materials

Translation material. The translation material had been assessed by the researchers and three other professional translators to be linguistically and conceptually acceptable for EFL students in Taiwan. A topic concerning home and living was applied as the translation task. The readers have some shared knowledge about the topic, but the English majors might not

have detailed technical knowledge about home construction and building materials, and yet to translate the passages well, this type of knowledge can be supplemented by extra reading. The article was originally written by a popular website columnist, *Tim Carter*, on the website entitled *Ask the Builder*. He was an award-winning builder and national syndicated American columnist. This article targets general American readers who have needs to remodel their houses. The original texts have been slightly adapted and rewritten by the researchers in order to achieve the purpose of text consistency in the pre-and-post tests. The modified passages are more similar in word counts and with roughly equal information load. The passages for translation provided an introduction to plumbing fixtures concerning the modern tub material selection and explanation of manufacturing principles. Even though the passages were not meant to extract the esoteric insider's knowledge, for the EFL readers in Taiwan, such texts might pose great challenges for them, since the texts contain information of bathroom that was tacitly presupposed by most native English speakers as a prerequisite to comprehend the given text, which was unfamiliar to non-native English speakers.

Supplementary pre-translation reading. This study adopted supplementary reading materials composed of either Taiwanese university students' L1 or L2 as the variable for the provision of background knowledge. After the translation pre-test, the reading materials were provided for the students. The participants were split into two groups, consisting of students with similar reading proficiency, to read either the Chinese or English materials before the post-test. The reading texts was to activate the key concepts that may be absent for the readers in expectation that this reading experience could be linked to the passage to be translated later. The article they read was similar to but not the same to the topic as that to be translated, which might be conceptually linked to the translation task in general. The supplementary article is written by the same author, with the focus on the selection and maintenance of the tubs from a different era: vintage claw-foot tubs. Both Chinese and English reading materials contain exactly the same information. The Chinese version was the translation of the English article, which had been translated and reviewed by the researchers before the experiment.

Scoring scheme. In this study, as the main focus being the students' reading comprehension, the grading criteria therefore emphasized more on the side of "accuracy." To set up a standard for grading, the researchers discussed and agreed upon how to score the concepts and semantic units. With a total score of 120 points for pre-and-post tests each, both texts were divided into twelve sentences, and matched semantically across the languages so that the same semantic units were identified which applied to both the English and Chinese versions of the text. Each of the twelve sentences in the test was awarded ten points

individually. As the participants ranged from sophomore to seniors, the years for which they had received the translation training might be of differences, the "translation skills" of the translators were therefore not the major focus of the study. However, these participants were English major students who had received a certain degree of training in translation. They understood that word for word equivalents might be incomprehensible to target readers. They were reminded again before the translation tests that the ideas expressed had to meet the writing conventions determined by the Chinese readers.

To give accuracy more weight, both pre-and-post tests of the translation task was scored based on the principles of 6/4 scale (6 grades for "Accuracy" and 4 grades for "Expression") developed by Lai (2008), which was applied in the National Assessment Criteria of Translator and Interpreters in Taiwan. For "accuracy", a concept was coded as correct and the points were given when the translated text was semantically equivalent or identical, or synonymous to that in the text identified by the professional translators. As for "expression", the sentences in the translated text are required to be "readable" and "understandable" in Chinese. The points were awarded on a sentence by sentence basis. Two raters, who were also professional translators, shared the responsibilities of grading the translation tests. The disagreements were solved after a few discussions. For consistency, the raters both scored 15% of the same translation test data set, and the internal consistency of scores between the raters was shown with a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.94, indicating that the raters have reached a high degree of inter-rater reliability.

RESULTS

In order to explore the effects of supplementary reading for background knowledge building, this study investigated first, the effect of the Chinese/English input supplementary reading for translation performance; and second, the variable of English reading proficiency on the performance of translation. From the original 154 participants, the researchers obtained the scores of the three designed tests from 150 students; four students who had missed either one or two of the three tests were excluded from the study. The statistical significance of the study outcome was computed by employing the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The data were analyzed using descriptive analysis, t-test, ANOVA, and Pearson product moment correlation.

Better Performance after Reading Treatment

The following hypothesis is addressed to investigate the effects of supplementary reading: activating background knowledge through supplementary reading can have an influence on Taiwanese EFL students' performance on translation. The statistics to examine the hypothesis were provided in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2. A paired-samples t-test was also conducted to compare the pre and post translation performance after the treatment of supplementary reading. There was a significant difference in the scores for pre translation (M=80.17, SD=15.98) and post translation (M= 99.81, SD=12.35); $t(149)=13.20$, $p = .000$. These results suggest that after the reading treatment, the students performed better. There was a significant gain between the two tests. This study affirms that activating and building knowledge through reading is beneficial to this translation task.

Table 1.1

Comparing the Means of Pre and Post Translation Scores

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Pair 1	Pre-test	80.17	150	15.989
	Post-test	99.81	150	12.357

Table 1.2

Results of T-test for Differences of Scores between Pre/Post Translation

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair1 Pre/Post Translation	19.631	14.146	1.487	20.569	18.693	13.205	149	*.000

* p < .05

Chinese Supplementary Reading is More Beneficial to Translation

To answer the second question, whether there is a different contribution between L1 and L2 when serving as the input language for knowledge source. It was found that the students who read the Chinese reading improved more than those who read the English. As Table 2 indicated, there was a difference in the improved scores for students who read Chinese

(M=24.23, SD=20.67) and the students who read English (M=17.22, SD= 18.02); an independent paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare the improved scores between the scores of pre-and-post tests in the conditions when students read Chinese and the students read English. The result of the T-test indicated that a significant difference existed between the two groups, as $t(148) = 2.214$, $p = 0.028$.

Table 2

Improved Translation Scores from Chinese and English Reading Group

Improved score	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df
Chinese Reading	64	24.2344	20.66570	2.58321	**2.214	148
English Reading	86	17.2209	18.02182	1.94334		

** The significant difference is set at the 0.05 level

Interactions between Reading Proficiency and Translation Performance

Before answering the third research question, the researchers first investigated whether positive correlations can be established among the three reading and translating tests. A series of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient were computed to assess the relationship between the translation pretest, post test, and the reading proficiency scores. The results found that there was a positive correlation between the pretest and post test $r(148) = .51$, $p < .01$; again, a positive correlation between pretest and reading proficiency test $r(148) = .39$, $p < .01$. A positive correlation was also seen between posttest and reading proficiency test $r(148) = .47$, $p < .01$. The three tests correlated moderately with each other. Therefore, the outcomes of pre-and-post translation tests were associated with reading comprehension test.

The third research question investigates whether the proficiency level of readers affects their improvement in reading comprehension. To investigate the interactions between the proficiency levels and the improvements of the translation test, the researchers firstly obtained the scores of the GEPT reading test from the 150 students shown in Table 3, which demonstrates the distribution of scores.

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics of Students' GEPT Reading Proficiency Test Performance

	N	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
32.00	1	.7	.7	.7
48.00	1	.7	.7	1.3
53.00	2	1.3	1.3	2.7
59.00	4	2.7	2.7	5.3
64.00	8	5.3	5.3	10.7
69.00	7	4.7	4.7	15.3
75.00	12	8.0	8.0	23.3
80.00	15	10.0	10.0	33.3
85.00	24	16.0	16.0	49.3
91.00	23	15.3	15.3	64.7
96.00	27	18.0	18.0	82.7
101.00	15	10.0	10.0	92.7
107.00	10	6.7	6.7	99.3
120.00	1	.7	.7	100.0
Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Note: N=150

The data from Table 3 is to describe in details the reading scores of the subjects who participated in the study. Though all of them were English major students, there was indeed a wide variance in reading scores among them. Some of the students obtained extremely low scores, while some performed exceptionally well. Based on the data collected, the researchers divided the students into three groups as elaborated in Table 4 to answer the third research question. Their performance was divided into "non-passing (N)", "low passing (L)", and "high passing (H).Table 4 indicates the student distribution in the three proficiency levels. As Table 4 indicates, 23 students belonged to the non-passing group, 74 belonged to the low-passing group, and 53 belonged to the high-passing group.

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics of Scores Distribution for N, L and H level

Three levels		N	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Non	23	15.3	15.3	15.3
	Low	74	49.3	49.3	64.7
	High	53	35.3	35.3	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Note: Non for non-passing, Low for low passing, and High for high passing

In these 150 students, 86 participants received the English reading materials while 64 of them received the Chinese reading material. An analysis of variance indicated that there were no statistically significant differences between group means as determined by one-way ANOVA, $F(2,83) = 0.886$, $p = 0.416$. According to the results computed by the statistics, we can conclude that the effect of proficiency level in L2 reading was not significant on the improvement of translation scores for the group of students who read English supplementary materials.

As for the group who read Chinese as the supplementary materials, which consisted of 64 participants, the researchers also investigated the effect of the Chinese reading for the students of three reading proficiency levels (N, L, H). Again, a one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of reading proficiency on improved translation scores. There were no statistically significant differences between group means, $F(2,61) = 1.645$, $p = 0.20$. Therefore, the effect of proficiency level was not significant on the improvement of translation for the group of students who read English, and was not significant on the improvement of translation scores for the group of students who read Chinese, either.

DISCUSSION

Activation of Background Knowledge through Reading

This study firstly explored the issue of schema activation through reading materials on translation performance. Schema theory in this study was found to be an active technique for background knowledge activation. The comparatively lower scores in pre-test showed that, some of the information written on the pre-test could not be comprehended, or possibly the information could not fit into the participants' original schemata, therefore was not comprehended correctly (Anderson & Pearson, 1984). The pre-test score also possibly demonstrated that even if the participants could have comprehended the meaning of the individual words in the passage, they might still have a difficult time comprehending the passage overall when they were not familiar with the content.

After the reading treatment, the new conceptual information was coded into either pre-existing schema or organized into a new mental structure that later proved to be able to facilitate translation. The reading materials helped the participants to actively build schemata and revised the schemata in light of the new information. Through the reading process, these associations among elements in the same topic were dynamically constructed and reconstructed (Armbruster, 1986). By engaging learners in a text-related reading activity in

either Chinese or English, the activation facilitated the processing of the text in a more meaningful manner.

Comparisons of Different Language Input

The study also probed into the effectiveness of different sources of language input on their translation performance, one from the mother tongue Chinese, the other from their L2, English. It appeared that L1/L2 input had brought different effects in the process when the world knowledge was organized into the readers' mental structure. With the same amount of information, despite being English majors, our participants understood more and associated more with the text presented to them in their L1, not in the L2. No matter how advanced the EFL learners are, L1 is in the language of thoughts for most of the learners (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). It has clearly shown that when the EFL readers were provided information in Chinese, it was easier for them to fit that knowledge into memory in order to make sense of that knowledge. The participants were able to confirm the message, in a schematic sense, that they later encountered in the text. Activation of the knowledge was critical to the readers to make predictions about what was going on in a text. From the significantly increased scores in the post-test of the group who read Chinese, it appeared that the readers could make more logical predictions about the text based on the schematic knowledge that s/he just acquired in Chinese. Within the limited time given in reading, the Chinese content could be easily broken into the generalizable chunks which were then stored in the brain for later application in translation.

The results of this study support the cognitive perspective that when reading a text, mental structures are active during encoding and retrieval. A translation task requires the students to possess a certain degree of the schematic knowledge of the type of situations that they encounter. To fill that knowledge gap, it was more efficient to equip the students with a basic framework of that knowledge in their mother tongue. Carrell (1983) claims that if students do not have sufficient prior knowledge, they should be given at least minimal background knowledge from which to interpret the text. Our study supports the schema theory as the theory maintains that reader recreates the writer's intended message based on the interaction that occur in his/her head between the text and his/her background knowledge (Bernhart, 1987; Carrell & Eisterhold, 1988). The study also affirms that content schemata, which is the background knowledge of a text, or the topical knowledge of a text, can be effectively built through L1. Some of the terminology is understood better in the mother

tongue. Topic familiarity and cultural knowledge of a certain field can therefore be interpreted and connected with an individual's past experience.

A language is not only the simple combination of vocabulary, sentence structure and grammar but also the bearer of the culture. To some extent, providing content schemata can make up for the lack of language and cultural schemata, and thus help learners to better predict the text and cut down on ambiguities. Familiarity of the topic improves one's comprehension. The more a reader knows about the topic, the more easily and quickly he gets the information of the text. However, at the tertiary level, even for English majors, linguistic complexities of certain English texts still pose a challenge. The challenge seemed to be greater if the topic of the reading content is not a familiar one. This study therefore purports schemata theory worked the best when the EFL university readers are reading in the mother tongue. When the participants in the study were reading in English, it took them more efforts to piece together the newly acquired information into a coherent representation. With the limited time, most of the participants were not able to fully comprehend the information in L2. The information that was written in Chinese was mostly understood and could be more efficiently encoded during the time of reading. The understanding of the text therefore helped the students to retrieve more information in the later re-activation stage when it was required by the post-translation test.

Reading Proficiency Levels, Translation Performance, and Reading Inputs

To make sense of the written text demands readers to use their knowledge of the topic being read and also apply their linguistic knowledge of the language. The study introduced English reading proficiency level as the linguistic variable; and translation performance was adopted as an indirect tool to explore the building of a schema for the topic. The reported statistics indicated that pre-translation, post-translation, and L2 reading proficiency levels were found to be moderately correlated with each other. These correlations seemed to be partially explanatory as high L2 reading proficiency is one of the major attributions to good translation. It was also understandable that reading proficiency could partially predict the performance of translation, since every piece of translation requires the students to comprehend the text first. Sufficient information has been comprehended to form meaningful output for translation (Cook, 2010). As shown previously, the pre-test, and the post-test have correlated with the reading test, with $r(148) = .39$, $p < .01$, and $r(148) = .47$, $p < .01$, respectively. These statistical figures, with only moderate correlations, also indicated that, translation is a very

complicated task. Translation competence cannot be fully explained by reading comprehension ability alone.

As for the third question, the findings of this study failed to support the hypotheses that EFL students of different English reading proficiency levels might improve differently after receiving reading input. There are two possible explanations for this outcome. First, even though the students performed differently in the high intermediate level of the reading test, 84% of the reading scores from our participants had fallen into the score range of 75 points to 107 points (Table 3), which indicated that the difference in this proficiency (high-intermediate) level was not drastic among our participants. Table 3 and Table 4 also pointed out that, among the 150 participants, 127 of them passed the high intermediate level of the GEPT reading test. All the participants included, the mean score for reading was 86.31. From theses statistical evidences, it could be inferred that, most of our participants could pass the high-intermediate of the reading test, but the proficiency level for the majority of them might not have yet reached the next level, the advanced level. With all the statistical numbers considered, though the participants were randomly selected from the English departments of different universities, their reading proficiency was not of much difference.

The researchers designed the experiment aiming at the English majors who had already taken the translation course; however, by selecting English majors, the participants were accidentally quite homogenous in the reading proficiency. Dividing the performance of the participants within the range of high intermediate level cannot create a big enough difference for the effect from different sources of reading to emerge. If the participants could have been from three diversified GEPT reading proficiency levels, that is, from intermediate to high-intermediate, and, from high intermediate to advance level, the test results might be different.

Secondly, to explain why there was no difference on the improvement of translation from the participants of different proficiency levels, the very nature of the translation task probably should be discussed. The study confirmed that the schemata on home remodeling may affect the encoding and retrieval of information. A topic- specific material on the home remodeling was selected to be the translation task, which required the participants to develop relevant knowledge. The provision of the reading for this study also scaffold and direct the participants to this direction. Therefore, the understanding of the translated article might have played a more critical role in comprehension than the general reading comprehension itself. It was then postulated that instead of eliciting general comprehension ability from the GEPT test, for this study, it might also require the researchers to test the participants' comprehension

ability on this specific topic. The understanding of the article provided through reading might be a more probable indicator for the improvement of translation post test.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The results of the study, in conjunction with schemata theories (Rumelhart,1980), and the theories of prior knowledge (Anderson & Pearson, 1984), demonstrate that the more the students know about a topic, the more they were able to build a solid base of the knowledge which helped them do better in reading to translate. The EFL students should be given access to develop appropriate background knowledge. Therefore, the first implication of this study is that, the students' performance in translation might improve if they are given extra reading texts before being assigned a translation task. The students perform better when the pre-task activities help them build up background knowledge on the reading topic. The EFL students' comprehension will suffer if little is known about the topic. The same rule might also apply to translator training. As this industry requires the professionals to translate unfamiliar materials, taking the time to build their background knowledge for the reading material is necessary.

The second implication of the study is the language use. In the EFL classroom, L1 can be a potential candidate for aiding the learning of L2 at the tertiary level. It applies even to English majors. They are no different from the majority of Taiwanese EFL students, for whom the technical knowledge is more efficiently learned through their mother tongue. The study has reflected Cummins' (2000) assumption: conceptual knowledge developed in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible. In the EFL environment of Taiwan, if the concept can be acquired in the first language, it eases the learners' burden to acquire new world knowledge.

To sum up, this study utilized different language inputs as variables to elicit the effect of schemata building as a way to enhance background knowledge on a translation task. The quantitative data collected from the three tests has verified that the students make use of and modify their schemata on a topic for translation use. For the EFL English majors, when reading texts are supplied to them as a supplement for learning new information, a text composed in English is not always more useful than a text in Chinese. The study had also attempted to establish the interactions between proficiency levels and language input. However, to a certain extent, due to the small variation in the participants' L2 proficiency level, this study failed to observe any significant findings. Replication of the study by recruiting more participants with a wider range of language proficiency, or replication of this

study by using other comprehension measure, instead of translation, might help the researchers to shed new lights on this issue. Despite the limitations, this study could bring new insights for L1/L2 reading comprehension researchers, translator trainers and trainees who are interested or engaged in translation and reading research in Taiwan.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Translation Pre-test

The major advancements in plumbing fixture variety and selection occurred with the use of fiberglass and acrylic plastic. The acrylic and fiberglass tubs do have their weak points, however. The finish on the products is not as hard as porcelain. Some of them have thin bottoms which are notorious for flexing when occupied. This flimsy feeling can be eliminated by extra work in the field by the plumbing contractor, or by purchasing one which has a reinforced bottom. Plaster must be placed under the flimsy tubs to make the base solid. As always, this just adds to the cost of installation. There are several distinctions in the way tubs are manufactured. Virtually every tub uses a backing of some sort to give the acrylic or gel coated top surface more strength. Often, the fiberglass coating is applied by a humanoid robot arm. This mechanism doesn't always produce consistent results on an hour by hour or day by day basis. As such, the backing is not always uniform.

Translation Post-test

Within the past 15 years, the plumbing fixture market has exploded with new products manufactured using new materials. However, traditional cast iron tubs are still available. They are manufactured in virtually the same manner as they have been for close to a century. Molten iron is poured into a mold that is the exact shape of a tub. After the iron cools, the mold is removed. A thick layer of porcelain enamel is fused to the cast iron in a high temperature oven. This enamel coating, as many of us know, is as hard as glass. The finish of a new cast iron finish is brilliant. The biggest difference in today's cast iron products as compared to those of 50 years ago is the wide variety of shapes and sizes and the seemingly endless color selections. The only person who will be unhappy with your choice will be your plumber, as he or she will have to make an extra trip to the chiropractor! *Cast iron tubs* are substantially *heavier* than modern *tubs* made out of fiberglass. I know, as I have installed my fair share of these beasts.

Abridged Reading Text in English

Repairing of Tubs

Each of the different products, cast iron and acrylic react differently to repair attempts. Cast iron, for example, cannot be repaired. If you scratch or nick the porcelain finish, you are simply out of luck. It is really no different than scratching a piece of glass. Acrylic products can be repaired with some difficulty. The repairs, however, are not always invisible. This is due, in part, to the fact that the color is uniform throughout the product. The color is sometimes hard to match.

Which One is Right?

No matter which type tub or shower unit you decide upon, as long as you purchase a high quality unit, you should be satisfied. There is no overall winner in my opinion. There are many advantages to the plastic units: cost, weight (light!), no grout lines to clean, colors, and various different shapes. Cast iron tubs and other metal products offer solid, long lasting purchases. They project strength. Their glass-like surfaces, when maintained, have no equal. You make the choice which is right for you and your lifestyle.

Learning to Read Across Languages: Cross-Linguistic Relationships in First- and Second-Language Literacy Development

Edited by Keiko Koda and Annette M. Zehler.   Routledge: New York, NY, UK: Oxon. First published 2008, transferred to Digital Printing 2010.   Pp. xi + 241.

Reviewed by Anna Husson Isozaki, Gunma Prefectural Women's University, Gunma, Japan

This ambitious volume, now digitally available, examines what is involved in the process of gaining literacy in first languages across the Asian region and how the process of gaining literacy in a second language, usually English, may then be affected.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I, "Theoretical underpinnings," has three chapters. The first: "Learning to read: general principles and writing system variations" by Perfetti and Dunlap, is fascinating for anyone interested in comparative linguistics and includes useful charts.

In the second chapter, "Conceptual and methodological issues in comparing metalinguistic awareness across languages," Li-jen Kuo and Richard C. Anderson sort out the terms assigned to aspects of language acquisition. They also survey research on bilinguals to illuminate what would be significant for second language learning.

In the third chapter, "Impacts of prior literacy experience on second language learning to read," Keiko Koda provides an overview of research and current hypotheses and thoroughly discusses facets of literacy and bi-literacy needing more study. Among her suggestions for future research: how first literacy "facilitation" could vary depending on the distance between the first and second languages, an especially relevant question to teachers of English for learners from widely differing, non-European first language backgrounds.

Part II, "Languages, writing systems and learning to read," begins with a glossary for those interested in the subject but not fully accustomed to the terminology. (Depending on the reader, however, the explanations in part one: Kuo and Anderson, might be more helpful). Next are chapters devoted to the first and second language learning-to-read process in Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, Khmer, and Korean. The focus in each chapter is on the specific languages,

as titled, but the analyses draw on a much wider range of literacy acquisition research and insights related to many more languages.

In chapter five, "Arabic literacy development and cross-linguistic effects in subsequent L2 literacy development," Michael Fender notes the substantial difference between daily spoken Arabic and written Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the disparity's possible effects on literacy. Research, however, by Abu Rabia and Feitelson cited in the chapter shows that reading aloud to young children in MSA improves their subsequent learning (p.116). This is an intriguing point as other research cited here and elsewhere in the book discusses the key significance of phonological awareness in learning to read first and second languages, though whether it develops once or separately for each language is a matter for more study (see Koda p.224-225).

Chapter six, "Learning to read Chinese" by Min Wang and Chin-lung Yang begins with an overview of Mandarin (Putonghua), which is used across the PRC in schools. Mandarin is a first language but as distance increases from Beijing, it becomes a second language, distinct from that of home and daily life (p.147). The importance of graphic versus phonological processing in reading Chinese is discussed at length, and Perfetti and other researchers have suggested that the timing of phonological processing may be a pivotal question (p.139).

In chapter seven Esther Geva reviews literacy studies and investigates their applicability to learning to read Hebrew as a first or second language. Geva discusses findings of children from Ethiopian immigrant Amharic-speaking homes having difficulties in Hebrew literacy acquisition compared to Israeli children from the same economic level. Unequal language skills persist, beginning with lower phonological and phonemic awareness in kindergarten and later becoming more of a morphological awareness issue for these Hebrew L2 children, and she calls for more research into the causes (p169-171). Dyslexia studies are also examined in this chapter, and indications that English is more problematic for matched dyslexics than is Hebrew (p.176-177).

In chapter eight, "Learning to read in Khmer," Annette M. Zehler and Saloni Sapru introduce the Cambodian alphabetic-syllabic written language and despite the lack of research relating to development of Khmer literacy, nevertheless provide a systematic overview. They also report a dearth of studies of English literacy development in Khmer speakers, reflecting the ongoing trauma to the education system that remains a legacy of the Khmer Rouge. Last, the authors mention some current efforts being made for Khmer language and culture education in Cambodia and elsewhere.

The final case language, Korean, examined in chapter nine by Eunyoung Christine Park, details the process of learning to read Korean and observes that parental involvement in early childhood literacy-building is so prevalent that literacy became nearly universal by the mid-1990s (p.213). Park gives an overview of research investigating L2 English literacy acquisition by Korean learners as compared with other L1 learners, and what is known to date about potentially transferable skills, calling for more research on the aspects not yet fully understood.

Keiko Koda consolidates the entries in "Looking back and thinking forward," surveying what is well-researched and the questions still unanswered. She warns against correlational evidence being prematurely labeled "transfer" (p.225) or, for example, interpreting decoding skills in terms potentially conflating "decoding" with comprehension (p.228). She points out that comprehension, after all, is the goal for literacy students, and makes many recommendations for research yet to be done.

Overall, the volume is useful for linguistic perspective and helpful for those interested in possible directions for research of their own. The terminology in the chapters can sometimes be dense and challenging for non-specialists in the field, but the glossary sections make it more navigable.

Learning the Read Across Languages is highly recommended for anyone serious about developing a linguistic understanding of the complex questions to be answered about learning to read in first and second languages, and as a foundation in cutting edge cross-lingual literacy research, particularly across the Asian region, and when the second literacy being developed is English.

Anna Husson Isozaki has been teaching English for twenty years in Japan. Her research interests include: content-based and collaborative learning, L2 literacy acquisition, and literature and critical thinking in the L2 classroom.

Teaching Grammar in Second Language Classrooms: Integrating Form-Focused Instruction in Communicative Context.

Hossein Nassaji and Sandra Fotos. New York. Routledge, 2011. Pp. ix+167.

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Teaching Grammar in Second Language Classrooms by Hossein Nassaji and Sandra Fotos brings to the reader some insights in both theory and research on communicative grammar instruction. The authors offer instructional choices for teachers to better the quality of learning. They also focus on the integration of grammar and communication in language classrooms. The authors wish to help teachers, teacher trainers, and SLA researchers to foster their understanding of how to find an interface between grammar and meaning.

The book consists of nine substantial chapters. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the changes in grammar instruction over the years. Ascribing the wax and wane of different grammar teaching approaches to a set of theoretical and empirical developments in the field, the authors divide the journey of grammar teaching into three phases, from a phase "in which grammar instruction was central, to one in which grammar instruction was absent, and to the recent reconsideration of the significance of the role of grammar instruction" (p. i).

In chapters 2, 3, 4 input-based options in focus on grammar, namely, processing instruction (PI), textual enhancement, and discourse are discussed. It is suggested that these options direct learners' attention to grammar while meaning is at the center of attention. In PI, explicit instruction is followed by some input-processing activities. This way, learners can create form-meaning association. The authors argue that PI may be more effective for promoting receptive skills. Nassaji and Fotos suggest that effective grammar teaching should provide copious opportunities for both input and output; that is, PI should not be used as the only tool for language practice.

Chapter 3 presents another input-based approach to grammar teaching, namely, textual enhancement. Textually enhanced input is a kind of input that is made more noticeable to

learners by highlighting some of its parts. The authors start chapter 3 by discussing theoretical underpinnings of textual enhancement. A portion of this chapter is devoted to reviewing the empirical research examining its effectiveness. Nassaji and Fotos conclude that textual enhancement leads to better learning outcomes provided that it is used in conjunction with various forms of input, output-based practices

Chapter 4 discusses discourse as a tool to teach grammar communicatively. The authors are mostly concerned with providing some guidelines on how grammar teaching should be approached using discourse. It is suggested that the provision of discourse-level input and form-focused discourse-level output contributes to increasing awareness of grammatical structures amongst learners and hence, leads to better learning outcomes.

The three subsequent chapters (5, 6, 7) consider the impact of output on grammar and its implications. Chapter 5 mainly draws readers' attention to form through interactional feedback. The authors argue that L2 instruction should provide ample opportunities for meaningful interaction as well as opportunities for giving feedback on learners' output. They cast light on how a focus on grammar can be attained through involvement in meaningful interaction with teachers and other learners. Through-out this chapter, they argue that interactional feedback can be considered a good benchmark for correcting students' errors while not being deemed as the only method to direct learners' attention to grammar.

Chapter 6 addresses how communicative task is designed and how it can call learners' attention to certain grammatical forms. Moreover, it discusses various grammar-focused tasks. It also displays how ample opportunities can be provided to increase learner participation by performing such tasks in the classroom. It is argued that a major goal of grammar focused-task is to draw learners' attention to form. It also aims to enhance language form by giving learners "grammar problems to solve interactively" (p.100).

Chapter 7 concentrates on how collaborative activities and participation of learners in these activities can enhance learners' focus on grammar. The authors argue that collaborative output tasks such as output jigsaw and dictogloss enable learners to produce output and various scaffolding feedback options. This way, learners' negotiation and grammatical skills are augmented.

Chapter 8 discusses the role of context in communicative focus on grammar. This chapter enumerates contextual factors which have important implications for teaching grammar. Considering the peculiarities of EFL and ESL contexts, Nassaji and Fotos emphasize that each context necessitates particular techniques for focusing on grammar. They suggest that activities used in each context be in line with the goals of each context.

The final chapter, chapter 9, provides a summary of the aforementioned chapters. The authors provide a set of additional comments which can be effective for teaching and incorporating grammar into L2 classroom. They believe that experience can be deemed as a panacea for the potential gap between theory and practice.

There are several criteria by which to judge the success of such a book. The book is clearly written, well-organized, and follows a progression from theory and research to practice. In every chapter of this book, the authors' breadth of knowledge of Form-focused Instruction and grammar teaching is evident. This book has a lot of interesting things to say regarding how to integrate form-focused instruction in communicative contexts. However, the authors, in chapter 8, seem to have forgotten to refer to studies such as Auerbach (1993), which question L1 use in L2 classrooms. Emphasizing the use of L1 in EFL language classrooms, Nassaji and Fotos fall short of accounting for a less rigid and more balanced view of the use of L1 (Atkinson, 1987; Carless, 2008). Moreover, it seems that whenever Nassaji and Fotos try to make an assertion about different aspects of communicative grammar teaching, they mainly tend to use their own research to support their arguments. In other words, the book is a showcase of research studies done by these two scholars, an indication of their mastery over the field. However, the authors could have used research findings other than their own to support their viewpoints.

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