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NIDA Language and Communication Journal is the official journal of the Graduate School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration. The journal is currently published as a periodical, with three issues annually. The English language issues are published in April and August; whilst Thai language issue is published in December. The purpose of this journal is to disseminate information of interest to language and communication scholars, and others interested in related social sciences. The journal presents information on theories, researches, methods, and ideas related to language and communication as well as related interdisciplinary social sciences. The editors welcome a wide range of academic papers, including research articles, review articles, and book reviews.

Editorial

It is my honor to greet you on behalf of NIDA Journal of Language and Communication. This issue marks our 21st year of publication. Aiming to provide a platform for international and Thai researchers to present their effort in advancing this interdisciplinary area of language and communication studies, we welcome manuscripts which provide systematic empirical analysis of language and communication in context from various perspectives and disciplines. All four articles are set against some of the issues representing the current research interests on language and communication. They also reflect the increasing awareness of cultural diversity in language learning and teaching as well as its role in communicating the social construction of differences.

Aiming to identify sources and cultural themes included in commercial English textbooks arguably facilitating learners' intercultural communicative competence, Wanvisa Kaewsakul and Adisa Teo analyze six commercial English textbooks used by Thai universities in their article *Cultural Contents in Fundamental English Coursebooks*. They comment that "there was a strong preference for the Big "C" (tangible cultural facts) themes of culture compared to the much lower frequency of the small "C" (intangible cultural values). The disproportion of Big "C" and small "C" presenting in these textbooks according to Wanvisa and Adisa "cause a lack of integration and teaching of cultural content in the classroom because teachers may not feel confident to teach them."

Jaray Singhakowinta's article *Reinventing Sexual Identities: Thai Gay Men's Pursuit of Social Acceptance* explores the social construction of homosexual identities in Thailand. This paper highlights the interplay between the notion of global queering theoretically employed to argue for the Westernization of homosexual identities across Asia and the glocalization of Thai sex/gender system and the emerging discourse of sexual identities. Jaray argues that the constant reinvention of homosexual identities in Thai vernacular system may be interpreted that Thailand's LGBT communities are putting a great effort in negotiating for social acceptance of their same-sex desires.

Jason Darryl Ludington's article *Noun Bias in Adulthood Found to Depend on Test Delay and Learning Method* studies the possibility of noun bias in adult language learners. Designed to "test vocabulary recognition" as well as "a number of stimulus features" often deemed as susceptible factors for learnability, this experimental research concludes that "there appears little evidence of a generalized noun bias in adulthood.

In their article *A Study of Strategy Usages in Memorizing Vocabularies by Burmese EFL Students*, Kantatip Sinhaneti and Ei Kalayar Kyaw focus their research on "how Burmese learners tackle learning new vocabularies and which strategies they use to improve their vocabulary acquisition." Collecting their research data by questionnaire and interview methods, the authors contend that the "two main memory strategies for vocabulary learning: rote learning strategies (RL) and creating mental linkage strategies (CML)" are preferred to other memory strategies by Burmese students.

This issue presents a review of a book offering "an accessible and practical guide" for keen ethnographers. Aree Manosuthikit contributes a resourceful review of the book *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*, *Multilingual Matters*. This book is authored by Jan Bloommaert and Dong Jie (2010).

Lastly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all our contributors for enriching *NIDA Journal of Language and Communication*.

Kind Regards,

Jaray Singhakowinta, PhD

(Editor in Chief)

Contents

Ethical Guidelines on Journal Publication

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Cultural Contents in Fundamental English Coursebooks

Wanvisa Kaewsakul, **Adisa Teo**

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the cultural contents in six commercial coursebooks for the Fundamental English courses at a university in Thailand. The cultural content was analyzed in terms of cultural sources and themes employing the framework adapted from Lee (2009), Cortazzi and Jin (1999), and Crystal (2003). Findings showed that there was a strong preference for the Big "C" themes of culture while those of Small "c" cultures were demonstrated with much lower frequency. In addition, Target Culture, International Culture, and Source Culture were presented in similar frequency in the coursebooks. This study sheds light on cultural content in the materials used for the teaching and learning of English as well as draws out the implications for the teaching of cultural content in the English language classroom, especially in the context of English as an international language.

Key Words: language and culture, English as an international language, intercultural communicative competence, source of culture, theme of culture**,** cultural contents, English coursebooks

บทคัดย่อ

วัตถุประสงค์ของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ คือการศึกษาเนื้อหาเชิงวัฒนธรรมในหนังสือประกอบการสอนหกเล่ม ที่มีจัดจำหน่ายโดยทั่วไป และที่ใช้สำหรับการสอนวิชาภาษาอังกฤษพื้นฐานในมหาวิทยาลัยแห่งหนึ่งในประเทศไทย ผู้วิจัยได้วิเคราะห์เนื้อหาเชิงวัฒนธรรมดังกล่าว โดยพิจารณาแหล่งที่มาของวัฒนธรรมและหัวข้อหลักเชิงวัฒนธรรมตามกรอบทฤษฎีที่ประยุกต์จากแนวคิดของ ลี (2009) คอร์ทัซซี่และจิน (1999) และคริสตัล (2003) ผลการวิจัยพบว่าตำราทั้งหกเล่มนั้น เน้นการนำเสนอหัวข้อวัฒนธรรมหลักหรือวัฒนธรรมประจำชาติมากกว่าการนำเสนอวัฒนธรรมรองที่เน้นวิถีชีวิตประจำวัน นอกจากนี้ มีการนำเสนอวัฒนธรรมของเจ้าของภาษา วัฒนธรรมนานาชาติและวัฒนธรรมของผู้เรียนเอง ในระดับความถี่เดียวกัน กล่าวได้ว่า งานวิจัยนี้เพิ่มพูนความรู้ความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับเนื้อหาเชิงวัฒนธรรมที่ปรากฏอยู่ในเอกสารตำราสำหรับการเรียนการสอนภาษาอังกฤษ

รวมทั้งได้กล่าวถึงนัยยะสำคัญสำหรับการสอนที่ใช้เนื้อหาเชิงวัฒนธรรมในชั้นเรียนภาษาอังกฤษ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในบริบทของภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษานานาชาติ

คำสำคัญ : ภาษาและวัฒนธรรม ภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษานานาชาติ สมรรถภาพการสื่อสารข้ามวัฒนธรรม แหล่งที่มาของ(ข้อมูล)วัฒนธรรม หัวข้อหลักทาง/เชิงวัฒนธรรม(วัฒนธรรมหลัก) เนื้อหาเชิงวัฒนธรรมและหนังสือประกอบการวิชาภาษาอังกฤษ

1. Introduction

Language and culture are closely related. Language is "the carrier" of culture. People all around the world use language to reflect their values, attitudes, identities, cognition, and the ways they live through the process of internationalization (Byram, 1988; Duranti, 1997; Kramsch, 1998; Moran, 2001; Smith, 1988). Intercultural communicative competence is very important and should be promoted in an English as an international language classroom to increase understanding and avoid misunderstanding between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To develop intercultural communicative competence, the ability to recognize and understand one's own and other cultures by communicating effectively and appropriately on several cultures (Moran, 2001), we cannot teach language separately from its culture.

In this globalization age, no one would question that English has now become an international language and plays a role as a major medium for world communication among people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins, 2003; Mckay, 2002; Smith, 1988). The goal of using English as an international language is for speakers to share their ideas and express their culture with people from various cultural and language backgrounds with mutual understanding (Kramsch, 1998).

According to Crystal (1997), English is used for communication in a wide variety of cultural contexts, categorized as the Inner Circle, where English is used as the first language such as England, America, and Australia; the Outer Circle, where English is used as a second language such as the Philippines, India, and Singapore; and the Expanding Circle, where English is studied as a foreign language such as Japan, Germany and Thailand. Consequently, the responsibility of educational providers in this era is to prepare students for the world of international communication. To do so, students should be equipped with an ability to use English as an international language, as well as with cultural knowledge and an intercultural communicative competence.

As the aim of teaching English in Thailand is to prepare students for international communication, teaching cultural content in English within an international language classroom is very important and unavoidable for developing their intercultural communicative competence. Teaching many different cultures can develop students' intercultural communicative competence and encourage them to be open-minded toward an international understanding (Savignon, 1997).

There are many important elements in the language classroom such as teachers, learners, and instructional materials. Coursebooks are one of the important materials used in language classrooms as a resource to tap into the content of language and culture (Cunningsworth, 1995; Richard & Renanya, 2002; Sheldon, 1988). Therefore, the presence of cultural content in coursebooks is also important for the development of students' intercultural communicative competence.

Although one of the objectives of teaching English based on the curriculum of Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University is for students to comprehend Thai and other cultures, the curriculum does not specify what sources or themes of cultural content should be taught in an English language classroom. Guidelines on what sources of culture or which cultural content should be included in the coursebooks, as well as research on cultural content in the English coursebooks are limited in Thailand. Therefore, in the context of Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University, there is a need for a study to analyze the cultural content in the English coursebooks. Such study is significant in that it fills in the gap of research in this important area. It also provides suggestions for inclusion and evaluation of cultural content in English teaching materials.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate the cultural content presented in the commercial Fundamental English coursebooks used in Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University. The main aim of this study is to examine the state of the references to the sources of culture—Source, Target, and International cultures, as well as themes of cultures—Big "C" and Small "c" cultures in the commercial coursebooks.

2. Definition of Terms

2.1 Sources of Culture: Source, Target, and International Cultures

According to Cortazzi and Jin (1999), the sources of cultural information in language coursebooks and materials are classified as **target culture**, **source culture**, and **international culture**. **Target culture** refers to culture of first language English speaking countries such as America, Australia, and England. **Source culture** refers to the cultural contents of the learners' own culture. **International culture** refers to the culture that contains a variety of cultures around the world including both English and non-English speaking countries.

2.2 Themes of Culture: Big "C" and Small "c" Cultures

Big "C" culture refers to the culture which focuses on a set of facts and statistics relating to the arts, history, geography, education, business, festival, style, etc. This type of culture is easily seen, readily apparent and easy to memorize by learners (Lee, 2009).

Small "c" culture refers to the invisible and deeper sense of culture such as way of life, daily living, socio-culture, values, norms and beliefs, way of thinking, behavior, etc. Small "c" culture is very important in language learning because it not only determines the norms of appropriateness and polite language use, but it can also create pragmatic failure in the case of interaction between people from different cultures (Lee, 2009; Paige et al., 1999; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993).

3. Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study was limited to an investigation of the cultural content in six English coursebooks used in Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University, consisting of three student's books and three teacher's books. Therefore, the findings of this study may not be generalizable to other English coursebooks or, indeed, other contexts.

The cultural contents analysis in this study focused on sources of culture: Target, Source, and International cultures, as well as themes of culture: Big "C" and Small "c" cultures.

Since the focus of this study was on the analysis of cultural content, speaking and writing tasks, tapescripts and reading passages in the student's

books, as well as additional notes in the teacher's books were chosen as units of analysis because they contained cultural content. Other parts of the coursebooks with the objective of teaching grammatical points, explaining the meaning of new words, stress, and intonation were excluded from the analysis because they did not contain cultural content.

4. Methodology

4.1 Coursebooks and Units of Analysis

The target materials for the cultural content analysis in this study were chosen from popular commercial coursebooks for three Fundamental English courses in Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University entitled "New Headway": Elementary part A, Elementary part B, and Pre-intermediate part A. "New Headway": Elementary parts A and B were written and edited by Liz Soars, John Soars and Amanda Maris and were published by Oxford University Press, in 2006. "New Headway": Pre-intermediate part A was written and edited by Liz Soars, John Soars and Mike Sayer and was published by Oxford University Press, in 2007. These coursebooks were chosen because they were required and used in the Fundamental English courses by the majority of the students and teachers in the university. Their design was based on the integrated syllabus. Each coursebook consists of a student's book and a teacher's book. Altogether, three student's books and three teacher's books were analyzed for cultural content in this study.

There are altogether 20 units in the three Fundamental English coursebooks. In each student's book, each unit contains seven sections: grammar or language focus, vocabulary, everyday English, reading, speaking, listening, and writing. In addition, tapescripts are included in the back of each book. The teacher's book contains additional notes for teachers, which are variously termed in the book such as Extra Information, Cultural Notes, Note, Suggestions, Background Information, About the Texts, and Language Notes.

The analysis of the cultural content of the student's books focused on 140 speaking tasks, 42 writing tasks, 99 tapescripts and 80 reading passages, while that of the teacher's books focused on 42 additional notes. Altogether they constituted 403 units of analysis covering both tasks and texts. Non-linear texts such as pictures and tables which accompany the tasks and texts were also used to support the analysis of cultural content in those tasks and texts.

4.2 Framework for Cultural Content Analysis

In order to examine the cultural content in the Fundamental English coursebooks, they were analyzed in terms of sources and themes of culture using an analytical framework based on Cortazzi and Jin (1999), Crystal (2003), and Lee (2009). The sources of the cultural content in the coursebooks in this study were distinguished in terms of Source culture, Target culture and International culture (Cortazzi & Jin 1999, Crystal 2003). The framework for the analysis of themes of culture in the coursebooks was modified from Lee's (2009) model which categorizes themes of culture into Big "C" and Small "c" cultures, consisting of 22 and 21 themes respectively.

4.3 Procedure

Since the purpose of this study was to examine the cultural content in Fundamental English coursebooks in terms of sources and themes of culture, it was necessary, first of all, to establish elements in the coursebooks which contain cultural content which, in turn, served as units for further analysis. To do so, the researchers proceeded as follows.

Firstly, the tasks and texts in the Fundamental English coursebooks that contain cultural content were identified. It was found that the student's books contained 361 tasks and texts with cultural contents consisting of 140 speaking tasks, 42 writing tasks, 99 tapescripts and 80 reading passages, while the teacher's books contained 42 additional notes with cultural content. Altogether they constituted a total of 403 units of analysis covering both tasks and texts which, in turn, served as units for analysis in the second phase.

Secondly, the identified tasks and texts with cultural content in both the student and teacher's books were analyzed for cultural content in terms of sources of culture (Source, Target, and International Cultures) and themes of cultures (Big "C" and Small "c" cultures).

To analyze the tasks and texts for sources of culture, three criteria were established. First, the source of culture was evaluated based on the identification of nations or other words related to the nations such as cities, nationalities, or currencies of particular countries, or by using other alternative ways to find the origin of sources of culture. Second, in case a task or text contained one theme of culture belonging to many sources of culture, it was labeled as "International Culture." Third, in case a task or text contained only a single theme of culture and the source of the culture could not be found, it was labeled as "Unidentified Source of Culture".

To analyze the tasks and texts for themes of culture, the following criteria were established. First, the theme of culture was examined based on the main idea. Second, to identify the theme of culture, the cultural content of each task or text was coded according to the definitions and guidance adapted from Lee (2009). Third, in case problems arose in making a decision, dictionaries especially the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (6th Edition) and the Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture (5th Edition), as well as other sources were consulted in order to distinguish whether certain cultural content belonged to a particular theme or not. Fourth, on clarification of a certain theme**,** cross-checking between the researchers was made in order to achieve a common agreement and validity on the cultural theme identification by subjective interpretation.

Finally, the occurrences of sources and themes of culture in the tasks and texts were summarized in frequency and percentages. It should be noted that during this procedure of cultural content analysis the analytical frameworks were also refined and redefined.

5. Results and Discussion

5.1 Sources of Culture in Fundamental English Coursebooks: Source, Target, and International Culture

The results of the analysis of sources of culture in the student and teacher's books are presented in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 1: Sources of Culture in Student's Books

Student's Books	Number of Tasks and Texts	Source Culture	Target Culture	International Culture	Unidentified Source of Culture
Book 1	104	27	41	36	0
Book 2	131	43	34	52	2
Book 3	126	46	41	34	5
Total	**361 (100%)**	**116 (32%)**	**116 (32%)**	**122 (34%)**	**7 (2%)**

It can be seen, in Table 1, that there was a total of 361 tasks and texts with cultural content in the three student's books including 104 in Book 1, 131 in Book 2 and 126 in Book 3. The results show that International Culture was presented in 122 (34%) tasks and texts which was slightly higher in frequency than Source and Target Culture each of which was presented in 116 (32%) tasks

and texts. Only seven (2%) tasks and texts belonged to an Unidentified Source of Culture.

In detail, the tasks and texts with International Culture did not specifically focus on the culture of any country; the cultures of a range of countries such as France, Italy, China, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Hungary, Norway, Spain, Germany, etc. were presented. Of the 32% of tasks and texts with Target Culture, those with British cultural content constituted of 20% while those with American, Irish, Canadian and Australian cultural content were 12%. Interestingly, among 32% of the occurrences of Source Culture— the Thai culture was presented only three times (1%) in the texts. The other 113 times (31%) occurred in the tasks which required students to practice speaking and writing about their own culture after learning the cultural content of other countries.

Table 2: Sources of Culture in Teacher's Books

Teacher's Book	Number of Additional Notes	Source Culture	Target Culture	International Culture	Unidentified Culture
Book 1	4	0	1	3	0
Book 2	13	0	12	1	0
Book 3	25	1	17	7	0
Total	**42 (100%)**	**1 (2%)**	**30 (72%)**	**11 (26%)**	**0 (0%)**

In Table 2, it can be seen that the three teacher's books contained a total of 42 additional notes including four in Book 1, 13 in Book 2, and 25 in Book 3. The results show that Target Culture was presented in 30 (72%) additional notes while International Culture was presented in a limited portion with 11 (26%) occurrences and Source of Culture was presented only in one (2%) additional note.

In detail, the additional notes on Target Culture mostly focused on British cultural content (60%) while those with cultural content of the USA, and Ireland made up 12%. Of the 26% of the additional notes on International Culture, 7% were on the French culture while those on cultural content of Samoa, Portugal, Italy, Croatia, China, Germany, and Morocco constituted 19%. Interestingly, there was only one (2%) note on the Thai culture, under Source Culture.

It should be noted that in both the student and teacher's books there was a clear tendency of presenting more cultural content when the students reached a more advanced level. Moreover, the authors paid considerably similar attention to presentations of cultural content of International Culture (34%), Source

Culture (32%) and Target Culture (32%) in the student's books. The findings were different from Xiao's (2010) study which found that Target Culture was the main focus and occupied more than half of the total tasks in an in-use English textbook.

However, the cultural content in the additional notes in the teacher's books mostly focused on the cultures of English-speaking countries, especially England. Similar findings can be found in Yamanaka (2006) and Xiao (2010), where most cultural content focused on the American and British culture. In this study, there was a lack of emphasis on Source Culture and International Culture. It is evident that the explanation of cultural content in terms of source of culture in the teacher's books was designed with the aim of enhancing the students' cultural knowledge of English-speaking countries. The reason may have been that the authors were English native speakers; therefore, the presented cultural content in the additional notes in the teacher's books mainly focused on explanations of cultural content of English-speaking countries.

5.2 Themes of Culture in Fundamental English Coursebooks: Big "C" and Small "c" Themes

The results of the analysis of themes of culture in the student and teacher's books are presented in Tables 3 and 4 respectively.

Table 3: Themes of Culture in Student's Books

Big "C" Culture			Small "c" Culture		
	Theme	**Frequency**		**Theme**	**Frequency**
1.	Style/Dress/Food/Housing	58 (16%)	1.	Individualism	111 (31%)
2.	Leisure/Music/Dance/ Sport	34 (9%)	2.	Future-oriented	8 (2%)
3.	Business/Shopping/ Currency/Market	29 (8%)	3.	Nurture	5 (1%)
4.	People	24 (7%)	4.	Rules	4 (1%)
5.	Literature	18 (5%)			
6.	Metropolis/Infrastructure	15 (4%)			
7.	Geography/Historical sites/ History	12 (3%)			
8.	Festival/Celebration/Ceremony/Party	11 (3%)			
9.	Holiday	11 (3%)			
10.	Weather/Season	9 (2%)			
11.	Art/Artifact	8 (2%)			
12.	Telecommunication	2 (0.6%)			
13.	Family	1 (0.2%)			
14.	Region	1 (0.2%)			
	Total	**233 (65%)**		**Total**	**128 (35%)**

Table 3 shows there was a considerable amount of devotion (65%) to Big "C" culture in both the tasks and texts of the three student's books. On the other hand, Small "c" culture was observed with a much lower portion of themes (35%). Calculating the frequency, 14 out of 22 themes of Big "C" culture occurred 233 times, while four out of 21 themes of Small "c" culture occurred 128 times in the tasks and texts in the three student's books.

When all the 18 cultural themes found in the three student's books, including 14 themes of Big "C" culture and four themes of Small "c" culture, were rank ordered, it was found that the five most frequently occurring themes of cultural content in the three student's books were one theme of Small "c" culture and four themes of Big "C" culture.

"Individualism" under the theme of Small "c" culture was the most frequently found theme (111 times, 31%). It was mostly spotlighted in the input in the form of practical speaking and writing tasks for the students. "Style/Dress/Food/Housing" was the second most frequently found theme at 58 times (16%), followed by the "Leisure/Music/Dance/Sport" theme at 34 times (9%), the "Business/Shopping/Currency/Market" theme at 29 times (8%), and the "People" theme at 24 times (7%).

However, it should be noted that eight themes of Big "C" culture and 17 themes of Small "c" culture in Lee's (2009) model, adapted as an analytical framework in this study, were not found in the three student's books.

Table 4: Themes of Culture in Teacher's Books

Big "C" Culture			**Small "c" Culture**		
	Theme	**Frequency**		**Theme**	**Frequency**
1.	Geography/Historical sites	11 (26%)	1.	Nurture	3 (8%)
2.	Festival/Celebration/ Ceremony/Party	9 (21%)	2.	Rules	1 (2%)
3.	Housing	4 (10%)	3.	Individualism	1 (2%)
4.	Music/Sport	4 (10%)			
5.	Business/Market	4 (10%)			
6.	Metropolis/Infrastructure	2 (5%)			
7.	Literature	1 (2%)			
8.	Weather	1 (2%)			
9.	Art	1 (2%)			
	Total	**37 (88%)**		**Total**	**5 (12%)**

As can be seen from Table 4, the results of the analysis of themes of culture in the three teacher's books were similar to those in the three student's

books in that most cultural contents, 37 out of 42 times or 88%, belong to the themes of Big “C” culture. The remaining five times or 12% belong to those of Small “c” culture.

To explain the results in more depth, "Geography/Historical sites” was the most frequently found theme at 11 times out of 42 times (26%) of the presented cultural contents in the three teacher's books. “Festival/Celebration/Ceremony/Party” as the second most frequently found theme at nine times (21%) of the presented cultural contents followed by “Music/Sport”, “Housing” and “Business/Market” each of which exhibited four mentions (10%) of the total cultural contents found. Moreover, these top five themes were of the Big "C" culture.

On the other hand, only three themes of Small “c” culture were found in the three teacher's books. That is, "Nurture" was mentioned three times (8%). “Rules” and "Individualism" were mentioned only once (2%) each.

It is noticeable from the analysis results that the majority of themes of cultural content in both the student and teacher’s books were those of Big “C” culture. Interestingly, the cultural theme with the top ranking frequency in the student’s books, “Individualism”, belongs to Small “c” culture whereas that with the top ranking frequency in the teacher’s books, “Geography/Historical sites,” belongs to Big “C” culture.

Similar results can be found in Lee (2009) and Xiao (2010) underlining that all of the coursebooks for EIL classrooms in Korea and China neglected Small “c” culture learning. This finding shows a conflict with the suggestions of many scholars (Chastain, 1988, p. 303, Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, Pulverness, 1995) that culture learning and teaching should aim at learners’ familiarization with both Big “C” and Small “c” cultures and that the priority of culture learning and teaching in the EIL classroom should be given to Small “c” culture in order to improve the learners’ intercultural communicative competence and to expand their world view.

The following sections elaborate on the themes of Big “C” and Small “c” cultures found in the coursebooks in this study.

5.2.1 The Big “C” Culture Presented in the Coursebooks

In the student’s books, the “Style/Dress/Food/Housing” theme was the second most frequently found, at 58 times. The “Style” theme covered life styles of overseas students in England living with English families, greeting styles, the way tickets were purchased in England, and the food eating customs of various

countries. The "Food" theme covered many countries such as African 'kuku paka', Korean 'kimchi,' Turkish 'baklava', and Portuguese 'bacalhau,' and international food such as hamburgers, pizza, salad, etc. The "Housing" theme covered design of houses, such as houses in England being white, "bubble houses" in Hungary, houses in Samoa, Korea, Portugal, etc.

The "Leisure/Music/Dance/Sport" theme was observed at a high frequency of 34 times. The "Music" theme presented only American and English singers and bands, while the "Dance" theme referred to various countries such as the Tango from Buenos Aries, Salsa from Havana, and Flamenco from Seville.

The "Business/Shopping/Currency/Market" theme was found 29 times. It covered England, America, and European currencies such as the Pound, the Dollar, and the Euro. The "Shopping" theme presented the activity of shopping and buying in various markets, such as the "Floating Market" in Thailand, "L' Isle-sure-la-Sorgue" in southern France, and "Souk" (the Arab word for market) in the Marrakech, Morocco.

The "People" theme was found 24 times. Famous people in various fields such as the author—Christopher Paolini (USA), the politician—Shirley Temple Black (USA), the singer—Joss Stone (England), the artist—Salvador Dali (Spain), the pilot—Amelia Mary Earhart (America) and cosmonaut—Yuri Gagarin (Russia) were presented.

The "Literature" theme was found 18 times, introducing novels, stories and cartoons such as Romeo and Juliet, Mickey Mouse, James Bond, and so on.

In the teacher's books, the "Geography/Historical sites" theme of Big "C" culture was found 11 times, presenting the geography of Croatia, England, USA, China, and France, as well as historical sites of England (historical university—Cambridge), Germany (historical university—Nuremburg), and Italy.

The "Festival/Celebration/Ceremony/Party" theme was found 9 times, presenting how some British people celebrate special occasions such as birthdays, Mother's Day, wedding days, Halloween, Thanksgiving, Easter Day, New Year's Eve, Valentine's Day, and Christmas Day.

The "Business/Market" theme was found four times. The region, surface geography and what is sold in a market such as that in Thailand which sells local food and traditional clothing were presented.

The majority of themes of the Big "C" of culture mentioned above were found in both the student and teacher's books in this study. However, they were presented in a superficial way in the teacher's books. Cultural content related to Big "C" culture should be presented with more explanation in relation to how particular Big "C" cultural content reflects on underlying cultural values and in-depth beliefs.

5.2.2 The Small "c" Culture Presented in the Coursebooks

In the student's books, the "Individualism" theme was found at 111 times and mostly in the texts. In these texts, the theme of "Individualism" presented differences among people in various fields and countries in their ways of doing things. In the tasks, students were trained in speaking and writing by using their own information to present their own culture. In contrast, other themes of Small "c" culture such as "Future-Oriented", "Nurture", and "Rules" were presented in the coursebooks only eight times, five times, and four times, respectively.

In the same way, there were only three themes of Small "c" culture presented in the teacher's books: the "Nurture" theme presented the organization of Médecins Sans Frontières, an international medical charity which works in developing countries. The "Rules" theme presented the practice of buying medication in Britain where a prescription by a doctor or dentist for the drugs and remedies is required. The "Individualism" theme presented information about a blind date, an arranged meeting between people of the opposite sex who do not know each other to find out if they would like to have a relationship with each other. This practice has been very popular for many years in the UK.

The occurrence of Small "c" culture in the teacher's books was limited, while the majority of the cultural content was devoted to Big "C" culture. All the teacher's books neglected a variation in socio-cultural values, norms, and beliefs in any explanation of cultural content. In other words, there were no explanations of how people may have different values and norms depending on their socio-cultural variables such as age, gender, ethnic group, region, or social status. This finding seems to be an indication that the teacher's books contain superficial explanations of cultural content.

This limited presentation of Small "c" culture and its explanation in the teacher's books may lead learners and teachers to misunderstand, stereotype and overgeneralize the information given in the text. These problems may cause a lack of integration and teaching of cultural content in the classroom because teachers may not feel confident to teach them.

6. Conclusion and Implication

This study examined cultural content in commercial English coursebooks used in Thailand. Specifically it investigated what sources and themes of culture were included that may facilitate learners' intercultural communicative competence.

In terms of sources of culture, the results of the analysis of the tasks and texts in the student's books show that International Culture gained a slightly higher frequency than Source and Target Cultures. The teacher's books mainly focused on the explanations of the cultural contents of English-speaking countries while those of Source and International Cultures were still limited.

Although many sources of cultural content were presented in the student's books, the tasks and texts were designed to teach the contents of other cultures in various themes. The explanations in the additional notes in the teacher's books were not enough for teachers to understand and have confidence to teach cultural content because they mostly focused on the cultures of English-speaking countries. Thus, the teacher's books may not be considered adequate for teachers who are considered the main providers of information of other countries' cultures to students (Mckay, 2002). The additional notes for teachers should contain cultural information of various sources and the cultural information presented in them should be congruent with that in the student's books in terms of both sources and themes of culture so that the teacher's books can serve as helpful guidelines for teachers in their presentations of other countries' cultures.

With respect to themes of culture, it was found that in both the student and teacher's books there was a strong preference for Big "C" culture and most of the cultural contents appeared to present facts, statistics, products, and contributions of Big "C" culture, such as facts and statistics regarding "Style/Dress/Food/Housing,""Leisure/Music/Dance/Sport,""Business/Shopping/ Currency/Market," and "People." A low percentage of Small "c" culture was observed with a limited portion of themes.

The results show a distinct conflict with researchers' statements that Small "c" culture could play a more significant role in encouraging learners' intercultural communicative competence (Lee, 2009; Paige et al., 1999; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). Therefore, the evidence from this study does not suggest a positive contribution of the coursebooks towards the learners' intercultural understanding because the Small "c" culture presented in them is limited. Such a slight portion of Small "c" culture may provide insufficient cultural content to

promote the learners' intercultural communicative competence, or to achieve the goal of teaching and learning English as an international language.

The results of the analysis of the coursebooks in this study may raise teachers' awareness of teaching cultural content in English within an international language classroom. In addition, these results may provide useful suggestions for inclusion and evaluation of cultural content in English teaching materials for the development of learners' intercultural communicative competence.

7. Suggestions for Further Study

This study investigated the cultural content in Fundamental English coursebooks used in a university in Thailand in terms of sources and themes of culture. However, many issues were beyond the scope of this investigation and deserve further analysis. First, other types of coursebooks, such as an in-house coursebook, should be examined. Second, it would be useful to interview teachers on their perceptions of teaching cultural content using the coursebooks as well as their views on the value of integrating culture in their teaching. Third, it may also be necessary to investigate the students' attitudes on which sources and themes of culture are of interest to them and whether or not their preferences agree with the cultural content presented in the coursebooks

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Reinventing Sexual Identities: Thai Gay Men[1]'s Pursuit of Social Acceptance

Jaray Singhakowinta

Abstract

This paper presents an analytical investigation of Thailand's gender normative homosexuals' refashioning of their sexual identities. It is intended to examine how the emergence of modern homosexual identities in Thailand could be a resulted of the interplay between Western discourses of sexuality and Thai sex/gender system[2]. Although *gay* is often seen as a cultural import from the West, its application in Thai contexts reveals the hybridisation of the Thai sex/gender system and Western discourses of sexuality. Thai homosexual men's adoption of *gay* and subsequently *chairakchai*[3] underscores their constant redefinition and reconstruction of their sexual identities within Thai heteronormative frameworks.

Keywords: communication for sexual diversity, global queering, heteronormativity

บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้นำเสนอการศึกษาเชิงวิเคราะห์เกี่ยวกับกระบวนการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศของกลุ่มคนรักเพศเดียวกันที่มีการแสดงออกทางเพศสภาพแบบปรกติ โดยมุ่งศึกษาว่า การปรากฏขึ้นของอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศของคนรักเพศเดียวกันสมัยใหม่อาจเป็นผลสืบเนื่องจากปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างวาทกรรมตะวันตกเรื่องเพศวิถีและ แบบ

[1]Gay men here refer to masculine identified homosexual men whose gender expressions are in contradiction to those of feminine identified male to female transgenders, colloquially known as *kathoey* in Thailand.

[2] Borrowed from Gayle Rubin (1975), the use of *sex/gender system* is intended to highlight the lack of clear distinction of sex, gender and sexuality in Thai society.

[3] The romanisation of Thai words in this paper follows the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS), published by the Royal Institute of Thailand (1999). The RTGS does not include diacritics, which phonetically indicate the variation in vowels and tones. The transliteration of Thai names, preferentially adopted by Thai individuals remains unaltered. The exception is also extended to certain Thai words, having been extensively used by other scholars such as *kathoey*, *gay*, *tom*, *dee*, rather than *kathoei*, *ke*, *thom*, *di*, according to the RTGS. The Thai grammatical rule, regarding the differentiation of plural nouns in Thai language is also maintained in this paper. For example, *kathoey* can be taken as both singular and plural in Thai depending on immediate contexts.

แผนทางเพศ / เพศสภาพของไทยได้อย่างไร ถึงแม้คำว่า เกย์ มักถูกมองว่าเป็นวัฒนธรรมตะวันตกเรื่องเพศวิถี แต่การปรับใช้ในบริบทของไทย ได้ชี้ให้เห็นถึงการผสมผสานระหว่างแบบแผนทางเพศ / เพศสภาพของไทย และวาทกรรมตะวันตกเรื่องเพศวิถี การเลือกใช้คำว่า เกย์ และ ชายรักชาย ของชายไทยรักเพศเดียวกัน สะท้อนให้เห็นถึงความพยายามอย่างต่อเนื่องที่จะนิยามตัวตนใหม่ และการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศใหม่ภายใต้กรอบแนวคิดทางสังคมที่ยังคงให้ความสำคัญกับความรักต่างเพศ

คำสำคัญ: การสื่อสารเพื่อความหลากหลายทางเพศ โลกาภิวัฒน์เควียร์ บรรทัดฐานรักต่างเพศ

Introduction

This paper first examines Denis Altman's discussion of global queering and his critics in order to position the emergence of modern homosexual identities in Thailand in relation to the globalised Western queer[4] culture. Second, it presents a historical and semantic analysis of the traditional Thai model of gender and sexual transgression, *kathoey*, and recent terminologies for exclusive homosexual identities such as *gay* and *chairakchai*. The etymological investigation of both *kathoey* and *gay* identities focuses on their relevant positions in the Thai sex/gender system. This study on the linguistic conception of homosexual identities in Thai language highlights Thais' cultural and intellectual engagement with Western conception of sexuality, particularly Thai gay men who are positioning themselves around this international image of gayness since its first Thai public appearance in the 1960s.

This study reveals substantial divergences between the gayness understood in the West and the *gay* identity with which many Thai homosexuals have identified themselves. It also suggests that the identification with the global gay identity bears double-edged results. On the one hand, it empowers and reaffirms Thai gay men's masculine privileges. On the other hand, the identification with Western *gay* identity brings unnecessary attention to those whose homosexuality has *come out* in the open and problematises the social validity of same-sex relations in Thailand.

[4] Although *queer* academically refers to non-conforming and politically critical ideologies, the word *queer* here is simply used as a synonymous reference to *gay*.

Deconstructing Global Queering

Compared to its southern neighbouring countries, such as Singapore or Malaysia, where homosexual relations are legally punishable, Thailand appears to be the most liberal place for sexual minorities in the region. The increasing visibility of LGBT[5] people in the public domain is usually thought of as reflecting Thais' openness and social tolerance towards these socially sexual 'deviants.' Thai male to female transgenders, locally known as *kathoey,* have long been a subject of fascination by Westerners and Thais alike (Sinnott 2004: 28). Their involvement in local communities is often interpreted by international homosexual visitors as showing Thais' acceptance of *kathoey* and Thailand as an exceptional place where homosexuality has a respected cultural place (Storer 1999, p. 7; Matzner, 2002, p. 1; Jackson and Sullivan, 1999, p. 4).

The proliferation of entertainment venues and services catering exclusively for gay men during Thailand's rapid economic growth between 1980s and early 1990s to some extent affirms Thailand's global reputation as 'a gay paradise' (Jackson, 1999c, p. 226; Matzner, 1998, p. 1, Storer, 1999, p. 7). The globalisation of marketing capitalism and Western cultural influence have not only opened up opportunities for many men and women from rural and collective communities to explore their sexuality in urban and individualistic cities but also instigated what Dennis Altman has termed *global queering*, or the emergence of newly sexual identities in Asia and non-Western societies (1996, p. 1). This internationalisation of modern homosexual identities, according to Altman (1996, p. 1.), can be held accountable for the proliferation of gay venues, businesses, and organisations throughout the emerging Asian economies.

The commercialisation of air travel industries has also made the international travel more affordable, contributing to the significant growth of tourist industries in non-Western societies. The proliferation of gay venues during the 1990s in Thai cities can be argued as a direct response to not only increasing demands of gay tourists and foreign expatriates but also a growing number of local patrons who identified with the global gay concept. At least in Bangkok, the first generation of gay bars and night clubs along Silom Road[6] were said to be frequented by young Thai Western educated gay men who had had first-hand experience of Western gay lifestyles abroad.

[5] LGBT is an acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender.

[6] Silom, a busy commercial road in Central Bangkok, is also known for its vibrant nightlife. Numerous bars and nightclubs are clustered around tiny *Soi* or alleys along the road. Silom is considered world-famous not only for its notorious Soi Phatphong where female pole dancers and fake Rolex watches are available, but also for its Silom Soi 2 where DJ Station, a renowned gay dancing club, is located. Further discussion on the role of Silom as a Thai gay establishment can be found in Pichet Suypan (2002)

The development of communication technology such as the Internet has significantly contributed to the establishment of on-line gay and lesbian communities, providing a virtual space for networking between not only local LGBT members but also their Western counterparts. Particularly in neighbouring countries, such as Malaysia and Singapore, where homosexual communities are subject to strict legal control of expressions, the Internet has become a main channel for communication between local and international LGBT communities.

The transnational media have also played a crucial role in marketising this new imagining of 'modern homosexuality' across the world. The Stonewall riot in New York in 1969, according to Altman (1996, p.2), "has become internationally known as a symbol of a new stage of gay-self affirmation, symbolised in the recent British film, *Stonewall.* The 'macho' gay man of the 1970s, the 'lipstick lesbian' of the 1990s, are a global phenomenon, thanks to the ability of mass media to market particular American lifestyles and appearances." Altman (1996) also stresses that "American books, films, magazines and fashion continue to define contemporary gay and lesbian meanings for most of the world."

Another major factor contributing to Altman's notion of 'global queering' in Asia is the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This deadly virus not only highlighted Asian-Pacific communities' necessity to review their public health policies, but also brought the issue of sexuality, formerly unspeakable under the traditional and colonial discourses in many countries, to the centre stage. That is, the epidemic has caused an immense panic throughout the region as well as a huge pressure on governments to foster sex education campaigns of 'proper' sexual behaviours and safe sex practices to prevent the spread of the virus. This has inevitably demystified taboos of public discussions of sex and sexuality and shed light on the existence of socially 'deviant' or 'unnatural' sexual practices and preferences. Likewise, the epidemic has also virtually constructed a sense of community among Western and non-Western gay men in experiencing the HIV virus and AIDS related diseases. This perhaps helps build up networks of gay men who are working on the HIV/AIDS, in turn the 'Western notion of how to be gay' is unwittingly disseminated by circulated materials and guidelines throughout gay organisations in Asia (1996, p.p. 4-7).

Forces of globalisation have undeniably played a crucial part in the emergence of contemporary homosexual identities in Asia, but Altman's 'global queering' is severely criticised for being 'too simplistic' as his conjecture of globalised gayness seems to 'equate gay culture with homogeneous consumer culture' (Binnie, 2004, p. 70). Ethnographic research on Southeast Asian gay

men, for example, Boellstorff (2005, p. 82), Garcia (1996, p. xiii), Manalansan (2003, p. viii) suggests that gay-identified men in Indonesia, the Philippines and the Filipino diaspora in New York, respectively, are not passively taking up the Western style *gay* identity, but rather contesting and rearticulating their definitions of *gay* identities.

Regarding his argument on the influence of a globalising capitalist economy over the internationalisation of modern homosexual identities in Asia, Altman's notion of global queering runs the risk of reproducing the myth of universal gay identities, transcending the multi-facets of political and cultural differences, albeit, to some extent, that he recognises the possibility of Western gay identities' hybridisation in non-west contexts. Altman (1996, p.p. 3-4) asserts that:

> There is a growing 'modern' homosexuality, which is producing lesbian bars and gay gyms in the wake of an expanding global capitalism. But these changes are more uneven and more related to cultural traditions than might seem at first apparent. As homosexual movements develop in non-Western countries they will, in turn, develop identities and lifestyles different to those from which they originally drew their inspiration.

Despite Altman's attempt to accommodate the potential hybridisation between global queer and local eroticised identities, contextual multiplicities of Asian lesbian and gay communities are still being rendered as inauthentic. Altman's global queering imposes an imbalance of structural power relations between Western homosexuals as the 'originals' and their Asian counterparts as the 'imitators.' In a response to Altman's *Global Queering*, Fran Martin (1996, p.1) remarks that:

> Altman's article assumes that the incursion of literature or imagery produced in the US, Australia and Europe into "other" parts of the world means that "a very Western notion of how to be homosexuals" is swallowed whole and easily digested by women and men in those other cultures who then begin to exhibit the symptoms of the "global gay/lesbian": you see an American-produced poster in Pillarbox Red at Watson's and BAM, you're a "global lipstick lesbian". This account assumes that it is always only the "American" side of the exchange that holds the power; that the "other side" will never return to seriously disrupt "our" assumptions and forms (might this be one of the attractions of such an account…?)

Altman's discussion of the "global queering" phenomenon ambiguously implies that gay and lesbian identities in Asia have recently emerged as a direct corollary of globalisation in the 1990s. However, "gay and lesbian Asia," according to Jackson (1999a, p. 363, 2001, p. 3), is not a recent social phenomenon but rather had appeared pretty much the same time as their Western counterparts. Jackson argues that visible gay, lesbian, and transgender cultures emerged in Bangkok several decades before the Internet era, and the word *gay* was being used as a 'self-identificatory label' by homosexually-active men in the city some years before the Stonewall riots in New York City (1999a, p. 363).

Jackson (2001, p. 7) urges researchers writing on Asian queer identities to deconstruct the Euro-centric knowledge and "to incorporate an awareness of specificity of historical Asian forms of gender/sex difference-those existed before the identities now labelled "gay" and "lesbian," with an appreciation that, despite being labelled with borrowed English terms, contemporary Asian identities often represent quite different forms of gendered eroticism and eroticised genders from those that exist in the West."

Jackson (1999a, p. 362) concludes that "the Thai construction of gay identity is a distinctive formation in which gender and sexuality remain integrally bound and so cannot be reduced to Western understandings of 'gayness' or 'gay identity'."

Jackson's comment is echoed by other critics of global queering theory. Megan Sinnott (2004) whose research on *tom* and *dee*[7], Thai equivalent identities for lesbianism, reveals that the term lesbian is heavily resisted among *tom* and *dee* due to its sexual and homosexual connotations in Thai heteronormative discourses (2004, p. 29). Sinnott suggests that Altman's transnational model of global queering fails to recognise "the very different dynamics of male and female homosexual subcultures and identities" (2004, p. 33). It is imperative, according to Sinnott (2004, p. 39), to understand that the new identities such as *gay*, *tom*, and *dee* are neither Western imports nor traditional categories, but rather hybridised "products of intense cultural interaction and exchange are simultaneously unquestionably Thai." In other words, while recognising the English and Western origins, the newly eroticised identities have been adopted and interpreted in relation to the Thai sex/gender system.

[7] *Tom* and *dee* are Thai gender labels for lesbians. *Tom*, supposedly derived from 'tomboy' in English, refers to a masculine or butch lesbian while *dee*, short for 'lady' in English, refers to gender normative homosexual woman.

Unlike *tom* and *dee*, Thai gay men are fully aware of their transnational connection (2004, p. 29). Borthwick's study of a gay group in a rural village of Ban Coh reveals that villagers prefer the label *gay* to *kathoey* because it is 'fashionable' (1999, p. 70). Storer (1999, p. 6) argues that the incorporation of multiple homosexual identities such as *gay*, *gay king*, and *gay queen* into the Thai vernacular system lacks coherency as *gay* means different things to different people. Storer (1999) adds that "for some, *gay* has been used as a label for 'modern' and 'egalitarian' homosexuality through a process of stigma transformation; for others, the word has become a euphemism for men who are homosexually penetrated" (p. 6). Jillana Enteen's ethnographic research shows that there is a resistance to the universal identification of *gay* by some of her interviewees who have had homosexual relations with other men (1998, p. 5). The deploying of the alternative self-chosen label of *yingrakying* by *Anjaree*, a Thai lesbian group, in the mid-1980s and the resistance to lesbian and gay identities by Thai homosexual men and women recapitulates the suggestion by Jackson (2003, p. 1) that the "Thai case study provides a counter-example to the presumption that modernity and globalisation necessarily led to an international homogenisation of sexual cultures."

The idea of global queer identities can be argued to encourage an international alliance of LGBT communities to undertake their common struggles for human rights and HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns (Jackson, 2001, p. 8). However, the notion that transnational gayness is an extension of Western influence can provoke anti-colonial and nationalist sentiments in many non-Western countries which still remain religious and conservative. Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, the former Malaysian Prime Minister, infamously associated homosexuality with Western neo-imperialism in his speech at the United Nations in 1991 (*The Nation*, July 20, 1997, cited in Sinnott, 2004, p. 25). Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe reportedly warned gays and lesbians to stay away from his country (*Aarmo*, 1999, p. 260, cited in ibid.). On February 21, 2009 in Chiangmai[8], Thailand, organisers of the Chiangmai Gay Pride parade had to cancel the event after tensions with a local group called, *Rak Chiang Mai'51*[9] (lit. Love Chiangmai'51) flared up since the group accused the gay pride as inappropriate for Chiangmai's renowned cultural heritage (*Prachatai*, February 22, 2009[10]).

[8] Chiangmai is the biggest city in the Northern region of Thailand. Having been the economical and educational centre of the region, Chiangmai's gay scenes are said to be the third biggest in the country after Bangkok and Phatthaya, respectively.

[9] 51 is the abbreviation for 2551, the Buddhist Era (B.E.) Year of 2551. In Thailand, years are officially counted in the Buddhist era that is 543 years greater than the Christian era.

[10] Full coverage of the event can be retrieved from http://www.prachatai.com/05web/th/home/ page2. php?mod =mod_ptcms&ID=15648&Key=HilightNews.

Whilst Altman's notion of global queering is criticised for its Western (American) hegemonic conception, the emergence of transnational *gay* identity in non-Western societies unwittingly brings attention to the integration of Western sexual discourse into local sex/gender paradigms. In Thailand, the co-existence of both local *kathoey* and transnational *gay* identities exemplifies the suggestion that the adoption of globalised terms for homosexuality does not necessarily erase the traditional ones, but rather adds a new set of meanings into existing discourses. The hybridisation between old and new sex/gender paradigms to some extent explains why the word *gay* means different things to different people. The interchangeability between *kathoey* and *gay* in the Thai vernacular system also reveals the confusion between pervasive terms for homosexuality in Thai popular discourses.

Positioning *Kathoey* in the Thai Sex/Gender System

Kathoey has long been the indigenous Thai label for non-normative sex/gender categories while the label *gay*, which firstly emerged in the Thai press in 1965, represents exclusive normative masculine-identified homosexuals. Before investigating how the newly sexual label *gay* is understood in Thai contexts, it is imperative to explore Thailand's traditional non-normative sex/gender category of *kathoey* which predates the identity *gay*.

The Royal Institute (*Ratchabanditayasathan*) Thai language dictionary [11](1999) defines *kathoey* as "a person who has both male and female genitals; a person whose mind and behaviour are the opposite of their sex." The dictionary also defines *kathoey* as a condition of certain fruit which contains infertile or undeveloped seeds, i.e. *lamyai kathoey* (lit. infertile longan). In other words, *kathoey* etymologically denotes 1) non-normative sex/gender categories i.e. hermaphroditism and transgenderism, and 2) non-reproductivity in living beings. However, kathoey is often differentiated into two categories: 1) *kathoey thae* (lit. genuine *kathoey*) or hermaphrodites, 2) *kathoey thiam* (lit. pseudo *kathoey*) or transgenders. It should be noted that there can be both male and female *kathoey* according to the Royal Institute Dictionary, but *kathoey* has later become an umbrella term for gender and sexual transgression in men in the contemporary usage.

Based on a Northern Thai folklore version of the creation story, called *pathamamulamuli*, Rosalind Morris (1994, p. 19) describes the Thai traditional

[11] The 1999 edition of the Royal Institute's Dictionary can be accessed online at http://rirs3.royin.go.th/dictionary.asp.

sex/gender system as the system of three sexes or "tripartite with the terms of sexual identity being *phuchai* (male), *phuying* (female), and *kathoey* (transvestite/transsexual/hermaphrodite)." Morris (ibid.) postulates that the semantic transformation from hermaphroditic *kathoey* to male to female transgendered *kathoey* in the Thai sex/gender system was a result of Thai patriarchy's appropriation and naturalisation of *kathoey*. That is, from a sex/gender neutral category, *kathoey* has historically become an institutionalised male category (1994, p. 24). According to Morris (1994), the exclusivity of *kathoey* to represent only male to female gender transgression in the present context but not vice versa emphasises that female gender transgression "had no special designation" because female sexuality, including her reproductivity, was strictly policed and deemed as "inviolable, irreversible, and unified" in the traditional sex/gender system (p. 26).

According to Morris (1994), within "the system of three sexes," sexual practices and object choices are irrelevant to marking sexual identities but rather an individual's gender performance in the public domain that is crucial to the social categorisation of their gendered sexual identities whether they are *phuchai*, *phuying*, or the transgression type of *kathoey*. Morris (1994) asserts that,

> It would not be mistaken to understand the categories of *phuying*, *phuchai*, and *kathoey* as kinds of sexual identity, but it would be wrong to assume that such sexual identity determines either sexual practice or object choice.

The existence of the third kind, *kathoey* in *pathamamulamuli* provides "neither the distribution nor production of power within that realm" but rather suggests "the imaginary possibility" apart from the binary opposition of male and female (Morris, 1994, p. 24). *Kathoey* thus occupies an indeterminate status in the system of three sexes, as noted by Jackson & Sullivan (1999, p. 4) that

> Historically, three forms of sexed or gendered beings, called *phet* (pronounced like "*pairt*") in Thai, were recognised within local discourses, namely normative masculine man (*phuchai*), feminine woman (*phuying*) and an intermediate category called *kathoey*.

Despite the pervasive 'third sex' (*phetthisam*) status of *kathoey* in the Thai sex/gender paradigm, the patriarchal institutionalisation of *kathoey* has rendered *kathoey* asymmetrically inferior compared to *phuchai* and *phuying*. That is, *kathoey*'s gender transgression from male to female marks their non-normative position in comparison with their gender normative male and female

counterparts. Pointed out by Costa and Matzner (2007, 26), the gender transgression of *kathoey* is often constructed as 'deviant,' rather than 'variant' in Thai social contexts. They (2007, p. 1) state their decision not to refer to Thai transgenders who took part in their research as *kathoey*, which is a more commonly known term in Thailand, but rather call them *saopraphetsong* (lit. the second type women) because they found the term *saopraphetsong* "more neutral" and "more polite" compared with the term *kathoey*.

Since the appropriation of femininity by *kathoey* can be symbolically seen as a rejection of manhood, *kathoey*, not women, assume the true opposite of men in Thai contexts. Morris (1999, p. 63), citing Freud's castration anxiety theory, says that it "does not work to produce antithetical sexual differences … between the masculine and feminine, but between the masculine and the emasculated." According to Jackson (1999b, p. 225), "the femininity of Thai females largely exists outside the domain over which Thai masculinity is defined." As being *kathoey* is thought of as a failure to achieve manhood, *kathoey* provides Thai men a self-contrasting image to define their masculinity. *Kathoey* is, in fact, constructed on the notion of unmasculinity, not femininity. In this context, Thai men test their masculinity by comparing with unmasculine *kathoey*. *Kathoey* is not perceived as genuinely feminine, but rather as being unmasculine. Therefore, *kathoey* is a 'parody' of Thai men to prove that they are 'real men' (ibid.).

Jackson's assumption is challenged by Costa and Matzner (2007, p. 31) questioning the theoretical hypothesis of the *kathoey – phuchai* (man) binary by Western researchers. They (2007) argue that "it is unclear why in the Thai context men would necessarily define themselves and construct their masculinity in opposition to *kathoey*, rather than women who are seen as men's opposite and/or complementary in many social contexts" (p. 31). The emphasis on "the functionalist orientation" of *kathoey* in the Thai traditional sex/gender paradigm, according to Costa & Matzner (2007, p. 31), "fails to account for the complexities surrounding the construction of gender and sexual subjectivities."

Constructing *Gay* Identity in the Thai Context

The emergence of the visible *gay* sub-culture in Bangkok since the 1960s might illustrate Thailand's intricately socio-cultural involvement with the West, but Thai homosexual men's adoption of the label *gay* differs from their "original" conception in many ways. Rather than positioning themselves in opposition to heterosexual men and women, the English term *gay* was taken as a

self-identified label by many Thai male homosexuals to distinguish themselves from the more popular Thai term for gender and sexual transgression of *kathoey*. In this context, *gay* identity is not constructed in the binary opposition between heterosexuality and homosexuality, but rather in the binary opposition between non-gender normative *kathoey* and gender-normative masculinity.

Since the label *gay* is originally derived from English, the *gay* identity is often simplistically perceived as a Western implant. Whilst the relationship between Thai gay communities and their globalised gay brotherhood is undeniable, the insistence on transnational connection fails to recognise the complexity of interactions between local sex/gender paradigms and socio-economic transformations engendered by global forces (Sinnott, 2004, p. 35).

Before the emergence of *gay* identity in the 1960s, the term *kathoey* in the popular usage refers to both non-normative gender expressions and non-normative sexual practices. That is, *kathoey*, not only refers to male to female cross dressers, but also often includes gender-normative men who have sexual attraction to other gender-normative men (Costa and Matzner, 2004, p. 19). The conflation of sexual practices and gender expressions in the *kathoey* identity highlights the lack of terminology in Thai language to distinguish gender-normative homosexuals from transvestites, transgenders, and transsexuals, respectively.

In Thailand, homosexuality is often understood as being 'misgendered' or *phitphet* (Sinnott, 2004, p. 28). *Phet* can be literally translated as 'sex' in English, i.e. *ruamphet* (.lit sexual intercourse) or *phetsamphan* (.litsexual relation). *Phet* signifies masculine and feminine as in *phetchai* (lit. male) and *phetying* (.lit female). *Phet* is also used to identify sexuality as in *rakruamphet* (.lit homosexuality) and *raktangphet* (.lit heterosexuality). Due to the ambiguity of the word *phet*, in the 2000s Thai feminist scholars recently coined Thai equivalent terms for gender and sexuality. These new terminologies i.e. *phetsaphap* (.lit gender), *phetwithi* (.lit sexuality), respectively, are still yet to register in Thai mainstream discourses. In other words, the three systems of sex, gender, and sexuality are popularly accommodated in the single notion of *phet*. Jackson (1995b, p. 218) explains that

> The linguistic conflation of the domains of biology, gender and sexuality in Thai leads to a common tendency to "naturalise" both ascribed gender and sexuality to biology. For example, in Thai discourses on gender and sexuality the categories *chai*, *ying* and *kathoey* are typically conceived in terms of performance of masculine, feminine and transgender roles,

respectively, which in turn are believed to be biologically based in maleness, femaleness and hermaphroditism.

Thai homosexual men's appropriation of the label *gay* in the 1960s in Thai public discourse can be seen as a response to the increasing valorisation of masculinity among gender normative Thai homosexuals during that period of intense interactions with sex/gender discourse from the West. Thanks to the close military and business association with the United States from World War II until the Vietnam War era, Thailand was America's regional centre for military and economic expansion. Foreign investment, particularly from the U.S., was heavily promoted and facilitated by the Thai government. Businesses and services targeting American personnel and Western expatriates stationed in Thailand sprang up dramatically, particularly in big cities. The huge influx of economic migrants from the countryside relocated to big cities to work in newly established factories and service industries. It can be said that the intense economic industrialisation during this period entailed significant socio-cultural changes in Thai society.

The discovery of *gay*-identified men in Bangkok by the Thai press in October 1965 was a historical pivot, marking the shift in sex/gender paradigms in relation to the reimagination of transgenderism and homosexuality in Thai public discourses. The murder of Darrell Berrigan[12], an American expatriate in Bangkok in October 1965 was followed by the Thai media's intense scrutiny of his homosexuality and a month long report of the sub-culture of young men who called themselves *gay*. The competition among the Thai press to report the murder case and subsequent analyses of homosexual pathology by columnists and psychologists, to some extent, can be said to have registered *gay* identity in the Thai sex/gender system.

It is worth noting that before the Thai press' exposure of Thai *gay* group after the Berrigan murder case in 1965, masculine gender-normative homosexuals were invisible in Thailand. Gender-transgressed *kathoey*, on the contrary, often drew regular attention from the public. *Kathoey* beauty contests mostly held in temple funfairs received attention not only from the press, but also from the police who frequently arrested kathoey on suspicion of prostitution[13]. *Kathoey* cross dressers were notoriously known not only for their hyper-feminine performance, but also for their involvement in prostitution and theft.

[12] Jackson (1999a) and Terdsak (2002) provide full details regarding the case and press revelation of Berrigan's homosexuality.
[13] Despite the image of being a world brothel, prostitution has been illegal in Thailand since 1960.

Pan Bunnak (1989, p. 14), a famous hair artist, recalled his/her adventurous experience during the 1960s that *kathoey* could be differentiated in two groups: 1) cross dressing *kathoey* who participated in *kathoey* beauty contests and were often subjected to police harassment, and 2) *kathoey maisadaeng-ok* or gender-normative *kathoey* who would escape police patrol providing that they were not seen caressing one another in public.

The pre-context of *kathoey* before the Berrigan murder case suggests that it was an exclusive category for both non-normative gender expression and homosexual behaviours. The press' lengthy coverage of the *gay* group unwittingly emphasised and clarified differences between *kathoey* and *gay* categories in the Thai public domain. To help explicate the emergence of *gay* identity in Thai public discourses, it might be appropriate to investigate how the stories in relation to this murder case chronically developed in the press until the emergence of the *gay* identity.

On 4 October 1965, *Thairath*[14] reported that Darrell Berrigan[15], an editor of the English language newspaper, *Bangkok World*, was found dead in his car. Berrigan was shot through the back of his head. His trousers and underpants appeared to have been pulled down to his shins. After initial investigation, the police found that "Mr. Darrell Berrigan was a sexual degenerate who enjoyed having sex with *kathoey* and young men" (*Thairath* October 4, 1965, p.1 cited in Jackson 1999a, p. 374, also cited in Terdsak[16] 2002, p. 60).

Thai newspapers competed against each other to report both progresses on the case and the revelation of Berrigan's hidden lifestyle with male sex workers. *Thairath* on 7 October 1965 further revealed that Berrigan's colleagues were aware of his 'sickness' and Berrigan's attraction to young men was analogous to what men had for women. *Thairath* described one of Burrigan's sex partners, named *Po* as "a *kathoey* who disliked cross dressing but rather preferred normal male clothes" (*Thairath* October 7, 1965, p. 16, cited in Terdsak 2002, p.p. 61-2).

On 8 October 1965, *Thairath* published an article by Sisiat[17] who suggested that Berrigan's homosexuality was heavily influenced by the West. Sisiat's article reflected his understanding of homosexuality that it can be distinguished into two categories: 1) the Thai traditional *kathoey* who take on

[14] *Thairath* is one of Thai language tabloid newspapers.
[15] Berrigan was well-known among Western expatriate circles and Thai political elites in the 1960s. He was named a 'friend of Thailand' as an appreciation for his contribution to the country during and after World War II.
[16] According to Thai convention, Thai scholars are listed and referred by their first names in this paper.
[17] Sisiat was *Thairath*'s regular writer of a column, called *Saraphanpanha* (lit . all kinds of problems).

feminine mannerisms; and 2) the new type of *kathoey*, called 'homosexual.' He further commented that this new type of *kathoey* was derived from the socially progressive civilisation and Thai people, who were educated abroad, brought this behaviour back to the country (*Thairath* October 8, 1965, p. 2, cited in Terdsak, 2002, p. 63).

By exposing Berrigan's past, the reporters stumbled on a new discourse of masculine-identified homosexuality among the male prostitute circles of Bangkok whose main clients were foreign expatriates like Berrigan. At the beginning, there was a little confusion over the terms to refer to those boys who had sexually associated with Berrigan. The reporters initially referred to them as *kathoey* but later noticed the significant differences between the effeminacy of *kathoey* and the masculinity of those boys. They then called these gender normative sex workers *kathoey phuchai* or male *kathoey* (*Thairath* October 10, 1965, p. 14, cited in Terdsak, 2002, p. 66).

On 11 October 1965, *Thairath* published a sensational report about its discovery of a group of male sex workers who called themselves *gay*. *Thairath* reported that these gays or *phuchai khaitua* (.lit male prostitutes) were 'sleeping partners' of *farang* [18]or Westerners. *Thairath* highlighted that these young men were considered good looking and completely masculine. These men were reported to have never cross-dressed, unlike *kathoey*. *Thairath* described these sex workers as young men who earned themselves a living as being *gay*. It also added that there were around two hundred *phuchai khaitua* who were civil servants and actors. These young men enjoyed living in luxurious rented houses and apartments, paid by their *farang* lovers (*Thairath* October 11, 1965, p. 16, cited in Terdsak, 2002, p. 67). In other words, the investigation of the Berrigan murder case by the Thai press led to the initial confusion over the concept of *gay* identity as male prostitutes whose main clients were Western expatriates and Thai elites referred to themselves as *gay*. *Gay* described by the Thai press in 1965 became synonymous with male sex workers. The emergence of the word *gay*, therefore, specified a gender distinction between masculine and effeminate *kathoey*.

Although the first introduction of a new sexual identity in 1965 by the Thai press was imbued with social distrust and antagonisms due to the word *gay*'s association with prostitution and the murder of Darrell Berrigan, *gay* was described by the press as a completely different "class" from *kathoey*. While

[18] *Farang* is a Thai slang for "Caucasian" foreigners. Although it is popularly speculated that *farang* is derived from the French word *français* or *farangset* in Thai, etymological linguistics studies show that *farang* is originally derived from the Persian word *farangi* or 'foreigner.' (Jurispong Chularatana, *Krungthepthurakit* September 24, 2009, retrieved from http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/home/detail/ lifestyle/culture/20090924/ 78380/ถอดราก-ศัพท์(แขก)เทศ.html.

kathoey were often socially positioned as "low class," those who called themselves *gay* were described by the press as having "refined mannerisms" and a "high taste in fashion." Their affluent lifestyles were said to be provided by their *farang* partners. However, these *gay*-identified men were said to come from different backgrounds ranging from governmental officials to actors. The emphasis on the "normal" masculinity of these young men in opposition to the effeminate and cross-dressing *kathoey* by the Thai press underscored differences between the two identities and designated *gay* as a new non-normative category in the Thai sex/gender system.

Kathoey* versus *Gay

Gay is located in opposition to the *kathoey* identity as another non-normative category in the Thai sex/gender paradigm. In the last section, I have shown how the label *gay* emerged and registered in Thai public discourses as a new category of non-normative sex/gender identities. The emergence of gender normative young men who identified as *gay* after the murder of Berrigan was met with astonishment by the Thai press as the gender expressions of *gay* men were radically distinct from those of *kathoey*. Differences between the two categories further appear multi-dimensional. Social positions, personal lifestyles and often educational background were cited by the press after the Berrigan case as markers of the emerging masculine-identified homosexual men.

Although it was unclear why *gay* had become a preferred choice of identity for those men in the 1960s, the adoption of the label *gay* can be argued to help lessen social stigma, attached to the *kathoey* identity and prostitution at the interface between public and private spheres. As the gender transgression of *kathoey* breaches the social expectation of normative masculinity, the self-chosen *gay* identity can be understood as an attempt by masculine-identified homosexual men to re-masculinise their sex/gender identity and to distance them from the unmasculine *kathoey*. That is, by identifying oneself as *gay*, it is imperative to evaluate and position not just one's same-sex erotic attraction, but rather one's gender expressions in the public domain. As Morris (1994, p. 20) asserts:

> The crucial element in the Thai system of three seems to be a division in which sexual and gender identity is conceived as a repertoire of public appearances and behaviors that is quite independent of the various subject positions and sexual practices available within the private realm.

In other words, the term *gay* is designated as one of men's multiple identities. Rather than positioning in opposition to heterosexuality, *gay* identity is constructed in Thai public contexts as another possibility of *phuchai* or men and therefore is in a sense analogous to *kathoey* (Jackson & Sullivan, 1999, p. 5).

The emphasis on different gender expressions of *kathoey* and *gay* at the public level underlines the abjection of *kathoey*'s effeminacy by masculine-identified *gay* men. It is unclear if this reflects the masculine chauvinist attitudes in the Thai culture. The label *gay*, however, allows masculine-identified homosexuals to maintain their public presentation of having gender normativity; thereby, they can technically avoid social criticisms of their same-sex relations, considered a private matter.

The conformity to the normative gender image of masculine-identified gay men in relation to the public/private division nevertheless fails to completely thwart social prejudices against same-sex relations in Thai contexts. The discourse of the psychological pathologisation of homosexuality, emerging in the Thai press in parallel with the masculine-homosexual *gay* identity in the 1960s, described homosexuality as a sickness or disorder and a by-product of the Westernisation of Thai society. *Kathoey*, on the contrary, are more integrated into the pervasive discourse of heteronormativity. Pointed out by Jackson (1999c, p.p. 238-39), the emergence of *gay* identity disrupted the Thai traditional sex/gender system. In the Thai discourse of *phet*, the difference between transgenderism and homosexuality has not been clearly distinguished. Before the emergence of masculine-identified *gay* identity in the 1960s, gender roles, rather than sexual orientation, were crucial in determining whether one was a man or *kathoey* and the homoeroticism was not central to the formation of homosexual identity. Traditionally, a man could have sex with *kathoey* and still maintain his masculine status because *kathoey* is sexually constructed as inferior to him. That is, *kathoey* is a product of his/her feminine gender role rather than his homosexual identity. The inferiority of *kathoey* in relation to gender normative *phuchai* (men), to a degree, places *kathoey* in a gender deviant category rather than a sexual deviant one.

This concept of egalitarian homosexuality upsets the traditional sex/gender system because the masculine and feminine are traditionally seen as a complementary binary. Being constructed as a gender deviant, *kathoey*'s homoerotic desire is conceived within the heterosexual framework whilst being a gay man disturbs the Thai traditional sexual culture based on masculine-feminine binarism (Jackson 1999c, Van Esterik, 2000, p. 215). *Kathoey* is thus seen as Thai, safe, normal, familiar, generally recognised as a psychological woman trapped in a man's body, while *gay* is regarded as foreign, strange,

dangerous, and genuinely perverted by the traditional sex/gender system. *Gay* identity, according to Jackson (1999c), "is out of place within traditional discursive schema, neither truly a 'normal man' nor fully *kathoey*, and the lack of discursive place for gay men within the traditional system no doubt in part explains why many Thais remains disturbed and troubled by the image of the masculine gay man" (p. 39). *Gay* is, therefore, a genuine sexual degeneracy in comparison to *kathoey* whose gender deviancy more or less reaffirms the notion of complimentary sex/gender between masculinity and femininity.

The revelation of *gay*-identified men by the Thai press partly dispelled the ambiguity of *kathoey* for representing universal sex/gender non-conventional practices in Thai males. The emphasis on differences between the two identities not only extricated the masculine *kathoey* from the feminine one, but also established *gay* as a completely different and higher class of sex/gender category to that of *kathoey* in Thailand.

Despite being a vital factor, the gender normative expression does not constitute a sole predication in classification of non-normative sex/gender identities between *kathoey* and *gay*. *Gay* and *kathoey* identities are additionally intersected by social stigma, attached to both social status groups. Although the gender normative practices of *gay* men help alleviate social criticisms towards their same-sex eroticism compared to kathoey whose breach of social gender norms are directly subjected to social disapproval, the English origin of the label *gay* and its association with Western gay men since the first public exposure cannot be argued to help improve their social image either. *Gay* is often regarded as 'un-Thai' or 'alien' to the conventional (hetero) sexual relations. *Kathoey* is generally described as having 'lower' mannerisms and sexual behaviours compared with gay men who seem to enjoy higher ranking in the popular perception.

The interchange between *gay* and *kathoey* in popular contexts reveals the confusion over various definitions of both categories in Thai contexts. *Kathoey* and *gay* share their same-sex attractions but differ in their gender expressions. The overlapping of both categories emphasises the fact that certain gay men may further specify their *gay* identity through the idealisation of gender binary relations between masculinity and femininity. Consequently, their sex roles can constitute their sub-*gay* identities as either *gay king* (active/insertive) or *gay queen* (passive/insertee). The identification as either *gay king* or *gay queen* does not just profess gay men's preference of being active or passive in sexual intercourse, but rather reflects to their self-evaluation of their gender performances. The sub-identities of *gay king* and *gay queen* maintain the primacy of gender in the construction of *gay* identity in Thai contexts.

Reinventing *Gay*

The emergence of a masculinised version of non-normative male sex/gender category in 1965 can be said to untangle *gay* from the indigenous *kathoey*, loaded with negative connotations in Thai popular discourses. Since its first appropriation into Thai sex/gender paradigms, *gay* has been classified as 'higher' compared to kathoey for many reasons. The normalisation of masculine gender in *gay* identity may explain the explicit gender hierarchical structure between the two identities, but the label *gay* is also imbued with negative social attitudes towards their same-sex eroticism, rendered *gay* as well as *kathoey* inferior in relation to normative sex/gender categories.

Although homosexuality has never been subjected to legal nor religious sanctions in Thailand, admitting one's same-sex attraction is not unproblematic. Individuals growing up with non-normative sexual attraction have faced indirect social pressure to conform to the heteronormative practices as being publicly exposed of their homosexuality is to lose face and to have one's image damaged. Jackson (1995b, p. 42) notes that Thai society is manoeuvred by the culture of 'appropriateness'; thereby, the loss of face (Thai -*sia na*) "is much more than embarrassment" for Thais as they are being judged as "inappropriate."

The popular misperception that gay men's same-sex attraction resulted from having a female mind arguably contributes to the cultural valorisation of effeminate homosexuality. Therefore, being an openly gay man in Thai contexts risks not only losing his own face as he is believed to fail the social expectation of being a "proper man," but also jeopardising his family's face as their parents would be accused of not properly teaching a son to be a man.

The discursive image of *gay* identity in the mainstream and gay press has undeniably played a crucial role in disenchanting the identification of *gay* by a number of Thai gay men. This negative description of gayness, to some extent, highlights the fact that the adoption of label *gay* by Thai homosexual men may draw social criticisms as well as refashion a positive image in relation to the loaded term *kathoey*. In Thailand, photographs of Western gay men continue to dominate the space of Thai gay press, not only in pornographic materials but also in the mainstream press. It is unclear why images of Western gay men appear more popular than the Thai ones, but this practice has unwittingly reproduced the popular perception that *gay* is foreign although the way the label *gay* has been subsumed and reinterpreted in the Thai sex/gender system is rather historically and contextually uncommon to the Western module from which Thai *gay* identitarians have drawn their inspiration.

The emergence of the recent Thai term for masculine-identified *chairakchai* (lit. men (who) love men) in the early 2000s may symbolise the on-going effort of Thai homosexual men to normalise their sex/gender identity with social constraints on same-sex relations. However, it is unclear who originally coined this term. *Chairakchai* was firstly employed by the very first mainstream Thai gay rights organisation, called *Fasirung* (lit. rainbow sky). It is likely that the term *chairakchai* has been formatted in the same way as the term *yingrakying* (lit. women (who) love women), coined by Thai lesbian group, *Anjaree*, in the early 1990s.

As the term gay becomes synonymous with negative connotations, similar to what the traditional term *kathoey* has been popularly perceived, the term *chairakchai* demonstrates the renewed negotiation of Thai gay men with the heteronormative discourse. Unlike the official Thai translated term for homosexuality, *rakruamphet*[19] (lit. love same sex), the term *chai rak chai* erases the potential ambiguity and negativity that the word *phet* or sex may attach to the term. *Chairakchai* thus metaphorically challenges the discursive negative images of *gay* men in Thai contexts and also theoretically opens up the idea that person of same sex/gender can potentially form romantic relations. The invention of the recent term, *chairakchai* is analogous to what Plummer (1974, cited by Weeks, 1991, p. 75) has pointed out that the socio-historical construction of sexual-meanings are not fixed, but rather constantly 'worked at' and 'negotiated' through individuals' interaction.

Conclusion

The emergence of *gay* identity suggests that *gay* adopted in the Thai sex/gender system is historically and contextually specific. That is, unlike their Western gay counterparts, the term *gay* has evolved through Thailand's historical situations since its first public appearance in 1965. Because *kathoey* is a traditional term for universally non-normative gender expressions and sexual practices, the adoption of the label *gay* by masculine-identified homosexual men in Bangkok in 1965 can be argued as an attempt to position gay men in a structural hierarchy with the traditional non-normative *kathoey* who have been popularly subjected to social discrimination and disrespect. The emergence of *gay* identity initially sensationalised the Thai public with the unfamiliar form of masculine-identified homosexuals, allegedly derived from Western expatriates and Thais who were educated abroad. However, *gay* identification in Thai

[19] The antonym of *rakruamphet* is *raktangphet* (lit. love different sex).

contexts retains a significance of gender in the formation of sex/gender category in opposition to *kathoey* and subsequently heterosexuals (*chai ching yingthae*[20]).

The polarisation between *gay* and *kathoey* reflects the valorisation of masculinity in the Thai patriarchy. *Kathoey* has become 'lower' in the hierarchical relation to *gay* identification. Since its conception, *gay* has been represented as a completely different species to that of *kathoey*. *Gay* signifies not only normative gender identification, but also extends to higher tastes in fashion and socialisation. The split into two sub-set *gay* identities of *gay king* and *gay queen*, nevertheless, underlines the fact that the adoption of label *gay* by masculine-identified homosexual men continues to be defined in the traditional sex/gender system in which gender is a primary factor in Thai contexts.

The recent invention of the term *chairakchai* (lit. men (who) love men) by Thai masculine-identified homosexual men can be seen as an attempt to renegotiate and refashion same-sex relations in the confinement of discursive heteronormative discourse in Thai contexts.

[20] *Chaiching yingthae* literally means real men true women, equivalent to 'straight' (men and women) in English. Jackson and Sullivan (1999: 5) argue that Thais have borrowed only the notion of gay identity but not its binary concept of straight. Indeed, 'straight' might be a strange concept for many Thai people, including gay people themselves. This is because the terms *gay* or *kathoey* are 'marked categories' or 'labels' exclusively for socially non-normative sexual behaviours. As a result, heterosexual men and women are unmarked and do not necessarily need further social labels to identify their conventional sexual practices. Yet, the notion of *chaiching yingthae* offers an alternative explanation to Thai understanding of sexuality. That is, *chaiching yingthae* already stands as an opposite binary of *gay*. It would be unnecessary for Thais to use 'straight', an English term for something that already exists in the local vernacular system.

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Noun Bias in Adulthood Found to Depend on Test Delay and Learning Method

Jason Darryl Ludington

Abstract

Among adults learning a foreign language, might nouns be easier to learn than verbs? A noun learning bias is characteristic of child learners across most languages (e.g., Gentner, 1982), but few studies have tested for such a word class learning bias among adults learning a foreign language. To test adult susceptible to a noun bias, I trained 84 participants with novel names of 96 familiar, concrete concepts (half nouns, half verbs) by ostensive and inferential training methods, and tested vocabulary word recognition at five minutes and at one week. I tested a number of stimulus features which literature suggested could be of importance to word learnability (23 factors in total). This led to the development of a controlled test of the influence of word class apart from other contributing factors on learnability. There appears little evidence of a generalized noun bias in adulthood—a noun bias was found but was specific to ostensive training, tested five minutes but not one week later. Word imageability and image quality also contributed to vocabulary meaning recognition. Results support a theory of word learning that emphasizes referential clarity. Also discussed is the possibility of recognition likelihood as a dynamic construction.

Key words: noun learning bias, adult L2 learning, vocabulary meaning recognition

บทคัดย่อ

เป็นไปได้หรือไม่ว่าสำหรับผู้ใหญ่ที่เรียนภาษาต่างประเทศนั้นการเรียนรู้คำนามมักจะง่ายกว่าการเรียนรู้คำกริยา อันที่จริงแล้ว แนวโน้มที่จะเรียนรู้คำนามก่อนหน่วยไวยากรณ์อื่น ถือเป็นลักษณะเด่นของผู้เรียนเยาว์วัย ที่เรียนภาษาเกือบทุกภาษา (เก็นเนอร์ 1982) แต่มีงานวิจัยน้อยชิ้นมากที่ทดสอบแนวโน้มของผู้เรียนภาษาต่างประเทศที่เป็นผู้ใหญ่ในการเรียนหน่วยไวยากรณ์ เช่น คำนามได้เร็วกว่าหน่วยไวยากรณ์อื่น ๆ และ

เพื่อเป็นการทดสอบแนวโน้มในการเรียนรู้ คำนามในผู้ใหญ่นี้ ผู้วิจัยได้สอนคำต่าง ๆ จำนวน 96 คำ ที่ล้วนมีความหมายเป็นรูปธรรม (แบ่งเป็นคำนามครึ่งหนึ่งและคำกริยาครึ่งหนึ่ง) ให้แก่กลุ่มตัวอย่างจำนวน 84 คน ซึ่งไม่เคยรู้จักคำเหล่านี้มาก่อน โดยผู้วิจัยใช้วิธีการสอนแบบชี้ชัดและแบบอ้างอิง ตามด้วยการทดสอบการรู้คำศัพท์ในช่วงระยะเวลา 5 นาที และหนึ่งสัปดาห์หลังการสอน ผู้วิจัยยังได้ทดสอบลักษณะของตัวกระตุ้น ซึ่งงานวิจัยชิ้นก่อน ๆ เสนอแนะว่ามีความสำคัญยิ่งต่อความสามารถในการเรียนรู้คำศัพท์ (รวมทั้งสิ้นเป็นจำนวน 23 ปัจจัย) การทดสอบดังกล่าว นำไปสู่การสร้างแบบทดสอบเชิงควบคุม เกี่ยวกับอิทธิพลของประเภทคำนอกเหนือไปจากปัจจัย สาเหตุอื่น ๆ ที่มีผลต่อความสามารถในการเรียนรู้ ผลวิจัยพบว่ามีหลักฐานสนับสนุนน้อยมาก เกี่ยวกับแนวโน้มในการเรียนรู้คำนามของผู้เรียนวัยผู้ใหญ่ กล่าวคือ พบว่ามีแนวโน้มในการเรียนรู้คำนามเฉพาะในกรณีของการสอนแบบชี้ชัด และเมื่อมีการทดสอบ 5 นาทีหลังจากนั้น แต่ไม่ปรากฏผลดังกล่าวเมื่อทดสอบหนึ่งสัปดาห์ต่อมา นอกจากนี้ ยังพบว่า ความสามารถในการจินตนาการคำศัพท์และคุณสมบัติของภาพที่จินตนาการมีผลต่อความสามารถในการรับรู้ความหมายของคำศัพท์ ผลวิจัยนี้สนับสนุนทฤษฎีการเรียนรู้คำศัพท์ที่เน้นความชัดเจนของความหมายที่อ้างถึง และยังได้อภิปรายถึงความเป็นไปได้ของแนวโน้มในการรับรู้ในฐานะที่เป็นโครงสร้างเชิงพลวัตร

คำสำคัญ : แนวโน้มในการเรียนรู้คำนาม การเรียนรู้ภาษาที่สองในผู้ใหญ่ การรับรู้ความหมายคำศัพท์

Introduction and Overview

My experiences teaching English as a second language in universities in Thailand impressed upon me how valued and vital second language teaching and learning is across the globe. This interest brought me to the literature on vocabulary acquisition, the noun bias debate, and methods of vocabulary learning, topics addressed in this paper.

The importance content words when learning a new language

When infants initially speak their mother tongue, they enter a one-word stage followed by a two-word stage of language development (Greenfield & Smith, 1976). The kinds of words they first use are not random—they are virtually always frequently used, concrete, content words, in particular mostly nouns and verbs (e.g., “mommy,” and “up,” as in “pick me up”). It is not by mistake that infants speak these kinds of content words first: nouns and verbs convey meaning in and of themselves, unlike function words (e.g., “of” and “a,”), and are therefore among infants’ first communicative acts. More aged

learners may not be all that different. Krashen and Scarcella theorized adults and children are probably similar with regard to the way that language acquisition proceeds from one-word-at-a-time to more complex usage, if not for different reasons (1981, p.296). It would be impractical and improbable for any learners, regardless of age, to begin speaking in full sentences or to begin using infrequent, abstract "higher level" vocabulary words. Where the primary purpose of speaking is to communicate meaning, word production is likely to begin with short utterances of concrete content words, as they communicate meaning even as incomplete phrases.

Most content words fit neatly into the categories noun, verb, adjective and adverb, with the latter two as descriptors of the former two. This study focuses only on former two, and focuses exclusively on mature learners where there is a much greater poverty of research on learning differences between word classes.

Two methods of acquiring vocabulary

Building one's vocabulary is a good way to begin learning a new language, but how should this be done? Implied in most language textbooks and language teaching methods is the notion that vocabulary is best learned by ostensive labeling of a concept (translation would fit into this learning category). This seems to be the most obvious way to bring awareness of word meaning to the surface. However another, less direct method is to let learners discover meaning by themselves from a meaning-rich context. The implication with this choice of teaching method is that the process of discovering or inferring is, itself, acting to deepen the encoding of target material.

I manipulated method of learning at two levels. The direct method is called "ostensive" learning and the indirect method "inferential" learning. Ostensive and inferential learning conditions are illustrated in Figure 1. In ostensive learning trials, a pair of labels (a noun and a verb) was learned from individual presentations of isolated examples, called "isolate images." Inferential conditions were created so that participants would have to infer the meaning of one of two elements presented in a context image. In inferential conditions, a single isolate image and a "context image" were shown, in that order, which allowed learners to recognized the redundant element and thus infer the meaning of one of the two target elements from their context.

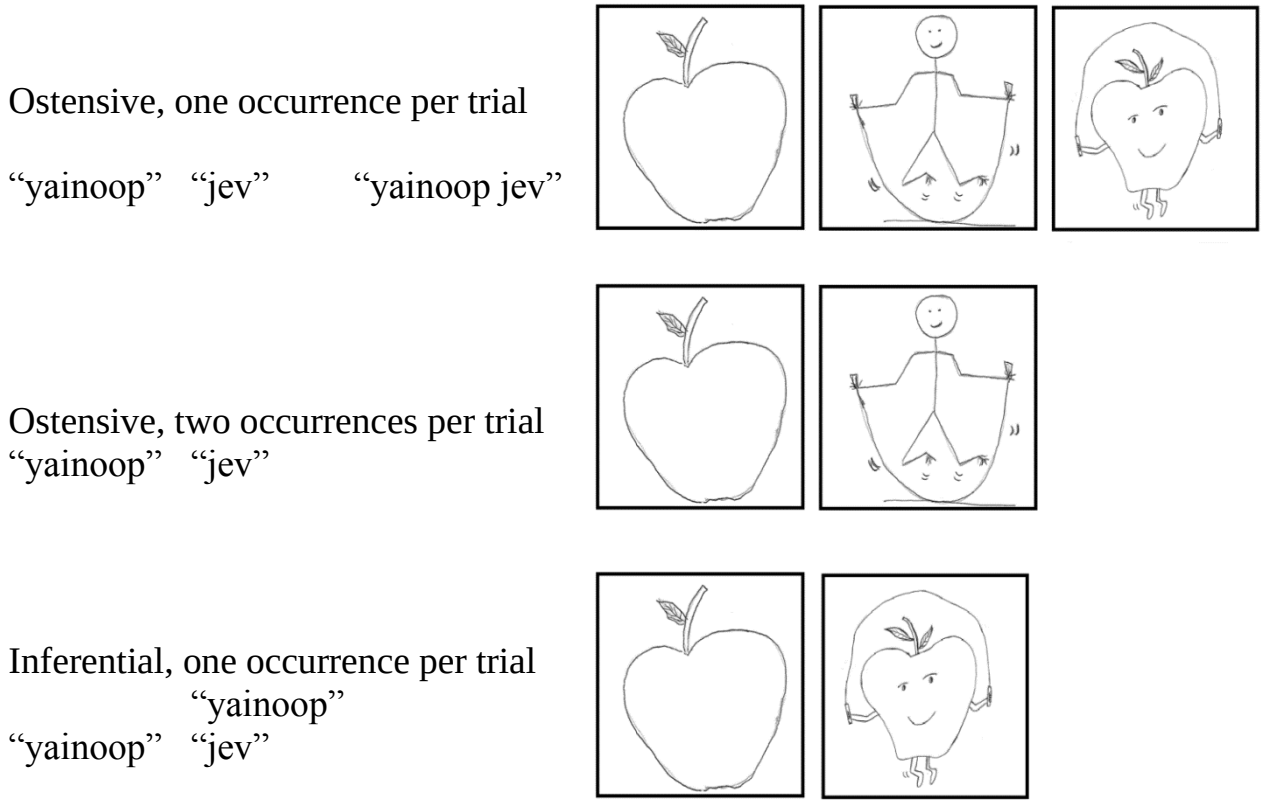

Figure 1. Flow diagrams illustrating ostensive (top and middle panels) and inferential learning (bottom panels) of the verb "jev," meaning "to jump rope". To avoid copyright violations these images were created by me and an anonymous colleague (actual experiment images are not shown).

Notice in Figure 1 that in the inferential condition (shown in the lower panel in the figure), a learner should gather that "jev" means "to jump rope." The learner can infer this based on the principle of mutual exclusivity (Markman & Wachtel, 1988), an application of the following four-step logic: 1) "yainoop" is known, based on the first image, to refer to the apple; 2) "yainoop" cannot refer to jumping rope because it refers to the apple; 3) "jev" should not refer to apple because "yainoop" refers to apple; therefore 4) "jev" must refer to jumping rope because that is an otherwise unnamed referent in the last image.

The noun bias debate

Gentner's (1982) seminal research finding was of a noun bias pervading the six languages she studied. This led to further research that has found children across most languages and cultures acquire nouns faster than verbs. Verbs, it seems, are the more difficult of the two word classes for young learners to learn. While a great deal of research has focused on why some words are harder than

others for children to learn, much less research has addressed what makes words easier or harder for adults to learn in a second or subsequent language. Does the noun bias reign on into adulthood, and if so, why?

Many theories have been proposed to explain the noun bias in early word learning: natural partitions and relational relativity (Gentner, 1982), location of nouns within utterances (Shady & Gerken, 1999; Au, Dapretto, & Song, 1994; Tardif, 1996; Tardif, Shatz, & Naigles, 1997), verb argument requirements (Greenfield & Alvarez, 1980; Gleitman, Cassidy, Nappa, Papafragou, & Trueswell, 2006; Gentner, 2006; Waxman & Lidz, 2006; Sandhofer & Smith, 2007), inherent verb complexity (Akhtar, Jipson, and Callanan, 2001; Tomasello, 1992), syntactic complexity (Pinker, 1994; Naigles, 1990), cultural emphasis (Gopnik & Choi, 1990, 1995), attention allocation and category membership variability (Kersten, Smith, & Yoshida, 2006), to name a few. In this paper I propose that it is the referential clarity with which meanings are presented in learning contexts that can explain why some words are harder to learn than others, regardless of the learner's age.

Evidence suggesting a noun bias in adulthood

Gillette, Gleitman, Gleitman, & Lederer (1999) reported on the results of their "Human Simulation Paradigm" in which adults were shown video interactions between mothers and their infants. The videos were silenced, and beeps were inserted in places where the mothers uttered mystery words. The test was to see whether adults might guess the mystery words based on what they could see from the video. Only the earliest acquired nouns and verbs by children were sampled for experimentation. Gillete et al. found that adults were better at guessing noun meanings than verb meanings. They also showed the benefits of noun knowledge for guessing verbs, of syntactic frame knowledge, and of combined information knowledge for guessing word meanings. Besides making a powerful statement for the roles of context knowledge and grammar in learning new vocabulary, their study showed evidence of a noun bias in adulthood. They found that concreteness, which was correlated with lexical class, was the underlying factor that allowed nouns to be learned quicker than verbs. This noun advantage was replicated in Gleitman and colleagues (2006) word learning experiment findings, as well as by Snedeker & Gleitman (2004).

Referential Clarity Hypothesis

Verbs may be harder to acquire because they are harder to point at (Greenfield & Alvarez, 1980), or because there are fewer constraints on their referential intention (Gentner, 1982). These two views seem in conflict but they were developed under different learner conditions. While the latter theory (Gentner) does very well to explain the noun bias among those learning their first language, the former (Greenfield & Alvarez) may apply equally well to more aged learners of a second or subsequent language.

Greenfield and Alvarez (1980) taught words by uttering sentences and presenting images to illustrate sentence meanings. They found that as the number of unknown words and meanings in a context decreased, vocabulary learning increased. Having fewer unknown words in the learning context helped to clarify the word mapping problem and thus enhanced learning. The referential clarity (RC) hypothesis, based on that study's findings, is that word learning difficulty is a matter of situational or contextual ambiguity contained in word learning situations; thus the greater the referential clarity of a given word learning situation, the more learnable is that word in that situation. Verb learning situations always arise with actors, and sometimes with patients and tools of enactment; these potential learning situations tend to arise with too much referential ambiguity to allow learners to effectively map verbs to their meanings. Prior exposure to these contextual arguments can aid verb learning by disambiguating which of multiple possible referents correctly maps to the verb. Noun knowledge can function to reduce ambiguity of verbal referents. Verb knowledge, however, may not be as helpful to noun learning because nouns are typically less ambiguous to begin with.

What I did

I presented college students with 96 foreign words, half of which stood for concrete nouns and half concrete verbs. Given the past research suggesting a noun bias in adulthood I hypothesized I would also find a noun advantage. Besides testing the effect of word class on "word learnability" or likelihood of a word being learned from exposure in a controlled setting, I also tested several other potential indicators of word learnability, and conditions that might lead to differential learning success. High on this priority list was measuring a hypothesized advantage of inferring word meanings rather than having them simply pointed out. The characteristics of my stimuli that I tested were measured in the unpublished work of a prior study; English words, their images, and

nonsense words were measured to establish their role as predictors, and to control them if necessary, in assessing the evidence for a noun bias.

I tested word knowledge by testing word recognition performance rather than a recall test because cued recall tests may be too insensitive to the kind of under-developed knowledge forms that would come from learning novel words from limited examples within limited time periods in the present paradigm (i.e., I wanted to avoid floor effects). In this paper I do not make a distinction between word recognition and word learning. This view is defensible: in cognitive psychology recognition and recall are frequently used as analogs of one another to assess subjects' states of knowledge. Recognition and recall have long been conceptualized as two features of the same construct—memory. Testing recognition rather than free recall is much like using a stethoscope rather than an EKG monitor to measure someone's pulse—though both measure the same construct, they do so by measuring different biophysical phenomena.

Predicted main effects

I predicted a noun bias, as found in Gillette et al. (1999) and other studies. However if my participants learned more of the noun than verb targets, one could argue the verbs were harder to learn than the nouns for other reasons besides word class. In anticipation of this I also documented many other features of the target stimuli to test them as explanations of a noun bias if found, and of word learnability in general.

If the difficulty of meaning identification in the environment is to blame for poor vocabulary acquisition (i.e., the RC hypothesis), then name agreement measurement of visual stimuli (the proportion of naming responses fitting pre-established target responses) could be a powerful predictor of word learnability with those images. In the present study I used images of line drawings to model real world referents; name agreement measures were known for these line drawings as they were measured as part of a prior study. I predicted that name agreement measurements, as measurements of image clarity, would account for any word class bias I might find; this prediction was based on the RC hypothesis, the idea that vocabulary learnability is as a linear function of referential clarity. By proposing this hypothesis as an account of word learning, I wish not to insinuate this is the only method by which learners acquire words; certainly grammatical and statistical learning cues and other documented methods of learning greatly contribute to vocabulary acquisition. I only wish to propose that when a target label's meaning is present in the learning

environment at the time it is uttered, the RC hypothesis may account for a major portion of the learning that follows.

Past research suggests people typically rate noun images as better depictions of their intended referents than verb images (Kauschke & Frankenberg, 2008; Masterson & Druks, 1998). This measure, in addition to name agreement measures of images, should quantify how clear or ambiguous meanings are "given" by their images. Alternative interpretations of images similarly could be a good indicator of meaning clarity in images. I predicted that all three measures of image quality could attenuate or account for any learning disparity I might find between nouns and verbs. I predicted that word imageability (Gillette et al., 1999) also could account for any word class effects found. These predictions are congruent with the RC hypothesis because measures of image clarity are measures of referential clarity, and word imageability could affect the "clarity" or likelihood of identifying meanings presented in images.

Subjective ratings of concept frequency (the frequency with people encounter the target concepts in their lives) and word familiarity were also considered as possible predictors of word learning performance. Rated word imageability is usually correlated with familiarity and frequency (e.g., Stadthagen-Gonzolez & Davis, 2006), however, which might present a challenge for determination of which of these correlates better accounts for outcomes.

Predicted interactions

An important purpose of this study was to investigate whether inferential learning was better suited for learning verbs than nouns. Concrete noun vocabulary can be learned by labeling of that which is referred to, attended to, and pointed at. Because verbs arguably cannot be pointed at (only their arguments can be pointed at—actors, patients, tools, etc.) ostensive training (labeling; e.g., "this is ____") may not be available, and thus verb acquisition may rely on inferential processes instead. As adults learning a second language approach their goal with a great deal of prior verb learning experience (from learning their native language), they may be more skilled at inferring verbs than nouns. It was thus my prediction that ostensive learning would lend better to learning nouns, but inferential learning to verbs.

Another important purpose of this study was to address a question regarding the effect of delay on recognition. I measured learning at two learning delays—five minutes and one week. By measuring twice, I could test for a

forgetting differential between ostensive and inferential learning conditions. Most fast-mapping studies test participants within a matter of seconds or minutes, but at such short delays it is questionable whether fast-mapped words are truly learned or were just temporarily held in working memory. A few other studies have demonstrated that fast-mapped learning does remain measureable after longer delays, anywhere from five minutes (Horst & Samuelson, 2008), one or two days (Jaswal & Markman, 2003, experiment 1; Woodward, Markman, & Fitzsimmons, 1994), to one week or longer (Carey & Bartlett, 1978; Vespoor & Lowie, 2003), but very few studies have manipulated learning methods at multiple delays.

Knight (1994) is one notable exception: Knight found that ostensive learning (by glossing with a dictionary) aided learning more than inferential learning (guessing meanings from a reading, followed by confirming or disconfirming by glossing) on an immediate test and on a one-week delayed test. But Knight's inferential condition was not purely inferential; it was really inferential and ostensive learning together, and it took longer than either method by itself.

I wanted to test the effect of delay to see if inferential learning reduced forgetting, so I manipulated test delay at two levels, five minutes and one week. After five minutes I predicted participants would recognize more words learned ostensively than inferentially, as Knight found, because inferential learning necessarily involves some uncertainty of mapping words to their referents, while ostensive learning involves greater certainty of associations. But after one week I expected better recognition of words learned inferentially than ostensively due to slower forgetting of inferentially learned words. Inferential learning seems to require more processing than ostensive recognition because inferential learning requires hypothesizing followed by confirmatory testing. More involved or effortful processing is typically associated with longer term retrieve-ability (Bjork, 1994). As a deeper level of processing, I predicted inferentially learned words would be better recognized than ostensively learned words (a hypothetically shallow form of learning) at one week.

Other variables tested

Sources linking variables measured in the present study to learnability were not always available; in some cases a speculative leap was made in predicting their effects on learnability from their known effects on other performance measures (e.g., reading speed). I measured word familiarity which has been linked to faster reading speed (Brown & Watson, 1987), and word

imageability which has been linked to lexical decision speed (Balota, Yap, & Cortese, 2006), and concept frequency. Category representation is a variable I measured to tap the von Restorff effect (1933), the well-established finding that unique items in a list stand out in memory. Category representation was measured as the percentage of targets presented, within a given half of the experiment (or "list") that were members of each envisaged category.

I measured name agreement for images of targets in isolation and images of targets in context**,** as name agreement has been shown to affect naming speed (Ellis & Morrison, 1998). I measured ratings of how well the images conveyed their intended meanings, and number of alternative interpretations (raw total number of alternative responses offered by participants who provided this data), for which non-primary responses have been associated with longer response latencies (Székely et al., 2003). I measured ratings of how strange each given noun-verb pair was because I thought strangeness could positively affect memory performance. Finally, I measured auditory stimulus lengths in terms of utterance time, number of phonemes and number of syllables to see if word length might affect word learning. All of the measures described in this paragraph were obtained from a sample of 29 participants (who did not participate in the present study's experiment) from my own unpublished work.

Partway through data collection I recognized the need for an additional manipulation of ostensive learning conditions. Ostensive conditions were initially created with a redundant label occurrence, but inferential conditions were created without redundant labeling. Therefore to separate the effect of number of occurrences from the effect of the method of learning, I ran an additional experimental condition with additional participants in which words were presented ostensively without any redundancy. Procedural differences between the initially-begun experiment and the added condition were minor enough to warrant inclusion of both conditions under the same experimental name. Thus "number of occurrences" was also measured in this study.

The above-described research questions are summarized below.

1. Is there a noun bias among adults learning foreign vocabulary?
2. Does the method of learning matter? Does inferential learning slow forgetting?
3. Is one method of learning better suited to learning verbs, and the other to nouns?
4. What are some other predictors of word learning?

Method

Participants

Ninety participants from the University of California, Los Angeles were recruited with an online recruitment site as used in the previous study. Some participants were dropped due to participants' failure to return for the second part of the experiment (5) or for experimenter failure to present all materials (1). The mean age of the remaining 84 participants was 20.8 years, SD=4.19 years. More females (62; 73.8% of sample) than males (22) participated. Most participants were at least partially able to use a second language (only 2 did not report any second language ability). The average number of languages (including English) reported at any proficiency on a 1–10 scale was 3.5. Participants reported their proficiencies in all languages including English on a 1-10 scale. The average language proficiency sum across participants and across all languages besides English, based on the aforementioned scale, was 7.8 (SD=4.5).

Design

Twenty-three predictors were tested in total, about half of them continuous, and half categorical. Some were experimentally manipulated, and some were not. Most of the categorical factors were manipulated within participants. Word class (nouns versus verbs), method of learning (ostensive versus inferential), and number of word lists learned prior (none versus one) were all manipulated within subjects. Experiment languages (Language A vs. Language B) and learning schedules (schedule 1 versus 2; these will be defined in the next section) were manipulated between subjects. Number of occurrences per trial was manipulated with subjects for 56 participants, but only at one occurrence among 28 participants. Delay was manipulated at five minutes and one week, within-subjects, except among the aforementioned 28 participants for whom delay was fixed at five minutes. Word order (order with which isolate images were presented: noun-verb versus verb-noun) was counterbalanced and manipulated within participants. Word order and number of occurrences were analyzed separately because both were variables nested within the ostensive level of the method of learning. Participants' sex and English-as-first-language status (English as most proficient language versus not) measured among the present sample of participants as potential predictors of learning.

There were a number of continuous variables tested as well: participants' age, self-rated English proficiency (scale of 1–10), and other language

proficiency sum (the sum of all self-reported, self-rated proficiencies in languages other than English) were measured and tested in the present study. Additionally the following stimulus measurements, garnered from a prior (unpublished) study I ran with 29 participants, were tested: category representation, word imageability, word familiarity, concept frequency, goodness of depiction, number of alternative interpretations, word-pair strangeness, name agreement in isolate images as well as context images, and utterance lengths measured as number of phonemes, syllables, and time of utterance (in seconds and hundredths of seconds).

The dependent variable was the correctness of each target word selection made (i.e., recognition), measured on a binary scale as correct versus incorrect. A 25% likelihood of target selection marked chance performance as the recognition task was to select the correct target from among four targets. This outcome variable, measured for each word learned, was a measure nested within each participant (i.e., each participant was measured multiple times). Thus it was the word unit, nested within the participant unit, which was analyzed.

Materials

A consent form and biographic data form were used to collect hand-written data. The biographic data sheet collected participants' age, sex, self-reported proficiency in English, and self-reported proficiencies in other languages reported as known. SuperLab (stimulus presentation software) and a Toshiba laptop computer (16:9 LCD display) were used to present words and images for learning as well as testing. Following are descriptions of each measurement type.

Biographical data form.

This was used primarily to collect language background information. One question addressed what the participants' first language was. If not English, another question asked participants to rate their language ability in English on a fluency scale from 1-10, where 1 = unable to use any of the language, and 10 = fluent. A third question asked for other languages the participant knew, and how fluent he or she was in each (using this same fluency scale). Age and sex data were also collected.

Variables.

From a prior-run, unpublished study, measures of experimental targets' English word meanings (familiarity, frequency, imageability) and measures of image stimuli (isolate image name agreement, context image name agreement, goodness of representation, number of alternative interpretations offered) were measured using a separate sample of 29 participants (undergraduates from the same university, recruited in the same way). Table 1, below, gives this data.

Table 1 *Sample Ns, Means, and Standard Deviations*

			Nouns		Verbs	
Factor	Scale	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Familiarity	1 to 7	26	6.45	0.84	6.49	0.62
Frequency	1 to 5	20	3.87	0.43	3.43	0.55
Imageability	1 to 7	26	6.67	0.48	6.68	0.35
Goodness	1 to 5	20	4.91	0.09	4.75	0.22
Alternatives	raw #	20	3.77	1.98	5.6	3.2
Isolate Naming	0 to 1	19	0.90	0.13	0.86	0.11
Context Naming	0 to 1	10	0.90	0.07	0.78	0.15

The variables, explored in the present study as potential predictors of word recognition, are listed in Table 2. Given the number of factors considered, I relate details of coding, measurement, analytical procedures and results together by variable for a simpler organization of information.

Table 2 *All 23 Factors Explored in Study 2*

	Item Factors	Participant Factors
Images concepts	Familiarity	Age
	Frequency	Sex
	Imageability	English-as-1st-lang status
	Category representation	English proficiency
	Name agree, isolate	Language proficiency sum
	Name agree, context	
	Goodness of image	Condition Factors
	Alternative interpretations	Method of learning
	Strangeness of context	Word class
	Utterance-length	Word order
		Delay until test
		Experiment language
		Lists learned prior
		Occurrences/trial
		Learning schedule

Nonsense words.

Auditory stimuli were created, 96 nonsense words in total, 48 randomly assigned as noun labels, and 48 as verb labels. I decided not to use an existing language because real languages contain a mix of familiar and unfamiliar phonemes and phonemic structures, variables that I wanted controlled. Instead I created a mix of one- and two-syllable words to simulate words of a real language.

Nonsense words were created using a pool of 17 consonant phonemes and 7 vowel phonemes following a CVC (one syllable) or CVCVC (two syllables) structure to simulate words of a real language. Table 3 lists the consonants and their position rules. The set of consonants for word-initial and word-final positions was made partially overlapping, as is often the case in real languages. In many languages, some phonemes never or rarely occur in initial or final locations (e.g., "ng__ in English, and "__r" in Thai). Nonsense words were largely adopted from Vitevitch and Luce (1999) or adapted from the same phonemes they used to make their nonsense words, which were constructed from highly common in English phonemes. Highly familiar phonemes are more perceivable than unfamiliar phonemes (Appleman & Mayzner, 1981), though they may not be any easier to remember. Balanced numbers of one- and two-syllable words were created and assigned as nouns and verbs, 36 one-syllable and 12 two-syllable words for each word class.

Table 3
Phonemes Used to Construct Nonsense Word Stimuli

Location in Syllable	Phonemes
Beginning	D, F, G, H, J, K, L, N, P, R, S, Sh, T, Th, W, Y, Z
Middle	Ai, Ee, Eh, Ir, O, Oo, Uh
Ending	B, Ch, D, F, G, H, Jsh, K, L, M, N, P, S, T, Th, V, Z

Nonsense words were spoken by a native English-speaking Caucasian adult male (me) and recorded using Audacity 1.3.12 (Beta) (a free sound recording software) which was also used to edit and measure utterance lengths of all auditory stimuli. Sounds were edited to include a 100 milliseconds onset delay so that they would not be sounded simultaneously with image onset (to avoid distraction or reduced attention to either sense modality, either sight or hearing, when presented together). Individual words were recorded for presentation with isolate images, and two-word phrases were recorded for presentation with context images. I spoke and recorded phrases with normal sentential intonations (as a continuous utterance, not staccato words) to maintain the ecology of stimuli as complete phrases. Word utterance lengths, measured to

the nearest hundredth of a second, were submitted to an independent samples t-test to check whether nonsense words assigned to one word class or the other systematically differed in utterance lengths; they did not, t(94)=-1.05, SE=.042, p=.30.

Languages.

Words were randomly assigned to concepts. I called this assignment of meanings to nonsense words "Language A." One- and two-syllable words counterbalanced between nouns and verbs. After this "Language B" was then formed by randomly re-assigning noun nonsense word labels given in Language A to verb targets, and verb nonsense word labels given in Language A to noun targets. Languages A and B were counterbalanced between subjects.

Syntax.

Words in phrases were ordered in a noun-verb typology (as English uses), such as "[A] doctor [is] smoking." Thus although words were initially presented in either a noun-verb or a verb-noun order, contextual utterances were always uttered in noun-verb order.

Images.

Ninety-six (48 noun and 48 verb) black-and-white line drawings images of various everyday items and actions, illustrated in referential isolation, were mostly found on the Internet.[21] These made up a convenience sample based mainly on two criteria: they were concrete nouns and observable action verbs, and a decent image of each could be obtained expediently. All objects and actions were of a basic semantic level, not too semantically specific but also not too general. Nouns were mostly animals (e.g., kangaroo) and professions (e.g., doctor), and a few inanimate objects (e.g., refrigerator); verbs were common, familiar actions that could be performed with parts of the human body, such as "to eat" (one exception was "to hatch"). Appendix A lists all the targets of the present study: 48 nouns, 48 verbs, and the 48 noun-verb pairs created with them.

[21] One major source of the images was an online database offering free line drawings of hundreds of objects and actions, along with naming norms, for language researchers by the Center for Research in Language at the University of California, San Diego: http://crl.ucsd.edu/~aszekely/ipnp/. Another resource was simply surfing the Internet using Google's "images" option and filtering to search only black-and-white line drawings. Still other images were hand-drawn by two artistic research assistants: Kay Lee and Goldie Salimkhan.

Verb images may be considered images of the present participle. Importantly, verbs were all intransitive verbs, meaning they could be used without specification of a direct object (some could be considered both transitive and intransitive in nature, such as the verb *to write*). While transitive verbs require acting and acted-upon noun arguments, intransitive verbs only require an actor (noun argument in the subject position). By only using intransitive verbs, I could properly present verbs in two-word phrases that made sense without the need of additional information: each phrase described an actor performing an action.

Noun and verb "isolate" images (illustrated in referential isolation) conveyed just one concept per image, either a noun or a verb concept. An additional 48 "context" images contained two elemental concepts per image, always an actor performing an action. Some context images and verb isolate images necessarily contained a patient (receiver of action) as well as an actor, in spite of attempts to select only intransitive verbs for study. The noun and verb concepts in context images were the same as those in the isolate images. Thus, for example, one isolate image depicted surfing, and another depicted a computer. One of the context images depicted a computer that was surfing.

Revision of images was done in an effort to maximize name agreement. Toward this end, Adobe Photoshop and Windows Paint were used to delete background details, crop out any distracting or unnecessary details so that greater attention would be drawn to relevant parts, and add movement marks and lines of motion to verb images to suggest movement interpretations and make these images "come alive," as Figure 2 illustrates.

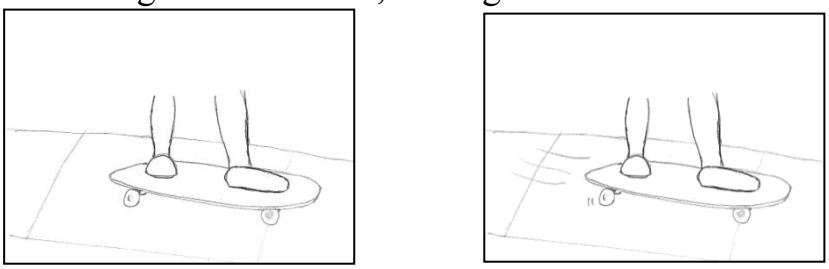

Figure 2. "Skateboarding" with (right) and without (left) movement marks. With movement marks the action component becomes more obvious and dramatic. This technique was used to make verbs in images more easily identified. To avoid copyright infringement, I present images which I drew rather than the actual skateboarding image used for experimentation.

Image heights and widths were measured and summed (height + width) for each image, and these sums were submitted for testing to ensure size differences between noun and verb images were not a confounding factor. Noun image dimension sums (877 pixels, SD=100) did not differ from those of verb images (864 pixels, SD=135), independent $t(94)=.516$, SE=24.33, $p=.607$.

Learning.

The learning program.

A Toshiba laptop computer (screen size: 19 inches diagonally) was used to present words, sounds, and images using Superlab 4.0. Details of how this program presented stimuli to participants follow.

Events. A learning event was composed of an image and auditory stimulus (nonsense word) presented at the same time. The nonsense word's onset was purposely recorded with about 100 milliseconds of silence at the beginning of each sound clip so that words were not sounded simultaneously with the onsets of images. Events advanced over time at a rate of one event every three seconds.

Trials. Each learning trial was composed of a set of events, either two or three, presented sequentially, so each trial lasted either 6 or 9 seconds. Trials were presented consecutively as a continuous progression of images throughout each segment.

Target occurrences within trials. Participants learned words in ostensive segments and inferential segments within subjects. Among ostensive segments, targets were presented either once or twice in each learning trial; this variable, number of target occurrences per trial, was manipulated between subjects. Among participants who viewed targets with two occurrences per trial, each target's second occurrence marked the trial's end and thus would have allowed participants to parse trials and group words according to trials as pairs. However among participants who saw targets presented only once per trial, the presentation format was such that image pairs may not have been identified by participants as pairs, per se. That is, where no target occurred more than once per trial, trial end-points were less apparent, and participants presumably did not pass trials very well, which would have made grouping targets as pairs unlikely. This design cost was outweighed by its design advantage—enhanced control and comparability between methods of learning, and between levels of target occurrences. One-occurrence trials and inferential trials both contained two events; number of events controlled, so any recognition difference would owe to an effect of method of learning. One-occurrence and two-occurrence ostensive trials both contained ostensive presentations of the same isolate images; any difference to be found between these conditions would owe to the presence or absence of a context image in trials because the same isolate images (and characteristics of those images) were seen between these conditions.

Blocks. A block was composed of 8 trials. The same block was shown 6 times repeatedly with no breaks between block repetitions in each segment. Each time a block was shown, its trials occurred in a different randomized order.

Segments. A segment was composed of a block repeated six times. Each segment presentation lasted from five to seven minutes, and was entirely made up of either ostensive trials or inferential trials, but never both. Each segment was preceded by two practice trials demonstrating the pattern of that segment's image progression. Between segments, participants engaged in a distractor task, attempting a Sudoku puzzle, for 30 seconds to reduce learning fatigue, attention fatigue, and pro-, and retroactive interference from other learning blocks.

Two inferential learning segments and one ostensive learning segment were viewed at each learning session. The reason for twice the number of inferential to ostensive learning segments was to obtain equal numbers of data points from the two methods of learning. Twice as much ostensive data were collected per ostensive trial as inferential data were collected per inferential trial because each ostensive trial presented two words which could be tested, while each inferential trial only allowed inference of one word, so only that one could be tested from a given inferential learning trial. The two inferential learning segments were always presented consecutively to reduce number of instructional differences between segments. The ordering of segments was ostensive, inferential, inferential at one of two learning sessions, and inferential, inferential, ostensive at the other. Segment orders and order of segment orders were both counterbalanced between learning sessions.

Lists. Ninety-six words were evenly divided into two lists. The reason for two lists instead of one was to enable manipulation of the test-delay variable within subjects, and to reduce the number of targets per lists to make each learning session more manageable for participants. Each list was divided into three learning segments. Every participant learned both lists and thus saw six segments.

Learning schedules.

Participation occurred in two parts, both involving learning and testing. The testing effect (improved recall for already-tested items) was not an issue because no item was tested twice. Among 56 participants, half of the words were tested after a five minute delay, and the other half of the words were tested after one week. For the remaining 28 participants, the test delay was fixed at five minutes. To limit proactive and output interference for either list, a learning

schedule was utilized in which 28 of the participants learned the first list at their first of two appointments and the second list at their second appointment one week later. The remaining 56 participants learned both lists within a single appointment. The two learning schedules are illustrated in Table 4. Schedule 1 might lead to more output interference due to learning both lists nearer in time, but less proactive interference due to the length of time intervening between learning both lists, while Schedule 2 might lead to more proactive interference but little output interference. Use of both schedules helped to even these effects out.

Table 4
Learning Schedules

Schedule	Learn	Delay [a]	Test	Learn	Delay	Test
1	list 1	1 week	list 1	list 2	5 minutes	list 2
2	list 1	5 minutes	list 1	list 2	1 week[b]	list 2

[a]The bold, zigzag line segment demarcates what occurred during the first (to the left of the line segments) and second appointments (to the right of the line segments), separated in time by one week.
[b]Half of the 56 individuals assigned to this learning schedule actually experienced a second five minute delay (not a one week delay as the diagram shows).

Instructions.

Participants read segment-specific instructions relating to each segment's learning condition. In the ostensive learning block the instructions read, "In this section, slides are ordered into TRIPLETS presented back-to-back: 1st – word 1 is spoken (you will see an illustration of it), 2nd – word 2 is spoken (and illustration), 3rd – a phrase is spoken containing those words again (and illustration). Both words are equally important." Among the sample of participants who were presented with ostensive conditions containing only one target occurrence per trial, directions read "In this section, slides are presented back-to-back." For the inferential learning blocks, instructions were as follows: "In this section, slides are ordered into PAIRS presented back-to-back: 1st – a word is spoken (you will see an illustration of it), 2nd – a phrase is spoken containing that word AND another word (and an illustration of them). Both words are equally important." After the above sets of instructions tailored to conditions were presented, some general instructions followed: "You do not need to respond. Just learn what the words mean. Later, you will be tested! Practice 2 triplets [inferential condition: "pairs"] first. The experimenter will

guide you during this practice." After two training trials were shown, the following text appeared on the screen: "Can you tell the experimenter in your own words what you will be doing in this block?" Feedback was provided to clarify the instructions as necessary.

Testing.

The test was conducted using Superlab 4.0. English words, arranged vertically as numbered options, were presented in the center of the screen in Times New Roman 18-point font. At each item onset, a sound file presented a nonsense word from the most recent learning session. Two tests were given to assess learning of the two word lists. There were 96 test items testing all learned words.

Foils were chosen from among the learned stimuli so that all choices would be equally familiar. One of the foils was always a meaning that co-occurred with the target in its context image during learning. Each English word was offered four times at test, once as target, and three other times among foil options.

The participant's task was to indicate which English word was referred to by the spoken word (a forced choice paradigm) using four number keys ([1], [2], [3], and [4]) to designate choices. Two practice test items were given, the choices and targets derived from the learning practice trials. No breaks were given during testing. Participants' responses were scored by the presentation software as correct or incorrect.

Procedure

Participants were tested in a departmental lab space by any of seven research assistants or me. Participants who arrived at the research site in a timely manner were randomly assigned to a learning schedule. Those who arrived more than ten minutes late *and* indicated they had another engagement at the end of the hour were assigned to the schedule that would allow them to complete the first part of their participation within that hour (fewer than 10% of the sample). The effect of learning schedule on word recognition was assessed.

Upon entering the testing room, participants completed a consent form and filled in a language and biographical data form that asked for their sex, age, primary language, proficiency in English, other languages spoken, and proficiencies in those languages. Next participants were seated at a computer

and the experiment was started. Participants completed two learning portions and two testing portions of the experiment according to the schedules shown in Table 4. When participants experienced the five-minute delay, they were told to play Tetris for five minutes before being tested. When they experienced the one-week delay, they left for that day and returned seven (minimum six, maximum eight) days later. Afterwards participants were debriefed and credited.

Results and Discussion

Analysis strategy

Three of the variables I manipulated in this experiment are the primary focus of this paper; I refer to these as my primary variables. The remaining variables (mostly non-manipulated) I refer to as secondary variables; these were measured foremost to ensure they were not confounded with my primary variables so as to allow safer interpretations of causes and effects. Second, any secondary variables that account for outcomes could add or subtract support for the RC hypothesis, which is important for theory development. Finally as some of these variables have not yet been shown to predict learnability, finding effects of them could yield novel contributions to the vocabulary acquisition literature. Given these variables were secondary to the purposes of this investigation, however, my analysis of them remains in the form of single variable assessments, or in some cases model components for providing greater assurance of interpretations of my primary variables.

Primary and secondary variables were initially assessed as single variables, but in order to provide a more compact and cohesive view of the effects of these study variables, I joined primary variables (method of learning, word class, delay, and all of their interactions) together into a single model to measure their effects relative to and in context with one another. Secondary "extraneous" variables were added one at a time to this initial model; if significant, variables joined and thus developed the model, but if insignificant ($p>.05$), variables were removed from the model before proceeding to subsequent model component testing, in the order displayed in Table 5. Model development was done to satisfy questions about whether primary variables' effects might still exist with potentially confounding variables controlled. Secondary variables were removed from model testing before proceeding to each subsequent test in order to keep all models as small and within a rule-of-

thumb limit at all times. [22] Only variables that were by themselves significant predictors were tested in the primary factor model. This led to the development of a more developed model which included both primary and secondary variables to provide a fair estimate of the reliabilities, sizes, and directions of the effects of primary and secondary variables without either confounding interpretations of the others. Interpretations are then discussed.

I collected recognition responses for all words presented to all participants. Due to experimental programming error, certain test items were presented with options in which the target was absent. This occurred on 4 items under Language A, and on 10 items under Language B for two-thirds of the participants (these errors on the test were corrected prior to running the final one third of participants); data for these problematic test trials was removed before analyses. An alpha criterion of .05 was used to determine significance for all assessments. Logistic regression allowed me to take advantage of known qualitative and quantitative differences amongst stimuli, participants, and conditions, 23 factors in total, to test their predictive value. I used an alpha criterion of .05 to make decisions of significance. The initial survey of these 23 factors was exploratory by nature; determining significance while correcting for the error rate based on 23 tests requires differences to be highly reliable, but the power for such reliability was short. Therefore I present the results of these tests as a reference for future researchers interested in furthering work on these variables, but not as a final word on their effects. I also used an alpha criterion of .05 for reliabilities of model components to decide whether to retain or discard factors from models during model development.

Results of testing each factor in its own model are reported in Table 5 with Wald χ^2 values and p values to indicate reliability of improvement in individual model predictions over null hypothesis predictions based only on the grand mean. Effect sizes are only reported in developed multi-factor models because simple one-factor models tend to over- or under-estimate effect sizes when multiple effects are involved. Also shown in Table 5 are the interactions I tested between some of these factors and delay. For each test of an interaction, the two factors and their interaction factor were modeled (three factors) together.

[22] Just how many factors may be included in a model? A fairly common rule of thumb regarding sample sizes needed for regression analysis is N > 10k when there are k predictors; this would allow up to 8 factors in my study with 84 participants. Green (1991) more conservatively proposed a rule of thumb where N > 50 + 8k (this would translate to only 4 factors in my study); and Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000) advised N = 20k in logistic regression (also translating to 4 factors in my study). But Vittinghoff and McCulloch (2006) found that such rules of thumb were too restrictive. In the present case, the sample size was 84, so in light of Vittinghoff and McCulloch's research, and given the fairly high number of observations per participant, I felt comfortable limiting the number of factors in models to eight or fewer. As the N : k ratio gets smaller, generalizations beyond the sample become riskier (Berger, 2003).

Only the p-values of the interaction components of these models are cited in the table.

Table 5
All 23 Factors Tested with Individual Models

	source	Main effects Wald χ^2	p	Means (SD), or % of cases	Interaction w/ delay p
Participant Factors	Age	0.01	0.94	20.22 (1.76)	n.t.[a]
	Sex	1.47	0.22	72.6% female	0.89
	Eng. as 1st lang	0.19	0.66	79.8% English 1st	0.05
	Eng. proficiency	0.12	0.73	9.64 (1.01)	n.t.
	Lang prof. sum	0.05	0.82	17.95 (4.42)	0.66
Condition Factors	Delay	306.68	0	67.1% 5-min	n.t.
	Class	0.2	0.66	50.2% nouns	0.007
	Method of learning	27.48	0	67.1% ostensive	0.01
	Order	5.18	0.02	50.0% n-v order	0.73
	Experiment lang	0.02	0.88	50.2% Language A	<.001
	Lists learned prior	63.32	1	65.7% no prior list	<.001
	Learning schedule	4.41	0.04	33.3% schedule 1	0.09
	Occurrences/trial	4.46	0.03	44.4% 1 occur/trial	0.57
Item Factor	Category represent.	0.01	0.92	0.19 (.09)	0.24
Conceptual	Familiarity	5.53	0.02	6.47 (.51)	0.63
	Imageability	7.56	0.01	6.68 (.40)	0.35
	Frequency	4.08	0.04	3.65 (.99)	0.93
Visual	Goodness depiction	1.89	0.17	4.85 (.26)	0.91
	Alternatives	7.36	0.01	4.65 (2.76)	0.63
	Strangeness	0	1	4.52 (1.87)	n.t.
	Name Agree-Isolate	2.85	0.09	0.88 (.14)	0.14
	Name Agree-Context	3.34	0.07	0.84 (.19)	0.86
Auditory	Utterance length	0.62	0.43	0.93 (.20)	0.06

[a] "n.t." refers to variables that were not tested either because they were unlikely to be significant, were correlated and thus partially accounted in another tested variable, or because they were not manipulated orthogonally with delay.

Initial model

The effects of word class, method of learning, delay, and their interaction terms—class x method, method x delay, class x delay, and class x method x delay—were initially tested in a 7 factor model. While the model was significant ($p<.001$), the three-way interaction was not. With the removal of the three-way

interaction from the model, all six factors were reliably predictive ($p<.05$), as was the model itself, Wald $\chi^2(6)=348.65$, $p<.001$. This initial model is provided in Table 6, and its effects are illustrated in Figure 3. Effect sizes are measured here as odds ratios, a metric often used in logistic analyses. Odds ratios are relative to the reference value which is the minimum possible value on each variable's scale of measure. Appendix B offers a short introduction to odds ratios for readers unfamiliar with this metric of analysis.

Table 6

Initial Model Including Three Manipulated Predictors and Three Interactions

			Measured values	
Predictor	p	odds ratio	Min	Max
Word Class	<.001	0.83	noun	Verb
Meth of Learn	.006	0.62	ostensive	Inferential
Delay	<.001	0.28	5 minutes	1 week
Class x MOL	<.001	1.26	-	-
MOL x Delay	<.001	1.33	-	-
Class x Delay	<.001	1.32	-	-

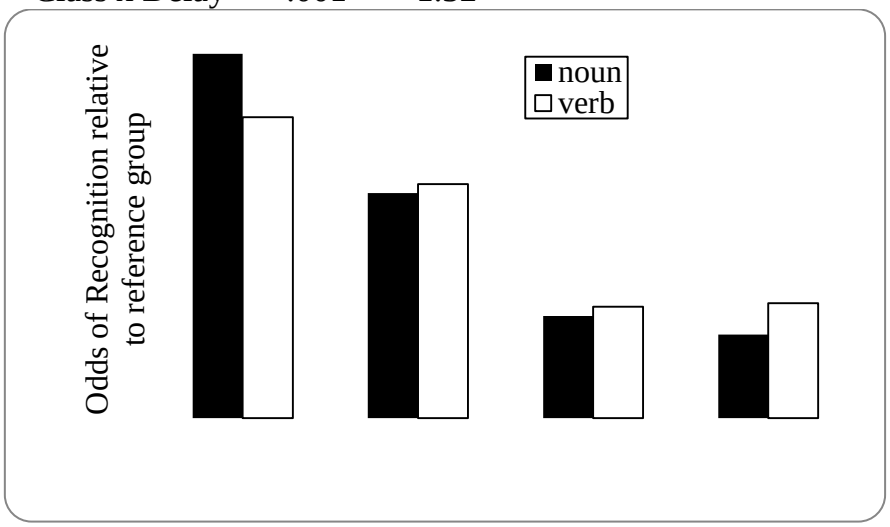

Figure 3. The effects of delay, method of learning, and word class on the odds of recognition according to the initial model. All effects are significant at $p<.05$. Odds values are relative to the reference condition (nouns learned under the ostensive condition and tested at five minutes) which has been arbitrarily set to 1.

Further model development

A total of seven factors were applied toward further development of the initial model (shown in Table 6). The first three factors were condition factors, and the last four were item factors. First I entered word order in the model.

Word order was nested at (only manipulated within) the ostensive level; therefore testing word order was done on only a subsample of the data. Not all variables could be included in this test because word order was not crossed with word class (so word class and its interaction terms were not tested). Therefore in order to proceed to testing other factors in the initial model beyond this test, I would have to remove word order from the model. However for the sake of testing word order, I temporarily removed word class from the model, as well as both of its interaction terms. The effect of order in this four-factor test was significant, p=.02 and indicated the verb-noun presentation order led to 1.17 times greater odds of recognition relative to the noun-verb presentation order . Its inclusion in the model did not greatly change estimated effect sizes (ORs) or reliabilities, and did not affect the directions of the effects of other factors in the model. Before proceeding to model tests with other variables, I removed word order and returned word class and its interaction terms to the model.

Next I added learning schedule, but it was not reliable, p=.55. Therefore I replaced learning schedule with number of occurrences per trial. This variable was significant in the model, p=.006, and its inclusion affected the model by increasing the effect size (but not direction) of method of learning, and reducing the reliability of the interaction between method of learning and delay, causing it to lose significance (p=.07). Therefore I replaced the insignificant interaction term with the significant number of occurrences term.

After this I tested four item factors in this revised model. Order of testing was somewhat arbitrary; I first added familiarity to the model and tested it. Familiarity was significant, p=.02; it did not affect the size, direction, or reliability of the other model factors. I thus retained familiarity in proceeding to test the next item factor, imageability. Imageability came close but did not quite meet my significance criterion, p=.06; at the same time imageability reduced the significance of familiarity to p=.54. This was not a surprise; past research has shown imageability and familiarity, as well as frequency, are highly correlated (Bird, Franklin, & Howard, 2001), and these terms were also highly correlated in the present data, all r>.6, all p<.001. As imageability was nearly significant even when controlling for familiarity, I retained imageability, and replaced familiarity with frequency, the next factor I tested. Frequency was not significant, p=.88, so I removed it from the model. Finally I tested number of alternative interpretations of images in the model. Number of alternatives was significant, p=.03, did not change the directions of other effects, and did not greatly change their reliabilities or effect sizes. Therefore this variable was accepted into this more fully developed model of word learning for this study. The final model given in Table 7 follows the rule of thumb N > 10k (8 model factors, including interaction terms), and was highly significant (p<.0001). The

same factor effects illustrated earlier for the initial model are again illustrated in Figure 4 but with the effects of number of target occurrences per trial, word imageability, and number of alternative interpretations controlled. These modeled effects are better estimated than the prior estimations (the initial model); the final model's effects are estimated apart from the effects of number of occurrences, word imageability, and number of alternative interpretations.

Table 7
Final Model with Eight Factors (4 Manipulated, 2 Interactions, and 2 Non-manipulated)

			Measured values	
Predictor	p	odds ratio	Min	Max
Word Class	.04	0.86	noun	verb
Meth of Learn	<.001	0.51	ostensive	inferential
Delay	<.001	0.31	5 minutes	1 week
Class x MOL	.04	1.24	-	-
Class x Delay	.006	1.33	-	-
Occurrences	<.001	0.71	1	2
Word Imageability	.01	1.17	4.43[a]	7
No. of Alternatives	.03	0.98	1[b]	17

[a] The minimum value possible on this scale was 1.
[b] the minimum value possible on this scale was 0.

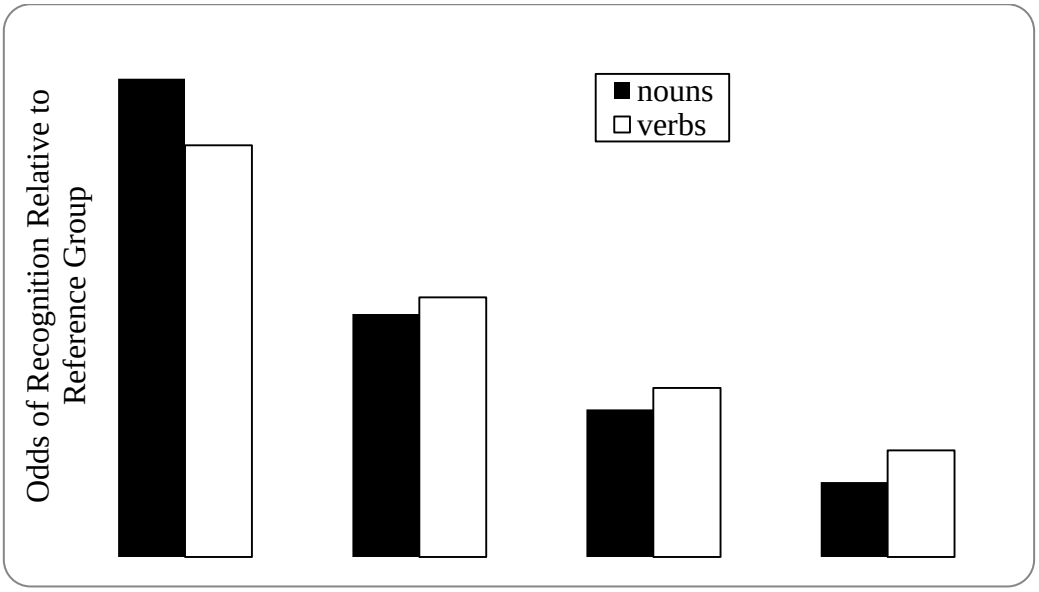

Figure 4. The effects on the odds of recognition by word class, method of learning, delay, and the word class interactions with method of learning and with delay, based on the final model. Odds of recognition are relative to the reference

group, nouns learned under ostensive conditions and tested at five minutes, where the odds have been arbitrarily set to 1.

Main and simple effects based on the developed model.

Delay. There was an effect of delay. With logistic regression, main effects are not usually interpreted when their factors are involved in interactions. The effect of delay was obviously detrimental to recognition, but delay hurt recognition of nouns more than of verbs. Nouns stood .31 (about a third) fewer odds of identification at one week compared to five minutes. However verbs stood only .41 fewer odds of identification at one week compared to five minutes.

Method of learning. Method of learning interacted with word class such that the advantage of ostensive learning over inferential learning, observable from Figure 4, was not evenly distributed between nouns and verbs. Among verbs the odds of recognition under inferential learning conditions were only .63 times as great as they were under ostensive learning conditions. However among nouns, inferential learning led to .51 times worse odds of recognition compared to ostensive learning (i.e., ostensive learning improved recognition odds by a factor of about 2).

Perhaps inferential learning is better suited to verbs than nouns. Verbs are relational concepts (verbs relate objects and a change of state to one another), and inferential learning highlights relationships between image pairs (the repeated and novel element in the context image is seen only in relation to the isolate image presented just prior). Perhaps inferential conditions prime relational thinking, thereby highlighting verbs more than nouns. However another hypothesis even seems more probable to me, and fits well with the RC hypothesis: perhaps inferential learning of verbs led to greater recognition because inferential learning of verbs was supported by prior ostensive presentation of nouns, leading to greater context clarity for verb inferences. Inferential learning of nouns was supported by prior ostensive presentation of verbs, but prior ostensive presentations of verbs may not have been very helpful; prior verb presentations may have even added ambiguity to context clarity for noun inferences.

Word class. The noun bias was observed under a single condition only—when learned under ostensive conditions *and* when tested at five minutes, the noun bias appeared such that nouns had 1.16 greater recognition odds compared to verbs. When tested at one week, this advantage was reversed such that verbs stood 1.15 greater recognition odds than nouns. When tested at five minutes

under inferential conditions, verbs stood 1.07 greater recognition odds than nouns. And when compounding these verb-friendly conditions, the verb bias was at its strongest—verbs stood 1.42 times greater recognition odds than nouns when inferentially learned and recognized at one week.

Number of occurrences. The number of times a target occurred within each trial was predictive of recognition success, but in the opposite direction to that expected. Two occurrences per trial (with one isolate and one context image) led to .71 times lower recognition odds compared to only one occurrence per trial (with one isolate image). How could this have happened? My colleagues have suggested this may have occurred because isolate images of verbs may have been seen as actor- verb combinations rather than purely as verbs. (Most isolate verb images were necessarily illustrated with an actor.) Hence presenting a verb learned in one actor-context again in another actor-context might have led to confusion about the meaning of that word (i.e., Does "jev" mean boy-dribbling or alligator-dribbling?) This theory is essentially the same as Tomasello's verb-island hypothesis (year)—the theory that young children's initial understanding of verb meaning is under-extended to include only a very narrow set of actors (perhaps just one) or patients (perhaps just one) or tools (perhaps just one). In other words, the immature form of "verb knowledge" is highly specific to a particular noun context—so much that a new verb label may be considered an "actor-verb" by the learner, initially. Appropriate generalization of a verb's meaning to the appropriate number of actors, patients, and tools may only occur gradually, after extended exposure to varied verb circumstances. Hence my colleagues and I take this unusual effect of the number of occurrences as evidence of an adult form of the verb-island experience, a starting point from which vocabulary meanings can mature. Hypothetically, a learner could begin to identify a verb's exact meaning by over-generalizing and work backwards to appropriate specificity. Child language development studies reveal children start specific and grow general; adults may show the same pattern, but more work is needed to support this interpretation.

Word imageability. Word imageability had a positive effect on the odds of recognition, elevating the odds by a factor of 1.17 for every one unit increase in imageability from 4.43 (the lowest observed word imageability rating on the scale of 1 – 7) to 7.00. This means the easier it is to visualize a word's meaning in one's native language, the easier it is to learn in a foreign language.

Number of alternatives. The effect of the number of alternative interpretations on recognition was as expected: images for which people offered more alternative interpretations were associated with lowered probabilities of recognition. This measure of image quality was more reliably predictive of

learning outcomes than were rated goodness of depiction ratings and name agreement measurements. This effect adds support to the idea that learning is largely a matter of how clearly meanings are presented to learners (i.e., the RC hypothesis).

Other findings (outside of the developed model)

Some variables appeared significant in their own models but failed significance testing when modeled with the primary factors word class, method of learning, and delay. Frequency did not meet significance when primary factors were accounted for. Familiarity met the significance criterion until imageability was added, which accounted for the predictive effect of familiarity. These therefore were not good predictors of word learning. The effect of order was significant in its own model as well as when modeled with word class and delay (i.e., with their effects controlled). It was excluded from the developed model to avoid model complexity, as this variable was nested within only one of the methods of learning.

I did not attempt to include interactions between delay and secondary variables because I did not want to jeopardize the integrity of models by overloading them with factors and exceeding the rule of thumb (N=10k) for the number of factors modeled, given N=84. However future experimenters are urged to better understand these observed interactions. The interaction between experiment language (Language A vs. B) and delay revealed that at five minutes there was a recognition advantage for learners of Language A (OR=.78), but at one week there was a recognition advantage for learners of Language B (OR=1.14). Although these differences were not significant at either delay taken individually, the reversal of this difference from one delay to the other was very reliable. For the sake of curiosity I tested this interaction holding word class and method of learning constant; its effect remained highly reliable ($p<.001$). Perhaps this effect stems from temporally dynamic specific item effects (word learning difficulty as a product of the way they sound in combination with the meanings they represent). That is, perhaps words that seem easy to remember really are easier to remember at five minutes, but are forgotten more quickly, too.

Following in this same pattern, the interaction between delay and the number of lists learned prior to a given word's list was highly reliable ($p<.001$), even when holding word class and method of learning constant. This interaction showed that at five minutes, there was a slight difference between learning words in a first or second list (OR=1.08) indicative of better learning of list 2

words; at one week, however, list 2 words were at a disadvantage (OR=.85). Although these effects were non-significant at either delay taken individually, the reversal in the pattern of differences was highly reliable. Perhaps proactive interference caused faster forgetting of words learned in list 2, but its effect on the forgetting rate may not have been strong enough to see after only five minutes. Also there may not have been sufficient power to find an interference effect at one week (fewer participants, only 56, were tested at one week).

Finally, again following the same interaction pattern as found between delay
and experiment language and between delay and number of lists learned prior, the interaction between learning schedule and delay was highly reliable ($p<.001$), even when controlling for word class and method of learning. This interaction revealed learning schedule 1 (learning sessions separated by a week) led to better performance when tested at five minutes compared with learning schedule 2, but learning schedule 2 (learning sessions separated by five minutes) led to better performance at one week compared with learning schedule 1. This pattern of effects violates expectations based on proactive and retroactive interference effects. Learning schedule 2 should have caused greater proactive interference on words tested at one week, and similarly learning schedule 1 was expected to cause a very small amount of proactive interference for words tested at five minutes. One explanation for this pattern of findings is a beneficial practice effect. In this view, learning schedule 1 led to better performance than learning schedule 2 at five minutes because under learning schedule 1 the five minute test was always on the second list, and was always the second test taken. Learning schedule 2 led to better performance than learning schedule 1 at one week because under learning schedule 2 the one week test was always over the second list learned, and was therefore the second test taken. Thus perhaps participants improved their performance on the second list learned because they learned how to learn words for the type of test given (multiple choice English word targets).

General Discussion

The model developed from this experimental data shows that learning can be described as a product of learning conditions, the target words, and the learning materials. Studies of young learners in most language across the globe have demonstrated a noun bias dominates early repertoires (e.g., Gentner, 1982). My aim in this study was to test whether adults show indication of a noun bias, too. The results of this study, taken together, do not support a generalized noun bias in adulthood; thus I did not find support for a noun bias as others have observed among young language learners. However this experimental paradigm

is not exactly a mirror image of the learning challenges undergone by early language learners. Young learners must not only learn which labels map onto which referents, but they must also sift for content words through non-referential words such as closed-class words; learn or not mind that some words are reflexive; learn their language's syntax; and perhaps most importantly, they must identify which aspects of a state change is referenced by a verb label, and which aspect of an object or group is referenced by a noun label. These last challenges mark an important difference between early word learners and mature second language learners: for the most part, second language vocabulary can be supported by already-acquired first language vocabulary (arguably most words have equivalents or near-equivalents between any pair of languages), but first language learners do not have this learning support. Thus it may not be that surprising to some that the noun bias, virtually universal among children acquiring language for the first time, may not generalize to adults learning language a second time.

Beyond arguing that adults do not experience a noun bias in second language learning of the same kind or magnitude as children, I shall also propose that in vocabulary development, recognition likelihood is a dynamic construct that varies over time. This was most clearly seen in the noun advantage under ostensive conditions at five minutes; under the same learning conditions, this became a verb advantage at one week. One hypothesis formed post hoc for the temporal dynamics of word learning is this: that which makes learning easy in the short run hurts learning in the long run. Although referential clarity is argued to be a key to successful learning, greater referential clarity might also permit faster, shorter processing time which may set that learned material on a faster forgetting course. In this proposal, shorter processing time contributes to better performance in the short run, but longer processing time contributes to better performance in the long run.

A competing but non-endorsed hypothesis is that the learning dynamics observed in this study were the result of floor effects at one week. One reason I do not agree with this latter hypothesis is the observed interaction between experiment language and delay which indicated that at five minutes, performance by those who learned Language A seemed greater but at one week performance by those who learned Language B seemed better. That is, the direction of the experiment language effect reversed order. I interpreted this interaction in terms of more numerous positive specific item effects in Language A causing greater performance at five minutes by those who learned Language A due to faster processing which led to greater recognition likelihood at short delays, but also faster forgetting, which could account for the inferior performance of those assigned to Language A versus Language B at one week.

Caveats

Due to counterbalancing mistakes discovered only after all data were collected, one-third of the 96 words were only learned inferentially. The other two-thirds were properly counterbalanced between methods of learning between participants. Therefore any advantage or disadvantage of inferential learning could either be due to the method of learning or due to a greater number of easy or difficult words learned inferentially only. However the models I developed helped to annihilate such a critique by showing that any variables that were by themselves contributors to learnability were, in the developed model, not confounded with other modeled factors, by virtue of their mutual inclusion in the model. Another problem with this experiment that I only recognized after data collection was that order of words in ostensive trials was not counterbalanced by target; each target word was presented in the context of either the noun-verb order or the verb-noun order. Therefore the effect of word order could have been confounded by chance assignment of more learnable words to one of the two word orders, and therefore its effect, reported above, should be taken with a grain of salt.

As mentioned earlier, an antithetical view of learning with temporal dynamics is that these temporal dynamics are only a product of floor effects of measurement at one week. Elevating performance at the later delay might improve sensitivity to these effects. This might be done by testing after fewer days, by teaching fewer targets, or by teaching with more, unique isolate and context images rather than the same ones repeated many times. Future researchers are encouraged to use one or more of these techniques to elevate learning at later delays to provide greater measurement sensitivity and rule out this antithetical view.

Future directions

The view that there are temporal dynamics at play in measuring vocabulary recognition at different delays is worth investigating further. Future researchers might manipulate processing time to see how it affects performance after shorter and longer delays to test this temporally dynamic view of vocabulary recognition. If recognition measurement is really temporally dynamic, an implication for word learning may be to slow processing time, or more likely deepen it (not just slow it), by requiring learners to infer word meanings within or across learning situations, or by some other creative method.

Another avenue of research occurred to me whilst making numerous image revisions to try to make verbs as identifiable as nouns (but the verbs were

still less accurately named than the nouns). Over the course of these revisions, my research team and I learned that verbs usually are not easily recognized in images unless they are "animated" with certain, often-used tricks employed by cartoonists and artists. We used graphic motion cues including lines to indicate from whence movements originated, and marks near moving parts, to introduce dynamism into still images. While these symbols are not found in the ecology of the real world, I perceived they facilitated interpretation of motion from still images. I did not measure name agreement rates before and after verb image doctoring, so improved name agreement by employing these symbolic devices for now remains an impression. If these and other symbolic devices really did elevate name agreement, an educational application based on this possible effect and based on the RC hypothesis could be proposed. Conveying word meanings with images and without need to reference any other language could be very useful for instructors trying to create more immersive learning conditions. Also the use of images rather than words could allow materials to be presented with almost any population with few needed changes. And because images are highly memorable (Lutz & Lutz, 1978), image media are probably a highly useful means of teaching foreign vocabulary.

Word learning research with implications for adults learning second language is a fruitful area of investigation. Future researchers are encouraged to consider long term as well as short term benefits of various methods of vocabulary acquisition with an eye toward improving efficient learning practices inside and outside of language classrooms. Finally, whether learning by ostensive or inferential methods, how the number of examples affects learning is likely to be of great research value. My own future research plans involve manipulating number of learning examples orthogonally with word usefulness to see how these variables relate to one another and to word learning. To develop our understanding of how these and other variables contribute to vocabulary acquisition is paramount to acquiring better understanding of language learning and of the language learner.

APPENDIX A

Nouns		Verbs	
alligator	hippo	to bathe	to pray
angel	horse	to bungee jump	to read
apple	kangaroo	to clap	to rock climb
armadillo	king	to cook	to run
astronaut	mail carrier	to cry	to shout
baby	monkey	to dig	to sing
bear	moose	to dribble	to sit
bird	nurse	to drink	to skateboard
boy	octopus	to eat	to ski
car	penguin	to fish	to sled
cat	pig	to golf	to sleep
computer	police officer	to hatch	to smoke
cow	princess	to hug	to sneeze
deer	rabbit	to iron	to snort
doctor	refrigerator	to jump	to spin
dog	robber	to jump rope	to surf
dragon	sailor	to kayak	to swim
duckling	sheep	to kiss	to talk
elephant	spider	to knit	to type
fire fighter	strawberry	to laugh	to walk
fish	telephone	to mop	to wave
flower	turtle	to paint	to whisper
frog	witch	to parachute	to wink
hedgehog	zebra	to point	to write

Noun-verb Pairs			
alligator dribbling	cow digging	hippo knitting	princess ironing
angel hugging	deer winking	horse snorting	rabbit laughing
apple jump roping	doctor smoking	kangaroo skiing	refrigerator running
armadillo climbing	dog singing	king typing	robber shouting
		mail carrier	
astronaut bungee jumping	dragon hatching	praying	sailor kayaking
baby drinking	duckling crying	monkey clapping	sheep golfing
bear bathing	elephant sitting	moose sledding	spider parachuting
bird reading	fireman pointing	nurse mopping	strawberry walking
boy skateboarding	fish kissing	octopus eating	telephone fishing
car talking	flower sneezing	officer writing	turtle spinning
cat sleeping	frog swimming	penguin painting	witch whispering
computer surfing	hedgehog waving	pig cooking	zebra jumping

APPENDIX B

Interpreting odds ratios for categorical variables requires deciding (sometimes arbitrarily) on a reference value for a given variable. For example the reference value of word order was noun-verb. With the reference value established, the odds ratio can be understood as the ratio of the odds of outcome when the predictor is at its alternate value (in this example, the verb-noun order) over the odds of outcome when the predictor is at its reference value. In the odds metric, odds ratios may be flipped to describe the odds of the reference value from the perspective of the alternate value. Using the word order effect found in the over-sized model of word learning for Study 2 in Table 3.4 as a concrete example, the effect size of word order is 1.17. This means that this model predicts when words are ordered verb-noun, the odds of their recognition is 1.17 times greater than when they are ordered at their reference value, noun-verb.

Interpreting odds ratios for continuous variables is only a little more complex. The reference value is always defaulted at the bottom of the scale. Using imageability as a concrete example, imageability values lay on a 1 – 7 scale, thus 1 was its reference value. The odds ratio of imageability was also 1.17 coincidentally, but on a scale of 1 – 7, the change in odds from minimum to maximum imageability values this is a larger change in odds (i.e., effect) than the effect of word order (whose odds were also 1.17). The odds ratio can be understood as the rate of change in predicted odds along a variable's scale. Thus with every one unit increase in imageability (say from 6.00 to 7.00) there is an associated change in the odds of successful recognition by a factor of 1.17. This odds ratio applies across the entire spectrum of measured (and unmeasured) values, and is a description of the effect size associated with a change in imageability of one incremental unit on the measured scale. That is, the odds of recognition at 7.00 are 1.17 times greater than the odds at 6.00, and the odds at 6.00 are 1.17 times greater than the odds at 5.00, etc. Improving imageability from 5.00 to 7.00, the model predicts, is associated with improvement from the odds of recognition at 5.00 (whatever that might be) by 1.17 x 1.17, or 1.37 times greater. Therefore although this odds ratio appears small, it is a hefty effect size when considering the improved odds of recognition along the entire spectrum of predictor values. In this example, the entire spectrum of imageability values was rather limited, but predicted recognition when imageability was at its maximum 7.00, compared to when it was at its minimum, 4.42 (so 7.00 is 2.58 units higher) is calculated as $1.17^{2.58}$, or 1.50 times greater predicted odds. Thus all other things being constant, "dog" (whose imageability was 7.00) was 1.5 times more likely to be recognized from its nonsense word cue than "hedgehog" (whose imageability was 4.42).

Understanding odds ratios with interactions is less straightforward than with main effects. When an interaction is significant, one should not interpret the involved main effect odds ratios by themselves because these values are displayed in output at their values when all other variables are held at their reference values (CRMportals, 2006), and they should be qualified this way. Word order and imageability could be deciphered simply because they were not part of any interaction factors. However the effect of method of learning was involved in at least one other interaction, so when describing the effect of method of learning, one must qualify this description by the level of the other variables it interacted with. Thus the effect of method of learning, as displayed in Table 3.4, was .49 for nouns (the reference value of the word class variable) only; for verbs the effect of method of learning was different, namely .49 x 1.32 (the interaction factor's odds ratio) = .65. In other words, the model predicts that when nouns are learned inferentially, they have .49 times lower odds of successful recognition than when they are learned ostensively, but for verbs, this negative effect of inferential learning is a little milder—verbs learned inferentially are only .65 times less likely to be recognized than when they are learned ostensively.

It is possible to convert odds ratios into likelihoods by the formula: (odds ratio / 1 + odds ratio) = likelihood. An odds of 1.00 means no effect, so the likelihood of success under this would be (1/(1+1)=.50) exactly 50% when all other model factors are controlled. Applying this to the effect of method of learning, the model specified that when all other variables are controlled, nouns were (.49 / 1 + .49 = .329) about 33% likely to be recognized when learned inferentially, and verbs were (.65/1+.65 = .394) about 39% likely to be recognized when learned inferentially. Calculating likelihoods of success for reference values from the perspective of alternate values involves flipping odds ratios. The likelihood of successful recognition of a noun learned ostensively is ((1/.49)/1+(1/.49) or 2.04/1+2.04 = .671) about 67%, and the likelihood of successful recognition of a verb learned ostensively is ((1/.65)/1+(1/.65) or 1.54/1+1.54 = .606) about 61%. Notice that averaging likelihoods of noun recognition at ostensive (67%) and inferential (33%) results in 50% average likelihood (i.e., no effect), and the same is true of verbs learned ostensively (61%) and inferentially (39%), which average 50%; this math indicates that model odds values are provided as values when all other values, including the model's intercept, are controlled so that they may be ignored.

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A Study of Strategy usages in Memorizing Vocabularies by Burmese EFL Students

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Abstract

This study examined how Burmese learners tackle learning new vocabularies and which strategies they use to improve their vocabulary acquisition. This study aimed to promote the concrete understanding of the ways new vocabularies are memorized and to investigate Burmese students learning styles when employing their vocabulary learning strategies. This compares with Oxford (1990) who asked participants their preferred strategies for improving vocabulary acquisition. The data for this study were collected from 100 Burmese EFL learners through two research instruments: a questionnaire and an interview. The results of this study indicate that two main memory strategies for vocabulary learning, rote learning strategies (RL) and creating mental linkage strategies (CML), are used in preference to other memory strategies by Burmese students. Pedagogical implications and recommendations arising from this study are discussed and provided for language learners in EFL contexts.

Keywords: vocabulary learning strategies, memory strategies, EFL learners, vocabulary acquisition

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้ศึกษาวิธีการแก้ปัญหาการเรียนคำศัพท์ใหม่และกลยุทธ์ที่ผู้เรียนชาวพม่าใช้ในการพัฒนาการรับคำศัพท์ งานวิจัยนี้มุ่งที่จะเพิ่มพูนความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับการใช้วิธีการต่าง ๆ ในการท่องจำคำศัพท์ใหม่ ๆ และรูปแบบการเรียนภาษาของนักศึกษาพม่าขณะที่มีการใช้กลยุทธ์การเรียนรู้คำศัพท์ งานวิจัยนี้ถูกนำไปเปรียบเทียบกับผลการวิจัยของอ๊อกซ์ฟอร์ด (1990) ซึ่งสอบถามเกี่ยวกับกลยุทธ์ที่กลุ่มตัวอย่างใช้ในการเพิ่มพูนคำศัพท์เช่นกัน ข้อมูลของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เก็บมาจากนักศึกษาพม่าจำนวน 100 คน โดยใช้วิธีการเก็บข้อมูลสองแบบคือ การใช้แบบสอบถามและการสัมภาษณ์ ผลวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่ากลุ่มตัวอย่าง ใช้กลยุทธ์การเรียนรู้คำศัพท์สองวิธีคือ กลยุทธ์การท่องจำคำศัพท์ และกลยุทธ์การเชื่อมโยงความหมายของคำศัพท์ ทั้งสองวิธีนี้เป็นวิธีที่กลุ่มตัวอย่างเลือกใช้มากกว่ากลยุทธ์อื่น ๆ งานวิจัยนี้ยังกล่าวถึงนัยยะสำคัญและข้อเสนอแนะในเชิงการเรียนการสอน สำหรับผู้เรียนภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษาต่างประเทศอีกด้วย

คำสำคัญ : กลยุทธ์การเรียนรู้คำศัพท์ กลยุทธ์การท่องจำ ผู้เรียนภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษาต่างประเทศ การรับคำศัพท์

Introduction

As we know, the prominent role of vocabulary knowledge in second language learning has been widely recognized by many researchers, theorists and language learners. In addition, vocabulary learning has also been conducted mainly with an emphasis on the storage and retrieval process because all groups of EFL/ESL learners agreed that the important part of learning a language is learning vocabulary. Wilkins (1972) said, "…*without grammar very little can be conveyed, without vocabulary, nothing can be conveyed"*.

A large body of language learning research indicates that enlarging language vocabularies has been one of the main objectives of many EFL/ESL learners. This research also describes different ways to achieve these objectives. Vocabulary learning strategies (VLS) are undoubtedly required initially for students because using VLS helps them to discover the meaning of a new word and in the consolidation of a word once it has been encountered. Therefore, students tend to learn multiple word meanings, derived forms, spelling, pronunciation, phrases, and proper grammatical uses themselves. The academic and interpersonal vocabulary needs force the learners to improve their ability to learn and integrate newly acquired vocabulary. Learners themselves have recognized that a dearth of vocabularies is the primary factor holding them back from achieving their larger linguistic goals at a satisfactory rate (Nunan, 2004; Cohen, 1998/2007; Nation, 2001).

Currently, vocabulary learning strategies have developed and diversified as the teaching-learning methodology has improved. However, a large proportion of the reviewed research does not deny that memorization strategies play an essential role in EFL and/or ESL context because it is natural for the language learners to focus on memorization as well as repetition, associative strategies, and keyword mnemonic. Therefore, the language learners should know exactly why a memory strategy is needed in vocabulary learning and which types of strategies are effective in their memorization.

Role of memory in vocabulary learning

For the language learners, it is natural to focus on memory strategies when looking at vocabulary learning strategies. Most studies on rote memorization or simple repetition were carried out before the 1970s. According to Thompson (1987), human memory is crucial to the concept of learning. "Memory strategies sometimes called mnemonics, have been used for thousands of years", observed Oxford (1990).

According to Gray (1997), it was suggested that mnemonics was not considered a skill of simple memorization but requires imagination, effort, and a good mind. According to the above facts, memorizing vocabulary is one of the crucial factors that cannot be ignored in language learning. Word idioms are usually described in special phrases which sometimes are not difficult to guess for the EFL learners. An analysis of cultural contents in English textbooks by Htay (2006) found that Burmese EEL learners understand English proverbs and idioms in the same way when reading and they are also amenable to learning these words by RL in order to support illusions in their writing. Warren (1994) supported that fact in the "*Oxford Learner's Dictionary of English Idioms"*. Therefore, learners may feel they can only learn by memory strategies. Concerning these types of memorization, Biggs (1998:726-727) claimed:

> … learning the thousands of characters in common use obviously requires a good deal more repetitive learning than learning an alphabet system. However, this cannot be mindless rote learning because understanding is assuredly involved. Characters are traditionally learned by the Two Principles. The first Principle involves using the Five Organs: the eyes to see the shape, the ears to hear the sound, and the hand to write the shape, the mouth to speak the sound, the mind to think about the meaning. The Second Principle is to contextualize; each character as it is learned is formed with another into a word and each word is formed into a sentence. Repetitive certainly, but also embedded in meaning, with much use of learner activity in widely different modes.

Thus, Biggs (1997) describes that learning the characters causes learners to consider its meaning in terms of its context. Therefore, the present study aims to point out different types of memorizing strategies in vocabulary learning.

Classification of memory strategies in vocabulary learning

Vocabulary learning strategies are differentiated into many categories, depending on basic distinctions between receptive and productive knowledge (Schmitt 2000). Ahmed (1989) found 38 vocabulary learning strategies used by his Sudanese learners and he grouped these strategies into five-micro strategies of memorization, practice, dictionary use, note taking, and group work. In addition, adapting Oxford's (1990a) SILL classifications, Schmitt (2000) made some distinctions between discovery strategies (to learn an unknown word) and consolidation strategies (to learn and integrate a word's meaning). Thus, Nyikos and Fan (2007) described that VLS classifications combine psycholinguistic categories such as memory, cognitive, metacognitive, and social which are found in Oxford (1990a). They pointed out that a reason for overlapping vocabulary categories is that strategies are classified frequently rather than being specified according to learners' deployed VLS.

However, this current study constructively specified memory strategies (MSs) used in vocabulary learning by adapting Li (2005), based on MS categories of Oxford (1990:39) and RL features of Gairns and Redman (1986:93). Four main MSs categorized by Oxford (1990) were discussed in this study. These MSs are (1) Rote learning, (2) Creating mental linkages, (3) Applying images and sounds, and (4) Structured reviewing which were used to build the questionnaire and analyze Burmese learners' vocabulary learning strategies.

Definitions of four main memory strategies in vocabulary learning

Referencing Oxford (1990:40), Gairns and Redman (1986:93), and Li (2005), the following descriptions are adapted as follows:

Rote Learning

Memorizing any useful vocabularies repeatedly

Repeating reading, speaking or writing what is being learnt again and again

Giving priority to understanding when learning

Practicing varieties of exercises repeated to strengthen memory

Reviewing old materials many times to support learning new

Learning words through reading aloud or silently many times

Writing down vocabulary items again and again

Learning vocabulary in lists/cards many times

Memorizing irregular verbs, synonyms and antonyms

Finding translation equivalents in dictionaries

Creating mental linkages

- Grouping and classifying language materials into meaningful units
- Associating and relating new language information to concepts already in memory
- Placing a word or phrase in a meaningful sentence or conversation in order to remember well
- Phrasing sentences in order to recognize synonyms/antonyms of words and grammatical structures of the sentences

Applying images and sounds

- Using imagery such as relating new language information to concepts in memory by means of images and sounds, visualizing in the mind or in an actual drawing.
- Using semantic mapping, for example: arranging words into a diagram which has a key concept at the center or at the top, linking to related words by means of a line or arrow.
- Using keywords to remember a new word by using auditory and visual links. The first step is to identify a familiar word in one's own language that sounds like the new word---this is the "auditory link". The second step is to generate an image of some relation between the new word and a familiar one---this is the "visual link".
- Representing sounds in memory to remember new language information according to its sounds.

Reviewing well

1) Reviewing in carefully spaced intervals, gradually increasing the length of time between reviews.

Research questions

This research investigates the following questions:

1. Which types of memorization strategies are used in English vocabulary learning by Burmese learners?
2. Are there any significant differences among their memory strategy usages when vocabulary learning?
3. To what extent do Burmese learners apply which memory strategies for their vocabulary acquisition?
4. Are there any factors that affect their vocabulary learning strategy usages?

For this study, the main hypothesis is that there would be a common approach in memorizing vocabularies by Burmese students according to their EFL environment or their proficiency level. Thus, the present study aimed to find out Burmese students' strategy preference in English vocabulary learning as well as reveal their perspectives and beliefs regarding their strategies choice.

Participants

This study collected data from 100 Burmese students from Yangon Institute of Education in which the first group (75 undergrad English majors) was selected for the questionnaire and the second group (25 graduate EFL junior teachers) was selected for the interview. As these respondents attend this educational institute, all the respondents have a strong EFL background in both teaching and learning strategies. Additionally, all of them are English teaching majors who are familiar with the terminology of memory strategies in vocabulary teaching-learning situations as they take a course titled English Teaching Methodology.

Research Instruments

A questionnaire and an interview were utilized for data collection in this study. Using both of these two methods together provide the possibility of obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data. Dörnyei (2007) recommended that mixed-method research (i.e., using both questionnaire and interview) can result in a better understanding of a certain field or phenomenon by supporting

both qualitative data, describing specific details, and quantitative data, showing numeric trends.

Firstly, the data of this study were collected by a Vocabulary Learning Strategies Questionnaire (VLSQ) (see in appendix I) which includes three sections. The first two sections, A and B, are skills items rated according to a Likert-type scale, and the third, section C, consists of open-ended questions aimed to analyze the effectiveness and accuracy of the results. The main framework of this questionnaire is based on Oxford (1990) and his Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) and VLSQ by Li (2005:315-324). After distributing the questionnaire to the undergraduate student group, the researcher interviewed the second master's student group to ascertain their perspectives on their vocabulary learning strategies usages, especially on RL, through other vocabulary memory strategies.

Data analysis

To handle the student questionnaire data of the present study, the statistical software package SPSS version 17 was used for descriptive analysis. Descriptive statistics such as the mean, standard deviation, the range, variance, maximum and minimum values, etc, which are generated by using descriptive analysis method of SPSS software, provide a convenient way of summarizing and interpreting data results (Gray, 1997). Therefore, the researcher used descriptive analysis for organizing and summarizing of the students' questionnaire data of this study.

For the interview data, the specific statements and contents were coded for qualitative data analysis. The researcher applied content analysis for both open-ended questions and interview questions, adopting the content analysis of Wenden (1991) and Li (2005). Bryman (2001) also suggested that content analysis is a systematic way to analyze data through a stepwise process that involves making responses into any distinct content or key point and forming broader categories to compare different kinds of responses. Therefore, content analysis was used to handle many different responses to the open-ended questions and interview questions of this study.

Findings

Questionnaire section A

Questionnaire section A asks the students for their perspectives on vocabulary learning strategies. There are 11 items covering the four main memory strategies in vocabulary learning (rote learning, creating mental

linkage, applying images and songs, and reviewing). The responses (5: strongly agree, 4: agree, 3: no opinion, 2: disagree, and 1: strongly disagree for each section were analyzed in SPSS.

The results of section A show that Burmese learners rated highest two ways of RL strategies among other MSs in vocabulary learning: "No (1) repetition method and No (4) translation equivalent method" as seen in table 1. Mean values of the statements were ranked in descending order for analysis. According to the descriptive analysis, the study was analyzed as high agreement (mean value 3.5 and above), medium agreement (mean value between 2.5 and 3.5) and low agreement (mean value below 2.4), which was suggested by Oxford and Burry-Stock (1995) and also found as Sheorey's mean classification (1999).

Table 1 Responses to Questionnaire Section A (items 1 to 11)

Categories & short statements of questionnaire items	***Rank***	***Mean***	***Standard Deviation***
RL Vocabulary should be learnt through repetition.(1)	1	4.64	.650
RL The translation equivalents are helpful.(4)	2	4.49	.705
CML Words should be acquired in context.(5)	3	4.45	.664
RW Reviewing often is helpful.(10)	4	4.37	.820
RL Rote learning is effective to memorize words.(2)	5	4.32	.747
CML Organized material is easier to memorize.(6)	6	4.32	.619
RL Cards/note books/word lists are helpful. (3)	7	4.28	.808
AIS Semantic mapping is valuable for memory. (8)	8	3.75	.708
AIS Mentally picturing can quicken memorization.(7)	9	3.43	1.028
RW Structured reviewing is only useful before exam.(11)	10	3.4	.949
AIS Keyword method should be used.(9)	11	2.87	1.380

Note: RL = rote learning, CML = creation mental linkage, AIS = applying images and songs, RW = reviewing.

Table 1 shows that most of the items are accepted as high agreement. Eight of the 11 items (72 % MSs) had mean values above 3.5 (high agreement), 3 of the 11 items (27% MSs) had a mean value under 3.5 (medium agreement), and there was no low agreement statements for this section. Categorizing these items and comparing their means, it was found that RL strategies had the highest agreement (mean = 4.64), followed by CML (mean = 4.45), and RW (4.37); while two items of AIS (mean = 3.43 & 2.87) were sorted in the medium agreement group. Noticeably, item no. 11, one kind of reviewing, also had medium agreement (Mean = 3.4) that is "*Structure reviewing is only useful for exam*". The overall mean of all items was 4, indicating an overall high agreement for all strategies in the table. The internal consistency reliability of questionnaire section A was $\alpha = .719$.

Questionnaire section B

In section B, the students were asked their preferred vocabulary learning strategies. There are 22 items in section B (item no. 12 to no. 33) which consists of four main categories of MSs in vocabulary learning (RL, CML, AIS and RW) like section A.

As can be seen in table 2, RL strategies are ranked the highest; CML strategies as the second highest; and RW and AIS strategies follow as other preferred strategies. Calculating their descriptive statistics, the overall mean value for section B was 3.4, indicating that the average of all strategies was medium. In detail, there were 11 of 22 statements (50%), as high usage, 10 of 22 statements (approximately 45%) as medium usage, and only one item (approximately 4.5%) as the low usage, which was AIS.

Table 2: Response to Questionnaire: Section B (Item No 12 to 33)

Categories & short statements of questionnaire items	***Rank***	***Mean***	***Standard Deviation***
RL Repeat words aloud to oneself for memorization.(17)	1	4.08	.834
RL Memorize phrases and collocations.(20)	2	3.96	1.019
CML Remember examples of word use in context.(22)	3	3.96	.884
CML Compose sentences with the words being learnt.(28)	4	3.87	.935
RL Write new words repeatedly to remember.(18)	5	3.73	.952
CML Read related topic to be exposed vocabularies.(24)	6	3.72	.882

CML Remember words by words and affixes.(25)	7	3.67	.963
CML Search synonyms and antonyms.(27)	8	3.65	1.072
RL Use notes with two sides of words and meaning.(13)	9	3.60	.930
AIS Visualize the spelling of the word in my head.(30)	10	3.35	1.04
CML Group words by part of speech.(21)	11	3.53	1.40
CML Remember words that share similar letters. (23)	12	3.45	1.057
RL Keep the vocabulary list of new words.(14)	13	3.44	1.155
RL Use words correctly after memorizing.(19)	14	3.4	.990
CML Group words by grammatical class.(26)	15	3.37	.983
RW Recall words by pair checking with someone.(32)	16	3.31	1.134
RL Make vocabulary lists of new words. (12)	17	3.27	1.108
RL Go through vocabulary list repeatedly to understand. (15)	18	3.19	1.137
AIS Associate sounds of words with similar in English.(29)	19	3.11	.990
RL Take vocabulary cards wherever going.(16)	20	2.97	1.073
RW Make regular reviews of new words.(33)	21	2.88	1.013
AIS Associate words with similar in Burmese sound.(31)	22	4	.995

(RL=rote learning, CML =creation mental linkage, AIS = applying images and songs, RW = reviewing)

In contrast, it was found that the rank order of RW (reviewing) in section A and section B was different. This means that most of these students fail to do regular reviewing for their vocabulary learning although they completely agreed RW is helpful in vocabulary learning. In other words, Burmese students are weak at regular reviewing of their study. Moreover, AIS (applying images and sounds) was found as a low usage strategy in both section A and section B of the questionnaire.

Questionnaire section C

In the last part of the questionnaire, section C, Burmese students were asked three open-ended questions. These questions were aimed to obtain more clarified answers about Burmese learners' perspectives on RL.

Q (1): *What do you think the most effective strategies that produce better results in vocabulary leaning?*

Using both RL and CML together was found as the most effective and favorite collaborative strategies for Burmese students. The reason for this was that most of the responses not only focused on the features of RL and CML but also they stated that it was the favorite strategies for vocabulary learning. Therefore, collaborative usage of these two strategies had nearly 100% agreement. They also recommended reviewing more often although they did not do regular reviewing as self-study.

Q (2): *How do you think your strategy preference in vocabulary learning strategies?*

Most responses stated RL is more essential in the early stages of English learning. Eighty seven percent (87%) of the responses indicated that RL is fully supportive of vocabulary learning. The other 13% revealed that RL is partially supportive in memorizing vocabularies. However, no one responded that RL was a non-supportive strategy in vocabulary learning.

Q (3): *Do you have any other effective strategies for learning or memorizing vocabulary?*

The majority of the answers was "No" because nearly 92% of the responses were related to different forms of RL. These are repeating, practicing, keeping different dictionaries (such as monolingual, bilingual and pocket-dictionary) and memorizing new words after reading a novel, magazine, or stories and watching movies or news. Apart from these kinds of strategies, these subjects do not have any new effective strategies for vocabulary learning. The remaining 8% of the Burmese students revealed that they use other types of activities such as playing puzzles, playing Scrabble and paraphrasing to create as much exposure to English as possible.

The findings from both closed questions and open-ended questions (sections A, B, C) revealed that Burmese learners' favorite vocabulary learning strategies were RL and CML. Therefore, these two main categories (rote

learning and creating metal linkages) have been clearly applied in the learning of English vocabulary by most of Burmese students.

Interview Results

In the interview section part 1, teachers were asked to rank their favorite items. Ten statements concerning with four main vocabulary learning strategies (RL, CML, AIS, and RW) were ranked by subject. These statements were based on the questionnaire statements in section A and section B as this part of the interview was designed to confirm the information from the questionnaire.

For this section, 25 teachers ranked the statements as their preferences. The data were analyzed in terms of the frequencies of their preferred item and ranked from the highest to lowest frequencies. Strategy no. 4 "*Getting definitions from a dictionary for accuracy*" (RL) was ranked the first among the other statements. The following rank was CML no. 6 "*Guessing the meaning of words in context*". Ranked third was RL no. 5 "*Memorizing new words, paired words, irregular verbs, etc by reading or writing repeatedly"* and fourth was RW no. 10 *"Remembering words by reviewing often"*.

Overall, RL and CML were ranked as the highly preferred strategies of the four MSs in vocabulary learning. As the next preferred strategy, RW was indicated, and finally AIS was the least preferred strategy.

Content analysis of the interviews

To identify the role of the respondents' preferred vocabulary learning strategies, the content analysis supported the results by categorizing all responses. The content analysis in this study was based upon the work of Li (2005) and Wenden (1991). According to the statements from the interview responses, five general factors are identified which might impact on the subjects' preferences in the vocabulary learning. They are: (1) Burmese cultural/ educational background, (2) EFL environment, (3) Traditional habit, (4) National situation/examination demand, and (5) Failure to try out "the best" ways.

After analyzing the interview results, the researcher coded the 25 subjects' responses into two groups: the first group (70% of the subjects) who supported RL strategies, and the second group (30% of the subjects) who do not

really like RL strategies. In order to facilitate the readers' interpretation, the researcher derived summarized statements by condensing the interview results.

In the first group, the ways the subjects favored RL strategy usages are "memorizing idioms, phrases and collocations", "repeating words aloud to oneself", "keeping the vocabulary list/dictionary", and "making vocabulary lists of new words". In addition, they described some CML strategies together with RL such as "remembering examples of word in context", "grouping words by part of speech/grammatical classes", and "acquiring new words by guessing its context. For their strategy choices, they gave the following reasons such as "easy, simple, and effective", "helpful all the time", "important as basis to develop advanced methods", "Burmese educational culture", and "only way for accuracy".

The second group viewed RL as a "waste of time/more likely to forget", "too old fashion", "just useful for beginners, not advanced learners", "not very important for developing other methods", and "disadvantage of EFL environment". Eventually, this small group criticized RL from different perspectives even though they had also passed their early level of English learning by using RL.

Discussion

The results of the questionnaire indicate RL strategies were mostly used by Burmese learners in vocabulary learning, results confirmed by the interview responses content analysis. Particularly, the present study found that Burmese learners use RL strategies by means of combining memorizing and understanding as they also use the CML strategy as a co-strategy of RL. Thus, RL strategies are collaboratively applied with repetition, memorization, understanding, and practice rather than mere repetition, indicating a similar outcome to those of some previous researchers such as Li (2005) and Biggs (1999).

Burmese students prefer accuracy to fluency in vocabulary learning because they rely on RL as an establishing foundation of accurate knowledge to develop language learning. Therefore, they use RL regularly as it is easy, simple, and effective. Another reason for RL usage is due to the examination-driven system that results in learners focusing on these memory strategies for their exam. Generally, the subjects' responses show that there is no single best strategy for them to learn English vocabulary. Their reaction supposes that all

learner needs are not suited to a single memory strategy, meaning they have failed to innovate the best ways to work efficiently in their vocabulary learning. Moreover, the respondents claim that there are a number of reasons for their high RL usage, including time limited course schedules, exam-oriented educational system, and also the national situation (such as limitation of classroom facilities, lack of educational support, and the learning environment). These criticisms should be taken into account when considering how to improve the teaching-learning system in Myanmar.

Next, the high RL usage of Burmese learners can be seen as a reflection of the Burmese educational culture according the interview results. As described in the literature review and some related researches, the results are consistent in that Burmese learners hold positive perspectives towards using RL due to the influence of traditional culture.

In conclusion, RL strategies will in all probability continue be used as the vocabulary learning strategy of Burmese EFL learners in the foreseeable future according to the content analysis of the study. This interpretation is suggested because of the following factors:

1) Burmese cultural/educational background
2) EFL environment
3) Traditional habit
4) National situation/examination demand
5) Failure to try out "the best" ways (adapted from Wenden 1991 & Li 2005).

Pedagogical Implications

According to the findings of this study, the researcher pointed out two main implications regarding the Burmese examination system and for EFL teaching in Myanmar.

Some participants in the interview section suggested that Burmese learners particularly used RL strategies for accuracy in exams. This highlights the impact of the Burmese examination system that forces students to learn by heart for accuracy. Thein Lwin (2010) criticized the curricula and examination system of Myanmar for focusing on memorization and accuracy. As a result, Burmese students heavily rely on memorization for examinations that require repeating accurate information rather than problem-solving skills and critical thinking skills. Wang (2000) claimed that this type of accuracy for exam type

learning could not efficiently support fluency in spoken English. The above research findings indicate that the Burmese examination system is unbalanced between knowledge and ability.

This study found high usage of RL strategies with analytical thinking, resulting in examiners realizing what strategies the students are actually using in their learning. This perception may help EFL exam designers to improve the EFL exam system and provide the learners with opportunities to use more effective strategies and more critical thinking skills. The next implication of this study could support the EFL teaching in Myanmar. Liu (2001) suggests the EFL lecturers and teachers should vary their teaching approach according the students' nature. EFL teachers should acknowledge their students' learning styles in order to develop their communicative approach and interactive teaching methods. The findings of the present study may provide teachers with effective information regarding Burmese EFL learners' strategy usage in their vocabulary learning, so that EFL teachers could improve their teaching approaches and serve as more effective teaching.

Conclusion

As mentioned in literature review, Oxford (1990) interpreted a great deal of existing research that synthesized eight influential factors on the preference of L2 learning strategies. They are: motivation, gender, cultural background, attitude and beliefs, type of task, age and L2 stage, learning style, and tolerance of ambiguity which should be considered when conducting further research on Burmese students' learning styles. Of these factors, many previous researchers proved that traditional culture is a major factor affecting learners' strategy usage. Li (2005), Hummel (2010), Thomson (1987), and Watkins and Biggs (2001) who surveyed RL effects on Asian EFL students described that RL is accepted as an effective learning strategy in vocabulary learning. The present study also found similar results. Primarily, the present study suggests that RL strategies in vocabulary learning continue to be widely used in Myanmar as well as in other Asian countries despite being viewed critically in Western countries. Therefore, specific beliefs held by particular cultural groups in SL/FL learning should be investigated by further researchers.

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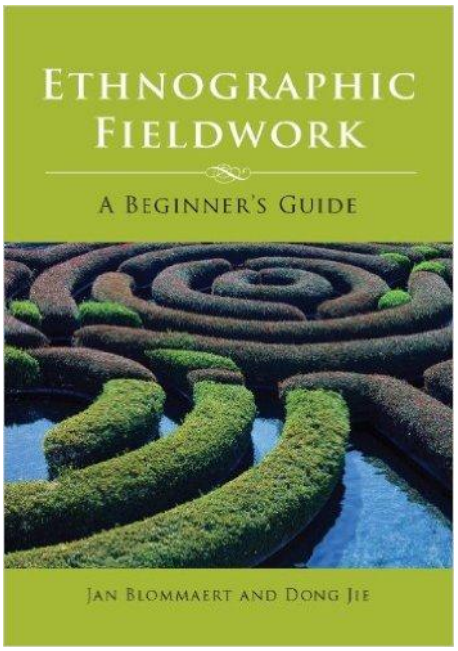
Book Review



JAN BLOMMAERT and DONG JIE,

Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide,

Multilingual Matters,

2010, 92 pages,

ISBN-9781847692948 (pbk)

978184769294 (hbk), $20.90

By

Aree Manosuthikit

This slim yet information-dense book offers an accessible and practical guide for beginners who want to embark on ethnographic fieldwork. Penned in an informal and straightforward style, the book draws together the theoretical underpinnings of ethnography with the authors' insightful reflections and anecdotal accounts gleaned from Jie's observations in migrant schools in China and Blommaert's interviews with African asylum seekers in Belgium. The book comprises six chapters but the authors clearly dedicate most of its pages to three in the middle (Chapters 3, 4 and 5), featuring the three sequential stages of fieldwork: prior to fieldwork; in the field; and after fieldwork.

The first chapter contains the authors' introductory remarks, noting that much of the discussion herein draws on the foundational work of two methodologists in contemporary ethnography, Johannes Fabian and Dell Hymes. The book is intended to provide practical guidelines about fieldwork, but not with "dos and don'ts" type of directives; they express views on ethnography which have roots in their firsthand field experiences gained as linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists. Finally, in quoting Dell Hymes, they reaffirm that ethnographers should focus not only on voices from interviews but also "behavioral repertoires" from observations as they make explicit the tacit structures of people's lives.

In the second chapter, the authors discuss what they believe to be the crucial elements of ethnography, while framing their arguments within the context of

language study. They argue that ethnography is not mere description but has to do with ontology and epistemology, that it is grounded in the view of language as resource, performance, situatedness and symbolic value, and that it is an inductive science with the capacity of challenging hegemonies.

The third chapter, captured under preparation and documentation, focuses its discussion largely on how to conceptualize the research contexts, micro and macro, and how to situate the objects of investigation (e.g., time, places, participants, weather) to determine the feasibility of our topics. The authors also remind us of the unpredictability and dynamicity of the research contexts, both temporal and spatial, and thus recommend that our preparation work be vigorous and a Plan B be created in case the original plan no longer holds promise.

The next chapter takes the readers into the field. It begins with the authors reminding us of the importance of always assuming that fieldwork is "chaotic" and "hugely complex." It also shows how an array of issues may arise with the key research instruments (i.e., observations, interviews, fieldnotes, digital recordings and artifacts) and how fieldwork is essentially a "learning process" for both the researchers and the researched. More than anything, this chapter provides insightful narratives from Jie's field experiences in Beijing migrant schools through which we can learn from her slipups as well as her feats in the process of data collection.

Chapter 5, After Fieldwork, centers on certain aspects of data analysis. Using Blommaert's data from interviews with African asylum seekers as examples, the authors discuss how our "messy" data should be treated, how researcher subjectivity influences what is observed, and how the politics of transcription can impact transcripts. The rest of the chapter delineates how textual data should be analyzed and how meanings people produce should not just be "read off" but "extracted" and "excavated."

The book ends with Chapter 6 which contains only one and a half pages outlining the authors' expectations of what the readers should at least gain from this book.

Despite its compact size, this book is dense with concrete examples, insights, suggestions and caveats often not addressed in other sources. It achieves its purpose of appealing to neophyte ethnographers, especially with the use of nontechnical terminologies and jazzy metaphors (i.e., fieldwork as chaos, documents and artifacts as rubbish, and data as a kaleidoscope and a Coke can) to make its content easily graspable, as well as the use of the second person

pronoun to always address its readers, making them feel as if being directly spoken to.

The book however contains areas that beg improvement. In Chapter 3, the authors say nothing about "documentation" though this is indicated in its subheading, and Chapter 4 is clearly short of practical details on how to gain access to the field, known as one of the most problematic and time-consuming stages in the ethnographic process. Additionally, besides a few typos that can be spotted on certain pages, the book should provide a much more elaborate conclusion in the final chapter instead of wrapping up in just over a page.

All things considered, *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide* is still a must-read and can serve as a very resource-filled text for qualitative research courses. However, a revised and expanded second edition of this book, if considered, would be much-welcomed and well worth the wait if its few shortcomings were addressed by its authors.

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Long quotations

Direct quotations that are 40 words, or longer should be placed in a free-standing block of typewritten lines. Start the quotation on a new line, indented 1/2 inch from the left margin without quotation marks.

Rather than simply being a set of relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, says Foucault (1980) in Power/Knowledge:

> Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain.... Power is employed and exercised through a net like organization.... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application (p. 89).

Summary or paraphrase

Kojchakorn Sareechantalerk (2008) states in her study of Thailand's feminine beauty discourse that the traditional description of beauty (before 1868 A.D.) can be segregated by class and ethnic distinctions into different sets of rules governing the presentation of attractive bodies and postures that are said to indicate individual class and ethnic identities (p. 26).

Examples of References

Books

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of sex.* London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* (10th anniversary ed.). London: Routledge. (Original work published 1990)

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Articles in Edited Books

Mulvey, L. (1985). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. In B. Nichols (Ed.), *Movies and methods* (Vol. 2). Berkley: University of California Press.

Tonkiss, F. (1998). Analysing discourse. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Researching society and culture* (pp. 245–260). London: Sage.

Unpublished Theses

Kojchakorn Sareechantalerk. (2008). *A discursive study of Thai female beauty: Multidimensional approach* (Unpublished master's thesis). Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand. [in Thai]

Notes on Thai Language References

- According to Thai convention, Thai scholars are listed and referred by their first names.
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