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Marek M. Koscielecki  
*Edith Cowan University*

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English as an International Language: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Japanese Experience

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BA, BEd, MA(Hons), MA(App.Ling).

A Thesis Submitted for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy

Edith Cowan University, Perth

Date of Submission: November 1994
USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.
Abstract

This study was designed to investigate the nature of English as an International Language (EIL) in Japan from both a diachronic and a synchronic point of view, drawing some comparisons with countries in South East Asia and Africa. Using comparative material from socio-historical and sociolinguistic literature from other countries it was possible to examine the use and cultivation of English in Japan and compare it with that in other countries where English fulfils different roles. The material on Japan was supplemented by research based on data obtained from questionnaires both at the high school level and within business corporations.

From a diachronic point of view the study tried to determine a range of factors which have contributed to the cultivation of English in Japan and to understand how they have influenced policies related to language planning within Japan. In particular it sought to clarify the relationship of English to the process of modernisation against the background of the wider role of English as an international language.

From a synchronic point of view the study sought indicators as to the success of teaching and learning English as a performance variety in Japan. It has considered how such success or failure is affected by language-in-education planning both on the part of the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) and of other bodies. Furthermore the study sought to understand how the substantial Japanese participation rate in studying English at both educational and business levels contributes to the spread of English worldwide.

Finally, the study tried to formulate a broader definition of EIL, assuming the fact that EIL is not a variety but a status designation of various Englishes in the present world.
To

Stefa and Joseph Zawada
of Lower Hutt, New Zealand

A constant traveller is at home everywhere but, at the same time, she or he is at home nowhere

(Agnes Heller 1994)
DECLARATION

“I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text”

Signature:

Date: Perth 1 November 1994
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Ian G. Malcolm, Dr. Susan Kaldor and Dr. Graham McKay. I am indebted first and foremost to Professor Ian G. Malcolm and Dr. Susan Kaldor for providing constant guidance and constructive criticism. I have tried to implement much of their scholarly advice and apologise for any visible inadequacies in the text. Special thanks go to Dr. Graham McKay, who during his busy schedule, was also able to offer some invaluable insights during the writing of my drafts.

I would also like to thank Dr. Alastair McGregor for sparing some time reading and commenting on some of my drafts and often engaging with me in informal discussions on various linguistic topics. I further wish to thank Professor Sybe Jongeling for his assistance and advice with regard to the analysis of my teachers'/students' questionnaires.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my first English and linguistics teachers in the Faculty of Arts of the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand where I have studied Modern languages and English linguistics. Among them were: the late Professor C. Kooznetzoff, the late Professor John B. Pride, Ms. Janet Holmes, Mr. Peter Hawkins and Mrs. Helen Barnard.

Special thanks go to my teacher colleagues for their hospitality at the Yaeyama Senior High School in Ishigaki-shi, Okinawa, especially Mr. Ansho Ikeshiro of the Department of English. Among other teachers who were ready
to discuss various aspects related to English language education were: Mr. S. Kishaba, Mr. Y. Egawa, Mr. K. Oshiro, Mr. Arakawa, Mr. N. Kamiyama, all of whom contributed to deepening my knowledge about the Japanese education system. Many thanks are also due to other teachers and the administration of the school who had to put up with a foreign teacher for 4 years.

I also wish to thank the Okinawan Board of Education, especially Mr. S. Shinjo and Mr. Uehara of the International Division for enabling me to attend a number of teacher seminars and conferences including the "40th All Japan English Teachers' Conference" where some of my research data originated for this thesis.

My special thanks go to Professor Yutaka Matsuda of Kwansei University, Professor Satoshi Ibe of Senshu University, Professor Reizo Iwaki of Sapporo University, Professor Tomoo Mizuide of Sendai, Makoto Rokugawa of Nagano National College of Technology, Professor Sadao Hashimoto of Yokohama, Professor W. Brenn of the Free University of Berlin and Mr. I. Kawano of Daishowa Paper Ltd. for their personal correspondence.

I am immensely indebted to Mr. Yaeji Watanabe (II BC Chairman) of the Institute for International Business Communication in Tokyo for allowing me to use their TOEIC data on business people English language skills which have been incorporated into the present study.
I would also like to express my gratitude to friends and members on the JET program who participated in the collection of data both in Okinawa and the Miyazaki (1991) JETs' conferences. Special thanks to Mr. Jerry Puppilo for helping with the distribution of questionnaires at the "40th All Japan English Teachers' Conference".

Thanks are also due to Ms. Akemi Sunagawa, Ms. Ikue Yahata, Mr. Yoshiaki Takii and Mr. Jurek Kowalski for the help they offered with the Japanese language text including some typing of the "Gairaigo" vocabulary.

Numerous colleagues at the Edith Cowan University have offered help in producing the final drafts of the thesis and explained various computer operational "tactics": among them are Mr. Andrew Mehnert, Yoon Hong Choi, Stephan Bettermann, Patrick Mungar, George Variyan, Paul Holmes, Masud Mohammadian and Nick Isenring.

I would like to thank the staff of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, Scotland; Nihon University, Tokyo; Ryukyu University, Okinawa; Consulate General of Japan and Hyogo Prefectural Centre in Perth; Canberra National Library, Australia; The University of Western Australia; the Edith Cowan University library, especially Ms. Jenny Marshall, Jenny Renner, Julia Gross and Ms. Antonia Szafjanska of the State Library of New South Wales.

Finally, special appreciation goes to Stefa and Joseph Zawada of Lower Hutt, New Zealand who made it possible for me to start my early adulthood in an English speaking environment and to whom I dedicate this study.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Engagement with the issues dealt with in this thesis arose in the course of a number of years of working at the Yaeyama Senior High School in Ishigaki-shi, Okinawa. Whilst in Japan I became aware of the absence of a sociolinguistic work which would comprehensively deal with the issue of the teaching/study and the use of English within the Japanese sociolinguistic context. At the same time there was a need for such work to enable a reconsideration of the Japanese achievement in language planning in a comparative sociolinguistic framework embracing other countries which indirectly contribute to the spread of English worldwide.

It was hoped that such a thesis would bring a wide range of sociohistorical and socio-cultural issues into a single piece of work from otherwise widely scattered literature, often not easily available in English within the sociolinguistic framework. The lack of this kind of work in English limits the understanding by foreign scholars of targeted foreign language education and use within the Japanese sociocultural context.¹

It has been this researcher's experience that many foreign "experts" involved in English language education in Japan had only limited understanding of the Japanese socio-cultural context and of how language education there had evolved to become teacher-centred and text-book based in this group oriented society (see Burks 1991; Matsumoto 1960).
The presence of English assistant teachers in Japan since the late 1980s together with that of a number of other Westerners who were involved in the field of education has provided a challenge to the Japanese educational experience by suggesting that new "approaches" which have been developed in the Western oriented context\(^2\) may work well in the Japanese context and improve Japanese language teaching practices. However, the problem often lies not in approaches and methodologies but in the lack or the inconclusiveness of the many research findings with regard to language teaching practices, which often do not consider the socio-cultural and socio-historical aspects of the learners' context. For instance, in the early stages of the adoption of the "communicative approach" in some EFL/ESL countries a view often attributed to some teachers was that the teaching of grammar was not necessary (see Swan 1985). Further, the adoption of this approach tended to entail a sociolinguistic perspective which considered only the socio-cultural rules applying to the language taught (e.g. English), in its originating social context. However, the experience of teaching English in international contexts readily reveals that there are a number of factors interacting, for instance: (1) the specific language objectives in a particular context (e.g. exams, employment); (2) the learners' and teachers' characteristics and their beliefs about their roles in the classroom situation; (3) the content and subject matter of teaching materials often defined by and to the satisfaction of the educational system; (4) cost and benefit constraints of the education system (e.g. limitation of teaching hours), all of which are determined at the political level.

All of these aspects combined make each socio-cultural context unique in its own right. For that reason the attempts made by various educationists
with Western-like experience have generally failed to establish proper
language teaching practices based on the Western type research models which
will enhance Japanese teaching practices.

Although educationists with EFL/ESL training may believe that the
"Western-type" of methodology will provide more effective and efficient
language instruction, this may not be the case, as many cultural, political and
other constraints operate differently in different social contexts (see Burnaby & Sun 1989; Peirce 1989).

A sociolinguistic perspective of any type cannot be achieved without
referring to various socio-historical, socio-cultural, educational and
sociological constraints which in a sense define the terms of transmitting
knowledge and information within a particular sociolinguistic context.

This research employs a diversified approach and incorporates
diachronic and synchronic information from a range of disciplines and
contexts.

1.2 The Scope of the thesis

This study is aimed at describing the course of development and present
state of English studies in Japan as well as the role of various socio-historical
and sociolinguistic issues which contribute to the diffusion of English as an
international language. It also tries to throw some light upon recently debated
issues as to the role of English as an international language (Ashworth 1985;
In order to understand the process of internationalisation of English by the Japanese and the implications related to the spread of English world-wide this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What has the relationship of English been historically to the process of "modernisation" internationally with particular regard to Japan?

2. What is the relationship of language planning with respect to the learning of English as a second/foreign language to educational policies and wider social, economic and national goals?

3. How exactly does the role of English in Japan now differ from its role in other selected countries?

4. How is the teaching of English in Japan related to aspects of the development of international communication by the Japanese business corporations?

6. What are the implications of the concept of English as an International language for the development and assessment of communicative competence in the Japanese setting?

The study is thus an attempt to provide a holistic description of a socio-historical and sociolinguistic situation relevant to foreign language education (e.g. English) in which various social forces are all seen to be interacting.

The collection of data for this study was based on a plan illustrated in the figure No. 1. In accordance with this plan, the writer investigated a wide range of diachronic materials which incorporated not only "sociology and linguistics but also social anthropology, education ..., folklore and [social] psychology" (Hymes 1974 quoted in Romaine 1982, p. 5). in order to "use the past to explain the present" (Romaine 1982, p. X).
Figure 1 Plan for the Study

- Non-colonial Contexts
  - English in the World
  - Colonial Contexts
    - Colonial perspective
    - Post-colonial perspective
  - e.g. European countries

- Colonial Perspective

- Post-colonial Perspective

- Present
- Past

- Educational Domain
  - High schools
  - Schools
  - Universities
  - Commercial schools

- Occupational Domain
  - Business
  - Mass media
  - Science(s)

Legend:
- a) sociolinguistic literature
- b) historical sources
- c) popular press
- d) scientific journals
- e) business communication journals
- f) personal communication
- g) participant observation of AETs
- h) teachers' questionnaire
- i) business corporation questionnaire
- j) students' questionnaire
1.3 Background

In view of recent interest in Japan's technological achievements there seems to have been a preoccupation among various writers and economists with the question of how and why the Japanese are successful in expanding their business enterprises in other countries.

There are books and journals dealing with the "uniqueness" of Japanese society, the Japanese cultural value attached, for instance, to "life-time employment" and most of all to the success of the Japanese educational system. There are also at least 1000 books on Japanese education which have been published in English since the late 1960s. In addition to these there are about 3000 books written by non-Japanese which have been catalogued by the Japanese National Library under the general title "Japan in the eyes of the world" (Sekai no mita Nippon). According to Besher (1991) these titles are mainly in such disciplines as:

- History 580 titles
- Politics 298 titles
- Geography 264 titles
- Society 229 titles
- Economics 183 titles
- Sociology 171 titles

In spite of this wealth of publication in English there seem to be surprisingly few works in English on the current functions of English in education, business and other domains incorporating a sociolinguistic perspective. This researcher has come across one book in English on the study of language in Japan (Doi 1979) which is a historical survey, one book in English in the form of edited articles on the teaching of English in Japan (Koike et al. 1981) and one book which has dealt with the issue of language
education and its relevance to Japanese business practices with regard to human resource development (Tung 1984). However, it has to be acknowledged that there are a number of books in English which basically deal with the Japanese language, cross-cultural communication and symbolic values of foreign language use (Neustupný 1968, 1985, 1987; Loveday 1982; Haarmann 1989; Kitao & Kitao 1989).

In fact, an important reason why the Japanese have been so successful in penetrating foreign markets is that they have taken the trouble to learn the languages and customs of other countries through different contacts developed through centuries with both Eastern and Western civilisations. These contacts were often established under pressure from foreign establishments, such as foreign missionaries, foreign traders or foreign dignitaries representing interests of foreign governments. Somehow the Japanese knew how to utilise the knowledge they gained from such encounters. This utilisation of knowledge was based on the study of Chinese classics, Dutch learning and the English language through different periods in the Japanese history. The knowledge the Japanese had acquired from foreigners was used for pragmatic rather than sentimental or ideological reasons.

The Japanese experience with foreign languages which from time to time exerted influence on Japanese culture and language was protected by "wakon-yosai" (or wakon-kansai) (see section 3.2 in chapter 3) so as to not penetrate traditional values and beliefs.

It was through the concept of "wakon-yosai" that the Japanese extracted various ideas from Western cultures and exploited European languages to suit
their social needs from the middle of the 16th century. The contacts which proved to contribute to the improvement of Japanese social conditions were usually maintained through the languages of countries which at the time exerted economic and technological power (e.g. the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Germans, British and Americans).

The diachronic description of the language situation in Japan through various stages of contact with other languages has proved that in most cases the contact was pragmatic with the exception of the initial contact with Chinese and Korean languages and cultures where a number of "ideologies" were permitted to enter Japan. These contacts were controlled by the concept of "wakon-kansai" and then "wakon-yosai" [restricted selection].

It will be shown in the following chapters that the Japanese sociolinguistic experience with regard to the introduction of English in Japan was guided by pragmatic rather than integrative orientations with English speaking countries.

Foreign influences through English were the end means of obtaining "material culture" such as the knowledge of science or advanced technology. Around the middle of the 19th century, as will be shown, traditional Japan was improving secondary and tertiary education based on Western models (e.g. at some levels instruction in foreign languages). Japan borrowed extensively from other countries both theoretical and technological know-how, sent Japanese overseas and employed foreign experts. Through the study of foreign languages with the study of English as the predominant language, Japan was continuously gathering information about world-wide trends in
education and scientific/technological innovations in both 19th and 20th centuries. This will be illustrated through the account of various modernising developments in Japan and the influence of English vocabulary on Japanese (chapter 3) which has continued till the present day.

As will be noted in chapters 3 and 4 the Japanese being in charge of their own affairs did not have to fall into the "trap" of either linguistic or technological dependency as did the countries which were colonised by the British or Americans. As will be shown each of the new "imports" whether linguistic or technological, was modified in order to suit the Japanese needs and social context.

It will also be pointed out that the English language in Japan (chapter 3) has not developed any particular linguistic features (as, it has for instance, in colonised countries) and at present we cannot describe it as an established variety. We would therefore differ from Nakamura (1986) and Yashiro (1988) and resist using the designation "Japanese English". In this regard, it may be mentioned here, the Japanese have been very much aware of the importance of English but at the same time they have known for some time that

the incentive to learn English [was] not the same in Japan as in India and that Japan [was] not [then] nor [was] the land to ever likely to be, any part of the British Empire, and it [was] impossible to create [there] the market for ability in the use of English that existe[d] in that Empire... (Japan Weekly Mail, February 18, 1905).

Furthermore, the Japanese linguistic context was modified [through language modernisation] (chapter 7) in such a way that it could fulfil both the "unifying role" of the nation through the spread of the Tokyo dialect and the spread of knowledge among the Japanese. This probably was a much easier
task for the Japanese to carry out than in countries exhibiting multilingual settings where the choice of a unifying language was difficult to establish because of the multiplicity of vernaculars each of which could have had aspirations of becoming a national language (chapters 2 & 7).

It will also be noted that during both the late 19th and 20th centuries Japanese commercial endeavours were/are dependent entirely on both human resources and the knowledge of English (chapter 4). Such reliance on human resources with linguistic skills will be documented in both chapters 4 & 6. The Japanese sociolinguistic experience from the language planning point of view suggests that such planning within business corporations is driven by both pragmatic and strategic orientations. The pragmatic and strategic importance of language skills is governed by long term language teaching policies within business corporations. The people from Japanese business corporations who are involved in international markets are also indirect "merchants" for the spread of English for international communication. At the same time the sale of Japanese products throughout the world contributes to the spread of English as an international language.
NOTES:

1. The belief that Japan comprises people [called Japanese] who were ruled by the same imperial family for more than 2650 years is one of the unique traits of present-day myths about Japan (see Amino 1992). Although in this thesis the terms “Japan” and “Japanese” are freely used, they include politically and administratively agreed territory where a number of other cultural groups live (e.g. the Ainu, Okinawans & Koreans) but where the transmission of information and knowledge is carried out through the use of standard Japanese within the educational, broadcasting and business domains. While there seems to be revival of some cultural aspects (e.g. the teaching of ethnic languages, for instance, “Uchi-Naguchi” in Okinawa), the long-standing policy of acculturation and assimilation has been implemented through the use of standard Japanese which is basically a prerequisite for most ethnic people, especially the younger generation, who in order to succeed in the society need to know standard Japanese and emphasise their own “Japaneseness” in the larger social context of the Japanese archipelago. In order to understand the meaning of “Japan” in the wider socio-historical context the reader should consult Amino (1992) and Goodman (1990). On the situation of Okinawa see (Haring 1969; Lebra 1966; Maehira 1994) and on Koreans in Japan see (Rhode 1980; Ryang (1993).

2. In this case “the Western oriented context” basically includes countries such as the UK, the USA, NZ, Australia and to some extent Germany and France from which a number of teaching “methodologies” have emanated
especially those with regard to foreign language education and in reference to the teaching of English as EFL/ESL/ESOL those of the USA, the UK and Australia where support is always given to newly developed paradigms of teaching English to speakers of other languages as if a new “method” was proved to be better than the previous one. In Japan a great number of such language advisers (or specialists) is employed by various institutions including the employment of Assistant Language Teachers on the Japanese Exchange Programme who represent the above mentioned countries and can correctly be designated as “Westerners” (see sections 4.4.3 & 5.6).

3. Here is meant teachers and educationists who had received their training in countries such as those mentioned in note 2 above.
Chapter 2
English as an International Language – A Global View

2.1 Introduction

The internationalisation of English by the Japanese has taken place in the context of the spread of English worldwide. The Japanese situation can therefore be best understood in a comparative social perspective. This chapter will provide such a perspective by discussing language planning with regard to English in a range of other countries.

Over the last four decades English has emerged as an international language, the language which conveys the greater part of the world’s educational, scientific, technological and commercial information (Baldauf and Jernudd 1983; Chan 1976; Skudlik 1990 cited in Ammon 1991; Wellisch 1973). It is said to be the official language of a wide range of occupations throughout the world, for instance, of aviation (Field 1982), shipping (Strevens & Weeks 1985), tourism, telecommunication and sport.

In fact, English has largely replaced all other major lingua francas, such as French and German (Ammon 1991; Braga 1979; Flaitz 1988; Truchot 1991; Weinstein 1989). It is very unlikely that the dominance of English in those areas will diminish in the near future. Even in countries which have traditionally published their research data in their own national languages, for instance France and Japan, there seems to be a trend to publish in English (Maher 1986, 1989; Swinburne 1983; Weinstein 1989). International meetings and forums on both scientific and social issues often take place in
non-English speaking countries with English as the medium of exchange of
information.

English is used in some countries with non-native English speaking
populations as an official language of the government, courts and education.
For some of the citizens in these countries it may be the second or even the
third language acquired during their lifetime (as in, for example, India,
Nigeria, Singapore, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea). In fact, India is the
third largest publisher of books in the English language (Kachru 1983). Japan,
too, publishes an enormous number of scientific/technical articles in English
within Japan and it is said that it translates some 2000 books on US politics,
economy, society, culture and technology every year while only about 20
Japanese books a year are translated into English in the USA (Haneda 1986).
Data from the UNESCO statistical yearbooks for 1989 and 1992 illustrate
these differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA/UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(UNESCO 1989/1992)
It is important to view the use of English in Japan in a historical context. In this regard, it is relevant to mention that Japan has borrowed a great number of ideas from the Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, French, British and Americans through the contacts it has maintained with these civilisations at different times in history.

While the Japanese may not have given the impression of being the most successful second language learners in the world (Coulmas 1987; Harasawa 1974; Neustupný 1985; Tsujimura 1992), somehow they knew how to exploit the foreign languages they had come into contact with in order to utilise the knowledge from other civilisations whether Chinese or European.

Officially, the teaching of English in Japan dates back to 1808 (Omura 1981). Despite their longstanding use of English in the educational sphere, however the Japanese have not developed any particular variety of English, as English for them is a foreign language or what Kachru (1982, p. 32) would call a performance variety.

English in Japan is used today within those fields of science, commerce and business which automatically create a milieu for international contacts with different countries of the world. It is this international contact, requiring special skills and training, which provides the Japanese speaker of English with access to foreign language proficiency. There is now a growing English speaking population among both the older and the younger generations. Among these people are business persons, diplomats, university teachers and most recently students who have come back from periods of overseas exchange and extended stays abroad (Enloe and Lewin 1987; Goodman 1990;
Goebel-Noguchi 1991; Regur 1990; Shibata 1983). With this growth there has also been growing recognition of the breadth of communicative skills required for different social roles and functions as well as of the multiplicity of different skills required for different tasks. The concept of "communicative competence" embraces a number of skills required for different tasks and at least two of these skills, speaking and sociolinguistic skills are probably best acquired when in contact with native speakers or living overseas.

At the high school level students may acquire sufficient training in reading grammatical knowledge and at the later stages when studying overseas or when working for a company which requires the use of English they may develop their language skills to an advanced level. This difference in competence among the different members of Japanese society might be called "individual (idiolectal) communicative competence" (Kaldor 1970). In fact, individual communicative language competence is present in all societies even in the native contexts. Not all native speakers of English (and for the same reason of any other language) are good public speakers or writers, for instance.

In the Japanese context and in any other non-native context where English is taught as a foreign or second language the level of idiolectal communicative competence will depend on a number of factors such as

(a) teaching approach at the school level,
(b) training of teachers,
(c) control of resources by educational authorities (e.g. prescription of textbooks),
(d) examination system (in the Japanese case both senior high schools and university entrance examinations),
(e) post-formal educational language training (e.g. private English schools or training courses within business corporations),
(f) participation rate in the learning of a foreign language;
(g) the exposure of learners of English to English speaking contexts both native and non-native and
(h) motivation/attitudes

Formerly, at certain times in Japanese history, according to Watanabe (1989) using English competently (in a sense of speaking it well) could have gone against the interests of an individual and might have been seen as disloyalty to the nation. Those Japanese who did not understand English and were not familiar with the situation of those involved with the American occupational forces took the fluent English speakers for "inferior people" (Hayashida 1992). In fact, according to Bellah there was always some resentment among the Japanese nationalists against relying on foreign languages (cited in Ohta 1979, p. 82). This kind of "ultra-nationalistic" mentality to which Hayashida refers does not seem to have survived to present day in Japan.

Nowadays, many Japanese realise the importance the English language has in Japanese society. One of the Japanese economists expressed it as follows:

Indeed, it is for economic reasons more than anything else that Japan must now acquire a practical knowledge of English as the international means of communication...Like it or not, even the most convinced ultra-nationalist, intent upon making Japan a beacon for the world culture, cannot ignore the economic need for the general vehicle of verbal exchange that happens to be the English language, unless he wishes to see Japan close its frontiers
again and try to feed 100 million people under miserable conditions of autarky (Ohta 1979, p. 84).

During different periods of Japanese history, especially since the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan had established a number of schemes using foreign experts with various skills in modernising the country. Because 125 years ago Japan was underdeveloped in its human resources it invested heavily in education and the study of foreign languages, especially, the study of English. Neustupný (1976) states that

During Japan's macro-modernisation period foreign language teaching ..., did serve the needs of international communication, and produced the necessary capacity for translation and other forms of contact with the West (p. 3)

By investing in language education at the end of the 19th century Japan rapidly caught up with the western countries in many fields (e.g. technology, science). Nowadays, the involvement of business corporations in the training of their employees in foreign languages and cross-cultural communication further supports the spread of English which has been created by countries that use English for intra- or international purposes.

This thesis is concerned with investigating issues related to the use of English in Japan and sets out to establish the role Japan has played in the spread of English world-wide. Language planning theories provide a theoretical framework against which these matters can be best discussed. Such theories include aspects of education, economy, population and refer to conscious use of language resources in a controlled manner (Rubin and Jernudd 1975).
Socio-historical discussion on the history of English language planning in a variety of countries throws light on how English spread and became an international language. Such an analysis is helpful in order to be able to understand the situation in Japan with regard to the sociolinguistic description of English: past and present.

2.2 Language Planning - A General Overview:

Language planning studies have examined language problems encountered both in developing and developed countries, especially, those exhibiting complex linguistic situations (e.g. Nigeria, India) such as the co-existence of a multiplicity of vernaculars where choices had to be made with reference to selection of a national language, literacy, standardisation and modernisation (Cooper 1989).

The importance of language planning has been recognised by government worldwide, not only in countries which in the last 3 or 4 decades have become independent, but also in many industrialised countries such as Australia, Japan Canada, and the USA (Cooper 1989; de Vries 1991; Hunter 1988; Rubin 1971; Fishman 1968; 1973; 1977; Neustupný 1968; Fullagar & Liddicoat 1991). Studies in the field of language planning have distinguished four types of language planning activities: codification, formulation, elaboration and cultivation (Neustupný 1968; Rubin 1971; Fishman 1973). Neustupný (1968) proposed a dual approach to language problems. According to him the "policy" approach (formulation) such as standardisation, literacy, orthography and selection of a national language continue to exist in the less developed societies "characterised by a high degree of arbitrary social and linguistic heterogeneity". Neustupný's second category of approach is the
"cultivation" approach which is "characterised by interest in questions of correctness, efficiency, problems of style, constraints on communicative capacity..." (Neustupný 1968, p. 39 & 43). Neustupný claims that "cultivation" refers to activities that seek to create functional differentiation among registers. His dual approach to language problems is relevant to the situation concerning the Japanese language in modern Japan where preoccupation with the unification of the spoken and written language (e.g. limitation on the number of characters [policy approach]) gave way later to preoccupation with language planning activities related to the cultivation approach (e.g. style, correctness).

Jernudd (1973, p. 16) proposes a similar approach to that of Neustupný and distinguishes between language determination and language development. His "policy formulation" (e.g. language determination) refers to "decisions concerning the functional distribution of language varieties in a community" and the decisions about "which variety shall be developed for specific functions" (p. 15). Jernudd's "language development" (e.g. codification and elaboration) refers to "decisions concerning the standardisation and unification of language use, by means of grammars, spelling manuals and wordlists..."(1973, p. 16); and implementation which is influenced by government regulations with regard to language use in specific social contexts (e.g. education). Jernudd claims that "successful implementation implies an understanding of people's attitudes to language, beliefs about language and language proficiency " (Jernudd 1973, p. 16). Jernudd's policy formulation with respect to functional distribution of varieties relates broadly to two main areas described by Garvin as "two basic ingredients: choice of language and language development" (Garvin 1973, p. 29). An essential assumption of
Jernudd's formulation is that language varieties within a community may co-occur; that selection of one or another as a national or official language does not exclude the others from the national life.

Another distinction has been made by Kloss (1969 cited in Cooper 1989 p. 13) and Fishman (1977) who define language planning activity in terms of (a) "language status planning" and (b) "language corpus planning".

Status planning is about such issues as the designation a language for a particular purpose or the training of teachers and the teaching of languages which are useful for international communication. Cooper (1989) states that one of the recent examples of status planning is the promotion of French as a working language of the province of Quebec, Canada.

Corpus planning, on the other hand, deals with issues which are considered by policy makers who try to modify the language so that it will be able to fulfil some desired functions in society [e.g. standardisation, graphization, modernisation and renovation where a language code serves old functions in new ways (Cooper 1989, p. 154)].

Both of these processes are important for nations where a language is being promoted to serve as a national language or an official language in order to satisfy new demands being made on this language. This usually happens in countries which have recently become independent though these processes are taking place in countries with well established national languages (e.g. France, Japan, Canada) (de Vries 1991; Passin 1968). Basically, the distinction between these two terms (corpus planning and status planning) refers to two
different choices made; one on the basis of "the technical linguistic aspects of language planning and the other on policy formulation aimed at enforcing the sociolinguistic and linguistic patterns decided upon" (cited in Daoust-Blais 1983, p. 231, n. 15).

2.3 Languages in Multilingual Settings

In multilingual settings in less developed countries we may distinguish a number of patterns among the languages where a choice of one of them as a national/official language does not lead to the exclusion of other(s) from national life. Often they co-exist either in complementary or conflicting relationships. In some cases, there is no choice made as to which of the languages should be designated the national language. This seems to be related to the availability of a number of contending languages within a given country though in some cases, they have to compete with English which may be far more useful for instrumental purposes (Malcolm 1991b).

Fasold (1984) states that "the most important language determination" issue around the world is the choice of national languages. He further expresses the view that if "everyone in a country spoke a common language, then the life of the nation would be much easier to carry on" (Fasold 1984, p. 247). This seems to be a logical assumption, though the fabric of most societies is more complex than to allow a purely monolingual outcome and multilingualism is more likely to be a norm. This applies not only to less developed countries but also to industrialised countries such as Australia, the USA and Canada where changes have continued to occur at the societal level due to the migration of people with different linguistic and social backgrounds. It is, however, interesting to note that such
countries as the USA and Australia view English as a de-facto national language - this basically means that English is not ratified as the official language by the Congress in the case of the USA or the Parliament in the case of Australia. In other countries the English language may co-exist with local languages as an exoglossic official language which functions as a facilitator of participatory activities in world-wide cultural developments and education (Garvin 1973) for instance, in India, Fiji, Singapore and Papua New Guinea. Furthermore, as Garvin points out, an exoglossic official language is usually free of strong separatist function as opposed to an endoglossic language which may be chosen as a national language from among many available other languages. One can cite the case of Urdu in Pakistan, where its declaration as a national language "has brought in its wake all the factors that work against unification" (Haque 1987, p. 92).

In some countries (e.g. Papua New Guinea) English together with other endoglossic languages, (in this case, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu) may function as official languages with none of them being declared a national language.

Choosing one of three official languages as a national language might invite turmoil within other language groups because the imposition of one of them would probably not "meet the needs and interests of all segments of the population effectively and equitably" (Kelman 1971, p. 48).

There are cases where languages co-occur in a country and jointly or severally serve as national/official languages as well as fulfilling what Garvin calls the participatory function. Such languages are German, French, Italian and Romansch in Switzerland; French and Dutch in Belgium; Maori and
English in New Zealand; French and English in Canada; English and Afrikaans in South Africa.

It is important to note that in spite of the fact that the languages mentioned above function fully as national languages, they do not necessarily function as unifying forces. For instance, French carries a strong separatist function in Canada where there is a tendency to establish a separate cultural and political identity in the province of Quebec.

Because of the various issues which are involved in language planning activities in various parts of the world in both developed and less developed countries, language planning authorities have to take into account socio-cultural and political changes which include aspects of education, population and economy. This type of language planning "refers to the utilisation of resources in a consciously controlled manner" (Rubin et al. 1975, p. 95). However, Garvin correctly points out that

speech communities the world over are desirous of modernization which in effect means some form of acculturation to European patterns. The crucial question here is the extent to which the European and Europeanized experience constitutes a valid precedent for the other cultures of the world (Garvin 1973, p. 31).

There is no doubt that the colonisation of the various countries of the world by the British Empire brought a number of social changes within the countries concerned and at the same time sped up, in some respects, modernisation of these countries. In order to get a better understanding of these processes and the role of English as the tool of modernity and education, the situation in selected former colonies will be discussed in the next section.
2.4 Diffusion Through Colonisation - Historical Perspectives

Historically, one of the factors responsible for the spread of the English language was the expansion of the British Empire (Strevens 1987). However, as will be shown in the following discussion, the introduction of English into non-native contexts was not automatic and did not always privilege a local populace. British administrators were not always keen to introduce the language into the colonies as they believed that education in a vernacular language, especially at the primary level, would be much more relevant to the local children. They were also afraid that the acquisition of English could emancipate the local people and at the same time create a threat to the British administration (Stevenson 1975). Nevertheless, the influence of some "elite-intellectuals" (e.g. in India) on the British administrators and the "homegrown" (British) pressure on the propagation of the English language in the world created British oriented institutions of learning with English as the medium of instruction.

During the colonial era many decisions with regard to education in English in the colonial dependencies had to be approved by the House of Commons. In the 19th century a number of British intellectuals tried to persuade the government to standardise the English language by making a few alterations in the style and its present usage, it may be more easy for foreigners to acquire, either for the purpose of writing and speaking, it would help, to promote its universal adoption for international communication (Bradshaw 1847 pp. 48-49).

During the second half of the 19th century some government officials called for a meeting of all ministers of education of different nations in order
to decide which language to teach in all schools in addition to a native language of a country and if English was the language decided upon then it would not be necessary to learn an extra language in English schools (Holyoake 1884).

Among other factors which strengthened the support for the spread of English among some British officials as well as propagators of the English language and British cultural superiority were: (a) a religious belief about the origin of language which stipulated that languages were of divine origin and a conviction that the "signs of the times" pointed to English as the language for communication among different nations, as had been ordained by the "Great Ruler" (Bradshaw 1847); (b) the geographic and demographic spread of English speaking people supporting the view that English was spoken in far more places than any other language with the population rapidly reaching 100,000,000 in "the New Englands beyond the oceans" (Seebohm 1880) and at the same time, introducing British knowledge, institutions and inventions (Bradshaw 1847); and (c) the belief that the use of English for commercial purposes in many places of the world would not only benefit other nations using English internationally but England itself, which would reap the greatest advantage from this intercourse with other nations (Bradshaw 1847).

These domineering aspirations of the British Empire in past centuries created a large number of countries where English became a colonial language, a national language, an official language, a language of wider communication and ultimately an international lingua franca among the many nations of the world (Adams & Adams 1971; Ammon 1991; Braga 1979; Conrad & Fishman 1977; Leitner 1992ab; Phillipson 1992; Sathyamurthy 1990; Smith 1983; Stewart 1968).
The expansion of UK English into Asia began in the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Instances of countries where British English had spread are India ca. 1770s (Kachru 1984), Sri Lanka in 1796 (Fernando 1984), Singapore in 1816 and Hong Kong in 1842 (Platt 1984).7

China and Japan, which were not colonised by Britain, are claimed to have established the formal study of English as a foreign language in 1862 (Chen 1989) and in 1808 (Omura 1981) respectively.

In order to understand the sociolinguistic situation with regard to English in Japan and other countries the following sections discuss the spread of English in some of the former colonies showing the effects upon these countries.

2.4.1 The Indian Subcontinent

From historical and sociolinguistic studies on the spread of English through the Indian subcontinent it can be inferred that the history of British colonisation of South Asia and the expansion of English there date back to the time of the East India Company. It was Queen Elizabeth I who granted the rights and the monopoly to the East India Company to establish trading links with India in 1600 (Adams & Adams 1971, p. 159; Kachru 1984, p. 353).

The institutionalisation of English medium schooling in India was supported by various sections of Indian elite and supporters of colonial rule (Sathyamurthy 1990). Two Indian intellectuals, Raja Rammohra Roy 8 and Rajunath Hari Navalkar tried to persuade the East India company to give
instruction in English "since Sanskrit, Arabic and 'Indian vernaculars' did not allow young Indians access to the scientific knowledge of the West" (Kachru 1985 p. 354). Therefore, at the outset the East India Company was interested only to educate "the sons of influential Indians for offices in the Indian government and so win their confidence" (Adams & Adams 1971, p. 161).

In the late 18th century two colleges were established with the help of Governor-General Warren Hastings and a member of the East India Company. However, they were not the outcome of any direct action or policy of the East India Company (Adams & Adams 1971).

In 1833 the East India Company was criticised by a select committee of the House of Commons for "not encouraging the use of the English language in education" (Adams & Adams 1971, p. 161) and this was due to the appearance before a select committee of the House of Commons, of Raja Ram Mohun who insisted on appointing educated and qualified Indians within the East India Company offices and Indian civil service (Adams & Adams 1971, p. 167).

One of those who defended the 1833 British parliamentary reforms with regard to the employment and education of Indians was Lord Thomas Macaulay whose ideal educational policy was expressed in his famous Minute of February 2, 1835 stating that

we must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect (quoted in Sathyamurathy 1990, p. 110).
The parliamentary reforms and the ideas of Lord Macaulay were implemented by the then governor-general Lord William Bentinck in his Order in Council of March 7, 1835 that officially "established English as the medium for education in India and education of the upper classes as the means of spreading Western knowledge" (Adams & Adams 1971, p. 165; Thompson et al. 1934, p. 314 quoted in Crane 1971).

With the unequal expansion of English among the Indian population (and the rejection of the lower caste from participation in education through English) a struggle against the colonial rule was initiated by the orientalist movement with the collaboration of the Indian National Congress. In fact, in the 1940s the Indian National Congress drew the boundaries of India's provinces which would reflect the linguistic identities of the people residing there with Hindi and a local language to be used in education (Sathymurthy 1990). The role of English in the future Indian state was not clearly stated by Congress in their official statements. It was, however, assumed that English "would continue to play a role as an international (as different from colonial) language, with obvious advantages in the fields of science and technology which would be essential for India's development" (Casamada 1987 cited in Sathymurthy 1990, p. 118).

At the time of Independence in 1948 English was designated an associate official language alongside 14 other Indian languages with the intention of replacing English totally by 1965 as a language of the state (Kachru 1983, pp. 90-91). However, this has not happened as both Hindi and English have continued to be recognised at the federal level.
According to the 1981 Indian census English had 233 thousand native speakers (Khubchandani 1989, p. 76). Anand (1992) claims that English as a second language is spoken by about 90 million Indians. Anand further states it is not English-English but Indian-English which is the outcome of colonial rule, but he points out that "Indian-English was the main language our forefathers used for the expression of their urges for freedom from British Imperialist rule" (Anand 1992, p. 1).

A few years after independence, language conflict was quite apparent, with regional and political forces beginning to assert their rights, especially, on linguistic grounds in non-Hindu states (e.g. the southern state of Tamil Nadu) opposing both Hindi as a national language and the North Indian Imperialism (Verma 1988; Pratap 1990; Sathyamurthy 1990; Sridhar 1987).

There has also been movement against the dominance of English recently. Time magazine reported on the anti-English campaign which sought to remove English and bring in Indian languages (Pratap 1990). One of the protest organisers, Swami Agnivesh, was quoted as saying: "We didn't win freedom from the white-skinned British to be ruled by the dark-skinned, English-speaking Indian sahibs" (Pratap 1990, p. 45). A pro-English lobbyist, a Federal Minister from Tamil Nadu, Murasoli Maran was reported as saying that "If Canada has one Quebec, we have 25." It was also reported that more and more Indians wanted to study English and this was also supported by an increased sale of books for the study of English. In fact, even among those who supported the use of vernacular languages, especially the politicians - a survey conducted in 1988 revealed that more than two thirds of the 3100 members of the state assembly and 760 parliamentarians had studied English.
in language schools. The politicians do know that "being fluent in English remains essential for upward mobility" (Pratap 1990). According to Anand (1992) the colonial and post-colonial preoccupation with language issues in India gave rise to the emergence of Indian English literature which has an Indian flavour - a flavour which is echoed by the rhythms of an indigenous Indian mother tongue of the writer and a flavour which mirrors places, characters and situations which are not London, Sydney or New York but are representations of Indian situations expressed in an Indian-English language, growing more and more popular, from the need of many people to express themselves, and to communicate, in our vast sub-continent, and to the outside world (Anand 1992, p. 3).

2.4.2 The Malay Peninsula

The East India Company's interests in carrying out trade with China were dependent on access to the Straits of Malacca and for that reason it established trading posts in Penang and Singapore in 1796 and 1819 respectively. Some European educational activity, including the teaching of English, dates back to 1816 (Platt 1984; Stevenson 1975) in addition, Protestant education for girls was also established by the 1820s in the Malay Peninsula (Brownfoot 1990).

The Colonial Office of the Straits Settlements established two separate committees with regard to education there. The first committee of October 1869 advised the government to raise the educational expenditure for the schools in the area. The second committee of December 1870 submitted its recommendations in the form of a report known as the Wooley Report. This report urged the appointment of a school inspector who was supposed to
oversee both English and vernacular education. The school inspector was appointed in 1872 and held his post till 1879 (Stevenson 1975).

Under the inspector's supervision a dual system of education was established with the emphasis on English and vernacular Malay education with provision for a free vernacular education for all primary school children. In fact, between 1872 and 1882 it is reported that there was a substantial increase both in the number of Malay vernacular schools and the population of students attending them (Stevenson 1975).

In 1891 one of the most senior residents of the Straits Settlements, Sir Frank Swettenham expressed a negative attitude towards the teaching of English to the native population, especially to an agricultural population. Swettenham also maintained the view that instruction in English or any type of higher education was dangerous and he is reported as saying in the Times of Malaya that "to give Malays higher education would be to put in their hands an intellectual weapon whereby they might attempt our undoing" (quoted in Stevenson 1975 p. 58). Swettenham was concerned that instruction in English would have the same effect as in India and at the same time pose a threat to existing social order. He basically supported developments in vernacular education for technical and teacher training. Fundamentally, during his career he stressed that the majority of Malays should be taught 3R's. It is also known that the British were not very keen on teaching English either to the Malay elites or to the local populations. However, when sultan, Raja Muda Iris visited London in 1884 he realised "the importance of modern secular education, especially, English education, as a vehicle for Malay social and economic advancement" (Stevenson 1975, p. 147).
Between 1894 and 1903 there was an increase in the number of schools teaching English from 11 to 18 while the student population increased from 600 to 2142 and after 1904 the new administration supported the teaching of English to the Malays for government service (Stevenson 1975). The English language remained the main language of the government till Malay independence in 1957 when Bahasa Malaysia became the national language of Malaysia. However, a year earlier a government committee known as the Razak Committee agreed that 10 years should be enough time to make a transition from English as a language of instruction in schools to the educational system where all races should be educated in the medium of Bahasa Malaysia (quoted in Chee 1977). According to data supplied by Chee, English was still dominating the educational scene till 1967 and those who attended English medium schools would consider economic mobility as their main motivation when choosing an educational institution. English medium schools, at least, fulfilled two basic requirements for economic advancement in Malay society: they had better academic standards and the graduates of these schools were commonly employed in the administrative system of the country.

In 1967 the National Language Act made Malay the official language of administration and by 1983 it should have replaced all other languages as the medium of instruction in primary to university institutions (Rabushka 1971; Chee 1977).

Malaysian language planners, however, still face some difficulties, for instance in standardisation, because of the gap between Bahasa Malaysia and vernacular Malay (Le Page 1984). There was a strong tendency to borrow from English as had been the case before Bahasa Malaysia became the
According to Osman (1966) the Malay journalists borrowed English words freely in their writings to denote new things and ideas, they manipulated them further to enrich the language by compounding them with native elements to form new words..., thus the borrowing and manipulating of English words can be said to be a conscious process (Osman 1969, p. 9).

Because of the influence of English on Bahasa Malaysia there seems also to have been a problem of "codification of pronunciation" (Karim 1987, p. 61; Omar 1992, p. 406). According to Ozóg (1990) Malaysians are in a dilemma: on the one hand they would like to be able to use English; on the other hand English is a threat to Bahasa Malaysia and at the same time to the Malay culture. However, Omar (1982) claims that "the English language is the most valuable legacy of colonialism" (Omar quoted in Ozóg 1990, p. 312).

Singapore takes a completely different stand from that of Malaysia. There, the so called "bilingual" policy advocates that all children should be educated in English and their "mother tongue" but the latter is defined as the language of the official designation for the group [e.g. Mandarin for all Chinese and Tamil for all Indians] (Tay 1982).

Platt (1984), when discussing the English language situation in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore, quotes Lord (1978) who is reported as saying that:

in colonial days learning of English had become what some experts have called an integrative venture. In other words the learner was encouraged to identify as closely as possible with the culture and
life of the home country..., but all that is gone. The need now is utilitarian, pragmatic. English is needed not for cultural identification, but for a range of practical pursuits, not necessarily all prosaic, and some of them requiring considerable intellect and imagination..., English has changed its status from colonial to international (p. 406).

This is well demonstrated by the use of English in Singapore. There English is no longer an elitist or colonial language. In fact, it is a language of informal communication between the different races of the republic. Because of interactions in English among the different ethnic races of Singapore an indigenised variety of English has developed. Its acrolectal form is the principal language of education and it is a language of "upward mobility" where English speaking employees seem to earn higher salaries than people of the same age and education who were educated in another language in the republic (Kuo 1977).

2.4.3. The African Continent

British colonial policies were also influential on the African continent. The Imperial British East Africa Company moved into Kenya in the 1880s. A Church Missionary Society was established in 1888. Both organisations persuaded the British government to get involved in the field of education, which would be useful for the spread of commerce and Christianity among the native population.

As English had already been well established in India, the British invited Professor Fraser, the Principal of the training college at Bombay University, to Kenya in 1909. Fraser, having been previously advised by the government officials not to "reinforce" the literary education of "the African", devised a scheme for industrial training in which the African would be able to function under a white employer and work in his own African
community (Urch 1971, p. 253). However, the first official report of the Education Commission of 1919 "strongly recommended English to succeed it both on practical and patriotic grounds" (Urch 1971, p. 256). The report also opposed the use of Swahili but made some allowance for the use of vernacular languages for basic education. In fact, Swahili became an official language of Parliament and today coexists in a complementary relationship with English (Laitin & Eastman 1989, p. 56).

In Nigeria during the British colonial domination, English was the language of most commercial activities and it was declared an official language in 1947. While there is a preference for using one of the local languages instead of English, there is also concern about the political ramifications of choosing the language of one ethnic group over others as a national language. Interethnic warfare is a possible outcome. Awonusi (1985) states "loved or hated, the English language is bound to remain as Nigeria's lingua franca in the foreseeable future " (p. 29).

The language situation in Tanzania [formed in 1964 from Tanganyika and Zanzibar] is slightly different from that in other African states. Between 1918 and 1961 English was the official language but at that time only a small number of people was educated through the medium of English. When Tanganyika became independent in 1961, Kiswahili was a well established lingua franca. In 1967 one of the vice-presidents stated that it should be the official language in all government transactions and at the same time the use of English should be avoided (Whitely 1969 cited in Rubagumya). Those citizens who tried to use English were said to have "kasumba ya kikoloni" (colonial hangover) (Rubagumya 1991, p. 70). However, English is used as a
medium of education at secondary and tertiary level and Rubagumya (1991) claims that only about 5% of the population have varying degrees of ability in English. The government also admits that Kiswahili is not ready to be used as the language of instruction in the secondary schools. It is also assumed that Tanzania needs English as the language of technological development. Rubagumya (1991) quotes a former President of Tanzania who is believed to have said that:

"English is the language of instruction in secondary schools and colleges because if it is kept as merely a subject it might die and that we cannot allow English to die because ..., English is the Kiswahili of the world... just as Kiswahili is the national language of Tanzania..., (Rugemalira et al. 1990 quoted in Rubagumya 1991, p. 77).

In the case of South Africa Janks (1990) claims that English as a medium of instruction for the Black community is an almost universal choice. He further states that "as an international language, English provides access to the rest of the world in general and to the rest of Africa in particular" (Janks 1990, p. 246).

In Zimbabwe according to Mkanganwi (1981) English will stay "in some form or other because by some chance of history, it happens to be a useful and more widely used language of the modern world" (p. 5).

2.4.4 The Philippines

At the end of the 19th century American English also began having an influence on Asian societies. With the occupation of Manila in August 1898 the American colonialists introduced English into the Philippines. From the very outset former Filipino Spanish teachers were re-trained by 705 American
teachers in order to teach English. The official introduction of English as a language of instruction was enacted by the act 74 of January 21, 1901. Even after the Philippines gained independence in 1946, the government continued the colonial language policies, introduced by the Americans, till at least 1974. At that time the government started bilingual language instruction with some subjects being taught in English and some in Filipino (Capistrano 1987). 15

After the 1986 "People Power" revolution which toppled President Marcos there was strong support for Tagalog-based Filipino to become the national language of all the inhabitants of the Philippines (Gonzalez 1990, p. 321). However, the relationship between nationhood and the unifying role of Tagalog-based Filipino has recently deteriorated due to the fact that some inhabitants, for instance, the Cebuanos have questioned the degree to which it gives support to desire for a multi-based national language which would represent other Philippine languages as well (Gonzalez 1993, p. 9). In turn these events indirectly give support for the use of English where English remains the language of commerce, diplomacy and some sectors of education.

A 1987 "solidarity seminar on language development" in the Philippines tried to assess the issues involved in language education, especially those affecting the development of Filipino and the maintenance of English during the current political situation. The solidarity seminar, which was led by the linguist, A.B. Gonzalez, basically agreed on the following:

- English should be retained for utilitarian reasons e.g. diplomacy, trade, access to science and technology;
- English must continue to be used as a language of science and be confined to the highest level of education (e.g. tertiary/graduate);
- English is still viewed as a language of aspiration and social mobility
In spite of growing nationalist and anti-American feelings English continues to enjoy prestige (Bautista 1987, p. 73). However, Gonzalez admits that young Filipinos cannot converse even in simple English after studying it for 6 years at school.

2.5 Non-Colonial Contexts

In many countries English has never been a colonial language. For instance, China, Thailand, Japan and the East European countries have never been under British or American rule. It is interesting to note, however, that both in China and in Eastern Europe there is a great upsurge of interest in English language teaching. The situation in China has recently been described by a number of sociolinguists (Malcolm 1987; Pride and Ru-shan 1988; Chen 1989).

In China, Pride and Ru-shan (1988) point out that because of "the US government's policies of hostility toward China..., English was considered to be 'the language of American imperialism', [and] no longer enjoyed any prestige" (p. 42). For some time English was replaced by Russian. Nowadays, however, China reportedly has the largest number of students of English in the world (Malcolm 1987).

With regard to Eastern Europe, Jones (1990) reported that in order to meet future demand for English, the East European region will need an estimated 100,000 English teachers by the end of this century. The Newsweek reporter claimed that the East Europeans are not learning British English - "they are learning American" (Jones 1990, p. 19). For further description of
the developments in the role and the teaching of English in the former satellite countries of the former Soviet Union the reader can consult, for instance, Klapper (1992) on former East Germany, Dörnyei (1992) on Hungary and Denham (1992) on Vietnam (as a former Asian satellite country). All of these articles describe current developments and discuss the popularity of English and the problems related to the shortage of English teachers in these countries.

In the former colonial nations the English language acquired, in many cases, new characteristics peculiar to the country or region where it was spoken (e.g. India or Singapore). On the other hand, in China, Japan and the Eastern European countries there are no indigenised varieties of English which could be described in terms of new grammar, phonology or lexis. English in those countries is a foreign language or what Kachru would call "a performance variety". It should be acknowledged with regard to performance varieties that in Japan, China and Eastern European countries English is taught using standards based on British or American models (see Alptekin and Alptekin 1990) [other standards are also being introduced e.g. NZ and Australian English].

However, the acquired knowledge of the language in those countries, may vary from learner to learner due to different factors (discussed pp. 3-4) and in the linguistic literature this is usually analysed in terms of "idiosyncratic dialect" (Corder 1971) or "interlanguage" (Selinker 1974). Another important aspect of a performance variety is that people (learners) in these "nonnative contexts" do not use English for "intranational" communication in the same way as do the speakers of English in India or Singapore.
2.6 Diffusion of English Through Scientific Enquiry

Strevens (1983) states that one of the reasons for the recent increase in the spread of English worldwide is the operation of economic principles of *supply and demand*. In explaining his "*supply and demand*" principles he asserts that the ability to use English for some particular purpose can yield economic benefits for both an individual and an institution (e.g. even for a nation). This view can be supported by sampling a range of research literature which, for instance, in the case of such fields as biology, physics and engineering shows that between 70% to 80% of the publications are in English (Chan 1976).

If such publications contribute both to "advances of knowledge" and the knowledge of English which in turn originates in native and non-native contexts, then the various discoveries in different fields seem to make both "knowledge" and the English language international commodities. Thus such publications indirectly contribute to the spread of English as an international language among the members of the scientific community in both native (e.g. UK, USA, Australia) and non-native (e.g. France, Japan, Germany) contexts.

A study conducted of two groups of scientists (Swinburne 1983) - one British and one French - based on a bibliometric count of the language and the country of publication of the group's scientific papers between 1958 and 1980 showed a considerable increase in the number of papers written in English between 1968 and 1972. It also found that between 1976 and 1980, 76% of the French scientists' papers were in English and that 68% of them were published in scientific journals overseas.
According to the above studies, a great number of scientists agreed that scientific contributions in English are very important for international recognition. They also acknowledged that papers written in English in certain scientific fields (e.g. physiology, biochemistry) play a more important role than papers written in French. The rapid increase in the proportion of papers written in English was also due to relaxation of government policies in France in regard to the use of English, after the resignation of President de Gaulle.\(^\text{18}\)

The use of English for intra- and international exchange of information and contribution to science among the native English speaking countries after the Second World War enhanced the expansion of English worldwide. The influence of American English, for instance, in the last 45 years has been due to the USA being the only major industrialised nation to come out of World War II with its industrial and educational infrastructures intact (Grabe and Kaplan 1985). For instance, a great deal of scientific research has been undertaken in the English speaking world and "the USA present contribution to science is greater than that of any other single country in terms of numbers of scientific papers published" (Swinburne 1983, p. 129).

To sum up, it may be suggested that because of the vast expansion of English scientific, cultural and commercial influence in many parts of the world, English might be classified as the international language of the world. As "THE" international language, it should be looked upon not as a substitute for some other language of a given country, but as a secondary language for the rapidly growing needs of information transmission in the many different fields between different nations.
2.7 Diffusion of English Through Education and Implications for Modernisation

In the previous sections of this chapter an attempt was made to identify issues involved in language planning and the spread of English worldwide. Based on the relevant sociolinguistic literature and the popular press there are a number of possible assumptions which can be made in relation to English becoming the international language of the world. Firstly, regardless of whether or not a country is a former British/USA colony, the English language is becoming "more and more socio-functionally controlled..., it is a co-language rather than the sole language - of education..., it is a co-language of commerce, industry and finance..., thus the continued growth of English in the non-English mother tongue world is primarily in complementary or partnership role" (Fishman 1977, p. 355).

Secondly, in order for languages to co-exist in complementary rather than conflicting relationships, the policy makers need to decide "which language [is used] for which purpose and for which social networks" (Fishman 1977, p. 331). It is not a question of whether a language can express all the ideas, but whether it is feasible for a given society to use a given language for purposes it had not served previously (e.g. is it economical, how long will it take to translate books, manuals?). For instance, in the case of Filipino its domains are expanding, nevertheless, according to Gonzalez (1987) it will take another decade or two to function in all required spheres needed for the country's development.

Thirdly, most countries try to work out their own solutions with regard to language choice, whether national or official. This language choice may
involve manipulation of the indigenous population, for instance, imposing a language of one ethnic group on the other (e.g. the present Hellenization of the Macedonian speaking people in Greece) or keeping an exoglossic colonial language (e.g. English in Singapore or Papua New Guinea). These decisions are often made for political or economic reasons.

There are a number of other issues which surface from the previous sections of this chapter. One of these is the similarity in most colonised countries of the institutionalisation of English in the colonies by the British Empire and the consequences which followed it. I would represent this situation in the following simplified diagram:
Colonial Administration

Introduction of British Bureaucracy

Education of local Elite through Medium of English

Implies an Academically Oriented Education

Colonial Exploitation

Missionary Activity Vernacular Based

Missionaries Denominational Schools

Motivation of Local Populace to Get Schooling in English

Schooling Leads to Higher Aspiration for Modernization of Vernacular

Creation of New Elite: Vernacular seen as a Symbol of Nationalism/ The English language Being Used as a "Weapon" against colonialism
Whether the modernising effects of the British Imperial influences in some of the countries could have been achieved by some other means "without the disastrous evils of the imperialist system, is an unanswerable historical conjecture" (Butts 1973, p. 529). In fact, the introduction of English, first through the local elites, created an awareness among the local people about their own culture and languages. According to Mazrui (1968)

the best defenders of traditions were the educated Africans. And the best way of protecting tradition was to express it in modern vs. These arguments were sometimes almost echoes of the old Japanese slogan of modernisation ..., "Japanese spirit, Western Techniques ..., In British Africa English literature was often the most politically provocative (p. 195). 19

In many cases the introduction of an exoglossic language into the less developed countries created a need for some of the local languages to be developed in order to follow the path of modernisation. The most basic level of language development was codification which often included the process of "graphisation " as a first step (Ferguson 1968 quoted in Haugen 1983, p. 271) as most vernaculars were not written languages (though India had long had written languages such as Bengali, Persian and Sanskrit when the British moved there). Graphisation was accompanied by modernisation of these vernaculars in order to reduce dialect variation. It is possible that the graphisation process might have been started by various missionary field workers where the process of modernisation (e.g. usually related to the choice of vocabulary in the new domain of use) was decided by local linguists commissioned by various government officials (e.g. Education Departments or Language Academies).
It is suggested here that this language development of local vernaculars contributed to a wider spread of education and to the transmission of some technological modernisation. However, it should be stressed that an exoglossic language (e.g. English) was used for attaining a degree of technological modernisation, and this was the case in both former colonial and non-colonial countries (e.g. India, Japan).

This process can be expressed in the following diagram:
Figure 3  Local Vernaculars & an Exoglossic Language
Often the process "modernisation" took place before deliberate language planning (e.g. governmental initiative) had been applied with respect to the development of a vernacular. This was because the influence of an exoglossic language on the educational system had been considerably strengthened by the fact that many indigenous languages were without a script. This exoglossic language in such cases was usually a remnant of colonisation which assumed the function of language of wider communication (Stewart 1962, 1968; Cooper 1989). In non-colonised countries, for instance, in Japan, an exoglossic language, such as Chinese or English, was brought in because of its usefulness during various stages of country's cultural and technological development (section 3.2 & 3.5.2).

The use of a language of wider communication for certain levels of education, both secondary and tertiary, would increase the levels of literacy among some members of a colonised country. Often after independence the country concerned retained the colonial language due to various interdependent factors (e.g. political, economic) associated with the new nation and the former colonial power. The continuation of this interdependence resulted, in some cases, in reliance on the exoglossic language at both secondary and tertiary level. This leads on one hand to some strategy of basic modernisation (e.g. training of teachers) but on the other hand to a widening of the division between the literate and illiterate populations. One can cite as an example a country like Papua New Guinea where the education system seems to separate people rather than unite them (Francis 1978) and where only 40% of primary school children proceed to junior high schools and then only a select few can enter national high schools which
prepare them for university entrance or to live as the unemployed educated elite in bigger cities. 20 Fishman (1983) correctly points out that higher literacy, however, has led to a larger unemployed elite..., The creation of a writing system has, on occasions, contributed more to the ranks of the urban unemployed..., Similarly, the modernisation of nomenclatures and grammars has, on occasion, contributed less to the accessibility of modern education than it has to the mobilisation of traditional opposition to modernisation per se (p. 47).

Despite some "negative aspects" of literacy in some societies, some economists maintain the view that a literacy rate of at least 40% is needed for the sustained economic growth of a country (Bowman and Anderson 1968 cited in Taira 1971) (cf. Graff 1987 and Myers 1992).

The need for the less developed countries to modernise and to improve their economic conditions was an outcome of contact with societies which exhibited greater productivity in terms of technological progress and educational achievements. Such contact might or might not have brought some disintegration of social values of a particular culture. In fact, Singapore could be cited as an example of a society where the integration of various aspects of language planning, education and technological modernisation seems to have been successfully incorporated into the life of its citizens. There is no doubt that the combination of all these factors expressed through modern education creates new classes of personnel with new types of authoritative knowledge (Meyer 1977).

According to Crump (1986) mastery of a written language is essential in a modern state so that the workers will be able to work together with the
bureaucracy and the managerial classes. Furthermore, he says, "mass literacy, which is essentially a cultural phenomenon, is the inherent consequence of the state's success in attaining its objective" (Crump 1986, p. 57). The objective of attaining mass literacy can only be achieved through the education system.

Inkeles and Smith (1974) in their study of six countries tried to assess the modernity of individuals as seen through their attitudes and behaviours. One of the most important criteria of modernity was the years of schooling; another was experience working in a factory or at some other occupations. Exposure to mass media was associated with high levels of modernity. With reference to schooling the authors claim that:

Those who had been in school longer were not only better informed and verbally more fluent..., [they also] participated more actively in communal affairs; were more open to new ideas, new experiences, and new people;..., showed more concern for subordinates and minorities. They valued science more, accepted change more rapidly..., In short, by virtue of having had more schooling, their personal character was decidedly more modern (Inkeles and Smith 1974, p. 143).

With regard to less developed countries there has always been a concern as to what level of education would bring most benefits and most contribution to the modernisation of their societies. Because of the interdependence between the new nation and the former colonial country, among other things, secondary and tertiary education were often given in a language of wider communication (e.g. English) in order to precipitate modernisation. However, it is claimed that those countries whose citizens had a balanced access to all levels of schooling "had the greatest chance to
achieve both economic and political modernisation” (Lewis 1962 cited in Butts 1973, p. 538).

The modernisers who placed emphasis on secondary and tertiary levels of education through an exoglossic language did not foresee other problems associated with the exclusion of the primary school population in the process of modernisation. By neglecting the latter, they excluded a large proportion of their population from future participation in the development of the country. By contrast, there are countries which try to rely on an endoglossic language for the education of their citizens. For instance, Indonesia and Malaysia put more emphasis on planning for the future and declared Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia as national languages and at the same time modernised these languages for wider use within their countries (though problems still exist in standardisation as discussed on p. 33 in this chapter) (cf. Singh & Mukherjee 1993).

It is possible that the process of modernisation in non-colonised countries (e.g. Japan) was achieved faster and more efficiently due to a number of factors which were not present in most colonial countries. Among these factors were:

a) geographical isolation but maintenance of contact with various countries whether permitted or not by the official policy;
b) constant assimilation of other neighbouring cultural groups (e.g. the Ainu, Okinawans or Koreans) by the mainstream Japanese society for a number of centuries in order to attain the alleged linguistic, religious and almost full ethnic homogeneity (Sibata 1985) 21 (see section 3.2);
c) a philosophy of cultural maintenance of the social value system through the principle of restricted cultural selection such as "wakon-yosai" in Japan or "Ti-Yong" in China ("restricted selection" discussed in section 3.2); 22
d) adoption of educational ideas from various countries, initially the adoption of the writing system in the case of Japan and achievement of a considerable improvement in the literacy rate (e.g. at the end of the Tokugawa period in Japan);
e) ongoing study of languages, (e.g. among the samurai ranks and from the Meiji Restoration almost universally among other members of the Japanese society who attended various educational institutions).

In spite of differences between colonised and non-colonised countries there is a common factor for all modernising societies whether colonised or not - this is the use of foreign languages, especially English, even in the societies which have made provisions to attempt to eliminate the colonial language completely.

2.8 The Comparative Study of the Sociolinguistic Status of Regional Varieties of English

In attempting to account for different developments with regard to the spread of English in different social and political contexts, Kachru (1983, 1985, 1989, 1990) describes the current sociolinguistic profile of English in terms "of three concentric circles" (Appendix I). The inner circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English which are associated with so called native varieties of English. The outer circle represents the institutionalised varieties of English which are basically the outcome of the
British and American colonial policies in the previous centuries. The expanding circle refers to the countries where English is used as a foreign language or in Kachru's term, a performance variety. Among those countries are, for instance, Taiwan, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, China, Japan and most of the European countries including the newly liberated East-European countries which emphasise the teaching of English.

Smith (1976) classifies the expanding and the outer circles into so-called "Multi-national Englishes" (ME) which are "used by people of different nations to communicate with one another" (p. 38) "where linguistic and cultural assimilation into the native English-speaking nations is not required" (Tohyama 1979, p. 380). The purpose of multi-national Englishes is to support communication between the different people who live in different social and political systems - so the ultimate goal of the educational system(s) is to produce speakers of English who can use English as effectively as possible but not necessarily the same way as native Americans or British speakers do.

Since the majority of learners, for instance, in the expanding circle start learning English rather late (junior/senior H.S.), it would be rather naive to expect them to master a foreign language to native speaker level. English in the inner and to a certain degree in the outer circle might be used both for intranational and international communication.

The concentric circles need some clarification; firstly, there is a need to add a number of other countries to the expanding circle (e.g. Vietnam, Poland, Hungary etc.); secondly, for some countries there is no clear-cut
"belonging" to just one circle. It is possible that some of the countries are entering the expanding circle, having been previously designated as members of the outer circle. Such is the case, for instance, in Malaysia where English has been relegated to a status of a subject and not as a medium of instruction (Gonzalez 1988, p. 488; also see comments about Malaysia in section 7.2). Obviously, there are people in the countries of the outer circle (e.g. Malaysia) who acquired English during the colonial or post-colonial period while it was still being used as medium of instruction in schools or as an official language of the country. These people may speak an indigenised variety of English.

The demographic data in the circles do not extend to the exact number of speakers of English in all the countries mentioned (see Kachru 1984, p. 25). For instance, the inner circle Canada has a French and English speaking population where the knowledge of either English or French ranges from native "bilingual" to SL/FL usage. In the USA, the great numbers of migrants and unequal educational opportunities have widened the social and intellectual gaps between haves and have-nots creating a situation where 30% of the population does not graduate from high schools and about 15% are illiterate.

The Figures for the English native speaking population and English as a second language in the outer circle, as exemplified by India are 233 thousand (Khubchandani 1989) and 90 million (Anand 1992); (see p. 31) respectively. In Tanzania, as we noted on page 38, it is estimated that only about 5% of population have some knowledge of English (Rubagumya 1991).

2.9 Internationalisation of languages

The realisation of the need for an international auxiliary language is not new. Such a concept was proposed as early as during the Roman Empire
It is a historical fact that international languages such as Common Greek (Koine) or Latin were used for quite some time. Even during the period of power of the Roman Empire, Greek was used by both scholars and tradespeople and Latin later became the language of the religious establishments (Samarin 1972).

Other auxiliary languages (which are supposed to be used for international communication) such as those artificially devised (Samarin 1972) seem not to be holding ground. In fact, there are hundreds of artificially created languages and probably only one of them, Esperanto, is still used to a certain extent by some scholars and scientists at various Esperantists' conventions.

The rapid expansion of the Anglo-American world in the field of economics and in scientific discoveries following the Second World War has been matched by the rapid expansion of the English language as the medium of this expansion. The comparative economic importance of the English speaking world and the Anglo-American economic culture with reference to gross domestic product has been analysed by Congdon (1992) who claims that many English-speaking world business and financial practices are understood not only in Bermuda and Gibraltar but also in Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia and that these practices are still expanding due to the creation of certain trade blocs (e.g. the North American Free Trade Area which includes Mexico).

The English language, because of its worldwide expansion is widely used as the language of mass media (both press and radio/television) and literary and scientific publications. The potential of the English language as a
major language of publications was confirmed by a UNESCO study as early as the 1950s (Holmstrom 1957) and by the study of Tybulewicz and Liebesny in 1965. This has been further confirmed by various studies carried out on the use of English in scientific publications by Chan (1976), Swinburne (1983) and Maher (1986, 1989). It is also claimed that, for instance, well-known science publishers in Germany produce more titles in English than in German (Ammon 1991, p. 249).

Despite evidence of resurgence among languages of some non-English speaking countries, for instance, Spanish (Thompson 1992), German (Ammon 1991; Clyne 1992, 1993), and French (Ludi 1992), the status of English as an international language is not seriously threatened at present. As has been shown in the previous discussion, post-colonial language planning measures in a number of countries (e.g. India, Malaysia, Nigeria and Tanzania) to displace English totally by a local language have not succeeded.

According to Braga (1979) for a language to become a lingua franca of the world or to be regarded as international in nature it must fulfil three functions in the following order of importance:

1. function as a service language for certain international purposes (diplomacy, trade, transport etc.);

2. provide a linguistic medium for cultural exchange among communities;

3. make culturally integrative contributions to people speaking minor languages (Braga 1979, p. 31).
Braga further states that languages which fulfil or have fulfilled these functions on some occasions in history were French [we need to include Greek and Latin] (in the past), Russian (until the recent disintegration of the Soviet Bloc), and English - the language of our times where some nations are turning from other languages to English and not vice versa (Braga 1979, p. 33).

While Braga's assertions are true with regard to the three functions which have to be taken into account in order for languages to be truly considered international, it needs to be acknowledged that English did not have an ideological role as did French in its colonies where French had to fulfil the duty of "mission civilisatrice" (Gordon 1978 cited in Flaitz 1988) or Russian in the former Eastern-Bloc countries.

It is unlikely that such languages as French, Russian, Japanese or Spanish [third party languages in Lieberson's (1981) terms] will be able to compete with English on equal terms in the foreseeable future. In the disintegrated former Soviet republics the Russian language has been excluded from many of the new independent states and it is also being excluded from many countries where it was formerly taught as the first foreign language (e.g. China, Hungary, Poland and Vietnam). While French is used in some 42 countries and is an official language of many international committees and the first lingua-franca of the South Pacific (Dawson 1990), its international status has diminished.

The popularity of English as the international language is supported by the fact that English does not seem to represent only the economic and technological advances in the so called native countries (inner-circle) but is
also used as a medium of exchange of information and international expansion by countries which wanted to do away with English as representative of a former colonial power. However, as English seems to be less and less associated with any particular "mother-tongue" country and with any particular cultural-political context, there seem to be ongoing pragmatic need for fostering the development for the language both among the former colonial and non-colonial countries where the involvement of the native speaker is often not necessary.

2.9.1 English as an International Language

The foregoing sociolinguistic outline has shown that a number of factors have contributed to the spread of English as an international language. Two conclusions seem warranted.

Firstly, the status of EIL does not only depend on the number of native speakers but on the number of non-native speakers who are learning and using it for pragmatic rather than integrative purposes (Lord 1978 quoted in Platt 1984; Moy 1993; Bow 1993).

Secondly, the spread of English is supported by the enormous amount of "useful" information it conveys both in native and non-native contexts. This information can be general, educational, scientific, commercial or cultural. It can be transmitted through the translation of books, through scientific journals or through mass media such as the press, radio and television.
The first conclusion can be supported by statistical data on the study and use of English worldwide (Crystal 1985; Kachru 1984, 1990, McCrum et al. 1986).

The second conclusion can be supported by certain socio-historical and sociolinguistic facts from previous centuries when Latin, French and German respectively were the vehicles for the dissemination of certain types of knowledge. Obviously, this has changed now and English is the medium of international communication in a number of fields – even within the countries with both well established national languages and scientific/technological infrastructures (e.g. Japan or France).

The advancement of and access to modern technologies such as computers and faxes create a milieu in which information may be transmitted anywhere in the world in a few seconds. For the same reason the belief that international English is used only by business people or that it must be transmitted by oral means between people is erroneous. Basically, the new technologies create a situation where a lot of international information is not transmitted through speech. In fact, there is far more international English communication received and transmitted in written form (e.g. books, letters, journals, faxes and e-mail) than through any other medium.  

International English language communication also occurs between non-native speakers within native English speaking countries. As an example I can cite own case, a native speaker of Polish, who during the week am more often involved in speaking with non-native speakers of English (Singaporean, Dutch, Thai, Taiwanese and Indonesian) than native speakers of Australian English. For foreign students English is truly an international language used in
an intra-national context where cultural differences seem to play but a minor role in the process of communication.

Because the spread of English has occurred in different socio-cultural settings with different political systems, English as an international language (EIL) cannot be described as a single form. Thus, EIL is multiform with both native and non-native international forms. The native norms are either UK or USA derived but can also relate to a number of other norms such as Australian English, New Zealand English or South African English. The non-native forms can be described either as non-institutionalised or institutionalised - the latter meaning that they are fully described with defined standards [supposedly] observed by the institutions of state (for further discussion on institutionalisation see Chapter 7).

The non-institutionalised forms are those which are often called "performance varieties" - these occur in countries where English is a foreign language. The non-native forms are rather "unstable" (e.g. English in Philippines) and follow a "pyramid effect - ending up with a small but very highly proficient group at the top" (Halliday 1985 quoted in Malcolm 1987, p. 73).

The speech of native speakers may have a stability 27 derived from the existence of explicit norms, this notwithstanding, non-standard varieties exist which are characterised by greater inherent variation than is formed in the standard.
In the case of non-native English there is no explicit non-native norm and variability. The features of English of these speakers may be described by making an analogy to the post-creole speech continuum as described by Platt et al. (1984) where the features of English which exhibit similarity to one of the native standards fall into the acrolectal variety, followed by mesolectal and basilectal varieties which may be far removed from the standard speech of native speakers of English.

English as an international language is English functionally circumscribed by societal and individual factors which are associated with the circumstances attending the international communication. It is regulated by policy makers and the economic principle of supply and demand. For instance, in China language planning with regard to English was implicit and was dependent on the actions taken by the government (Malcolm 1987). In Japan language planning with regard to English was decided upon both implicit and explicit policies dictated by pragmatic rather than sentimental (integrative) orientations (see Chapters 3, 5 & 6).

English as an International Language is often subject to some restricted cultural selection such as wakon-yosai in the case of Japan or the Ti-yong formula in China according to which foreign cultures were seen merely as having practical, non-essential value (Chen 1989, p. 47).

The following diagram 28 is a representation of distinctions which need to be made in the investigation of the concept of English as an International English. Some of these distinctions have already been touched in the foregoing. Others will be discussed with reference to Japan in later chapters:
The Concept of EIL

**E.I.L.**

- **English is multiform**
  - native (norms)
    - US-derived
    - UK-derived
  - non-native (forms)
    - institutionalized
    - non-institutionalized
    - societally
    - individually

- **English is limited in function**
  - by policy
  - by resource provision
  - by need (supply & demand)

- **English is regulated**
  - formal aspect
    - (eg. contrastive pragmatics)
  - content aspect
    - (eg. Ti-yong principle in China
      Wakan-Yosai in Japan)

- **English carries a variable cultural load**
Chapter 2

NOTES:

1. The Pasteur Institute in Paris decided in 1989 to publish its research in English. In Japan, there are many scientific journals e.g. in medicine, anthropology, and electronics which are published in English.

2. Apparently there are 18 states in the USA which view English as the official language of the State (see Zall & McCloe Stein 1990).

3. There are about 740 vernaculars in Papua New Guinea and Tok Pisin is already for some people a creole as there is a growing number of native speakers whose first language is Tok Pisin.

4. There are three official languages mentioned in the Belgian constitution - they are French, Dutch and German (Geerts 1992, p. 76). In Switzerland Romansch is a national language but not an official language (Watts 1991, p. 82).

5. There is a belief among some educators that some British administrators saw the English language as superior to the vernacular in the same way as they saw Latin superior to English. So for that reason they often chose the vernacular for primary schooling and English for secondary or tertiary education (Butts 1973).

6. Some historical facts point to indirect intentions on the part of the British with regard to the standardisation of the English orthography as early as 1580, that is before the establishment of the French Academy (Haslewood quoted in Freeman 1924, p. 292).

7. The spread of UK English into Australia or New Zealand is not discussed in this chapter (see chapter 7 for discussion on norm-providing varieties).

8. T.V. Sathyamurthy (1990) writes the name "Raja Ram Mohun Roy".

9. It should be stated that the East India Company opened a Native Medical School in Calcutta in 1822 which was attached to the Sanskrit College (Crane 1971, p. 169).

10. For more information on English education with reference to colonialism in broader geographical area of the Indian subcontinent see: Rahim, A. (1992)
11. For further data on the growth of education of British India see Crane (1971).

12. Note that the Linguistic Commission of 1901 reported 179 languages and 544 dialects. Hindi was spoken by 47% of population (Kapur 1971, p. 84). Khubchandani (1989) relying on 1961 census states that there were 250 and odd "mother tongue labels" - though he claims that 81 of them can be treated as "whimsical" inventions. The 1981 census states that 39.9% of population used Hindi. Out of 843.9 million Indian population only 52.11% are literate (Department of education publication No.1539 - Delhi, cited in R.H. Narang (1992).

13. Bernard Fonseca (1939) reports on the debate in the college in Madras where the topic of the discussion was whether Indian vernaculars should replace English as a medium of instruction of higher education. Basically, one could assume, Fonseca says, that everybody was in favour of the vernaculars. However, to sum up the meeting, a distinguished professor stood up and asked the debaters whether he should address them in Tamil. It was the language of the province - everybody agreed to Tamil. He addressed the students in perfect Tamil, though the students could not follow him and requested him to speak in English. See: Fonseca, B. (1939).

14. An interesting feature of the use of English within the Kenyan Parliament is the restriction on code switching. If a member begins to speak in English the debate should be carried on in English by both parties and vice versa (e.g. Swahili). The leading political party, KANU, prefers to use Swahili but the bureaucrats (public service) prefer to use English. See: Laitin & Eastman (1989).

15. For further historical description on English in the Philippines see: Bautista, M.L.S. (1987)

16. Japan was under American occupation between 1945 and 1952 and Okinawa till 1972. Educational and other influences during that period are discussed in chapter 3.


18. In 1966 President de Gaulle created an institution in order to "purify" the French language by official approvals and decrees. See: Weinstein 1989, p. 62

19. A Japanese scholar, Ryuzaburo Shikiba is quoted as saying in 1942 that "English has already become an international language. It is by no means owned solely by America and Britain. When we fight with the Anglo-Americans we should make use of the language in order to let them know
Japan's strength..., it should be regarded as a good strategy to use English as a weapon in beating the Anglo-Americans" (quoted in Hino 1988b, p. 311).

20. According to Ross (1989) only 21% of children aged 7 were enrolled in grade one during 1988 of the primary school year.

21. Although Sibata's claims are "politically desirable" assumptions about the present-day Japanese society [Prime Minister Nakasone stated in 1986 that Japan had no minority groups] the reality supports the view that the Japanese archipelago is inhabited by a number of ethnic groups distinguished from each other by various cultural traits (e.g. language, festivals or dialectal use of Japanese).

22. A closer historical comparison between China and Japan would reveal that the process of "self-imposed" isolation and the idea of the restricted selection from other cultures are somewhat parallel courses both in Japan and China. However, Japan had introduced both ideas much earlier than China did.

23. This does not mean that English was not taught in these countries under the 'communist' dictatorship - though Russian was given priority.


26. The popularity of English worldwide takes on another technological "gimmick" which is in the form of electronic dictionaries and translators; in Taiwan alone 280,000 English - Chinese dictionaries were sold in 1992. See: Sheng, V. (1993).

27. Native norms of English (e.g. in the UK, USA and Australia) also undergo constant changes, though it probably takes longer for the new forms to become "standard norms" as they usually have to be accepted through various authoritative bodies (e.g. Education Dept., Dictionary Editors and the conservative public at large); as an example one can cite a new strain of English that defies social background and education which is developing around London. It is described as a compromise between queen's English, Cockney and an east Londoner's accent (Tom McArthur, the editor of Oxford Companion to the English Language, quoted by UPI Kyodo in The Japan Times April 22, 1993).

28. The diagram was suggested by Professor I. Malcolm in 1990.
Chapter 3
Early Sociolinguistic History of English and Other Foreign Language Education in Japan

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the early socio-cultural and sociolinguistic background of foreign language education in Japan. In order to understand the Japanese preoccupation with the study of language through the centuries a broad historical perspective is needed which takes into account various features derived from the particular set of early religious ideas Japan acquired from other civilisations. The adoption and adaptation of Buddhism and Confucianism and the consequent infusion of these into native Japanese religious practices followed the practice of extracting pragmatic and utilitarian ideas from other countries through a process of "restricted selection" according to principle of "Wakon-Kansai" or "Wakon-Yosai" depending on the circumstances (discussed in section 3.2).

The practice of "restricted selection" was engaged in by the Japanese at different stages of their history, especially with respect to the study of foreign languages. At the earliest stages for which we have historical records they were involved in the study of Chinese and adoption and adaptation of Chinese characters to make them fit Japanese language syntax (i.e. linguistic modernisation and study through translation-reading). Then, in the middle of the 16th century some Japanese were involved in the study of Portuguese. During the self-seclusion period which lasted for over 200 years the Japanese ruling class decided to inform themselves about events in the rest of the world through contact with the Dutch and to some extent with the Chinese and
Koreans. Dutch was the language for acquiring knowledge about Western intellectual and scientific achievements.

The so called "opening" of Japan by Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853 accelerated the replacement of "Dutch Learning" by the study of English. The Japanese, being unable to ignore the scientific/technological achievements of the West, were seriously preoccupied with the study of English as the main language of Japanese modernisation during the Meiji Era (1868-1912). In fact, it was during that time that there were serious calls for the replacement of Japanese by English. Some of the Japanese intellectuals became aware that the Japanese language was not adequate for the dissemination of scientific/technological ideas from the West.

The introduction of English as a national language did not eventuate, but preoccupation with the linguistic modernisation of the Japanese language began in order to speed up the spread of useful information among the Japanese. At this time there was a move away from Chinese influences. As the Japanese wanted to modernise the country as quickly as possible, they engaged a large number of foreign experts and academics to accelerate the process of modernisation. Consequently, pragmatic and utilitarian ideas dominated the educational field with preference given to the establishment of various educational institutions based on Western models and training in applied sciences (e.g. engineering, agriculture).

During the Meiji period some Japanese acquired a thorough knowledge of the English language and used textbooks which were published in England and America. The pragmatic and utilitarian preoccupation with English
which characterised the Meiji Restoration has been maintained to the present day. Accordingly last part of this chapter deals with the historical background of language contact with special reference to English, presenting some examples of "nativization" and the integration of English into Japanese.

3.2 A Brief Cultural Perspective on Japanese Society

The Japanese national character has been imbued with ideas drawn from a range of different cultures during widespread contact with various civilisations both Eastern and Western. These contacts led to wide reaching changes in social structures and social norms in Japan.

Although the Japanese have a number of myths about the origin of their people (Varley 1973), it has to be acknowledged that the present day Japanese "character" is the outcome of contacts between diverse racial and cultural groups which inhabited both the Asian continent (e.g. China, Mongolia) and the Japanese archipelago in pre-ancient times. In this regard the formation of the "anthropological type" of the Japanese and their affinities with other people of Asia are best studied using data from palaeoanthropology, archaeology (Levin 1961) and to some extent data derived from historical and comparative linguistics which reveal structural similarities between the Japanese language and the Ural-Altaic group of languages and some semantic similarities with some Austronesian languages (Miller 1967, 1990).

The people who inhabited the Japanese archipelago in pre-ancient times are often classified by periods or epochs which are termed the Jomon (7000 B.C. - 300 B.C.); the Yayoi (300 B.C. - A.D. 300); the Tomb (or Tumulus ca. A.D. 250/300 - ca. A.D. 500/552).
Both the Jomon and the Yayoi culture were distinctively characterised by different types of earthenware pottery. The former is often designated as more “backward” than the latter and has been found all over the country. The latter culture was also more sophisticated due to the fact that the people of that period were thought to rely on wet-rice cultivation as opposed to the predominantly hunting, gathering and fishing preoccupation of the Jomon people.

The Yayoi culture was adopted and adapted by people who were influenced by some aspects of Chinese culture which entered Japan via the Korean peninsula and through northern Kyushu, spreading northward in the Japanese archipelago. The advance of this culture from South to North can be traced by comparison of some archaeological artifacts which resemble archaeological finds in Korea and China, exhibited in similarity of some types of tools, pottery, weapons and burial sites (Levin 1961).

The archaeological remnants of that period of burial sites evidence some kind of social stratification exhibited by artifacts found around the graves of the Yayoi period. The people who cultivated the spread of the Yayoi culture on the Japanese archipelago were mentioned in the ancient Chinese records (3rd century AD) and were believed to be the “Yamato” people [from the “Country of Yamato” (Munro 1911)]. They could be described as the “founders of the empire of Japan” (Munro 1911, p. 11; see also Reischauer & Craig 1973). In turn the people who had inhabited Hokkaido were called Ezo, Ebisu or Emishi by the Yamato people (Munro 1962; see also Kodama 1970).

Levin (1961) further states that the Japanese chronicles describe struggles of the Yamato people during the 7th century with the Kumaso tribes (Hayato
in later sources) who lived in the southern parts of Kyushu and with the Ebisu tribes of the North. Using these historical sources the further displacement of the Ebisu tribes (the ancestors of the Ainu) northward can be assumed (Levin 1961, p. 135).

In view of the above there can be no doubt that the very contacts among the various cultural groups inhabiting the Japanese archipelago and the advance of the Yamato northward contributed to constant assimilation of smaller groups (or weaker groups e.g. the Ainu) and that the present day Japanese may well have a considerable Ainu component [as well as other Asian traits] and vice versa (Levin 1961).

It is assumed by historians that during the Tumulus era (250-500 AD) the Yamato clan began to assert imperialistic claims with the intention of establishing a Japanese state. By that time, China which was in close proximity to Japan, had had a well established centralised system of government for some time. So from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century until the end of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century AD the overwhelming influence on Japan was that of the Chinese. Some historians and language scholars believe that pictographic characters from China were introduced into Japan in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD (Sato-Habein 1984). The introduction of the Chinese writing system into Japan also marks the first attempt by the Japanese to learn a foreign language. The adoption of the Chinese writing system resulted in the creation of a totally new set of characters called "Kanji" which during the Heian era (794-1160) were exclusively used by men.
It is interesting to note that the Chinese and Japanese languages shared few linguistic features either in phonetic or grammatical form. For instance, lexical tone is not characteristic of Japanese as it is of Chinese and the adopted kanji characters nowadays have different pronunciation and meaning.

The Chinese influence affected all aspects of social life, and in particular religion. It is known from very old historical records of the Nara period (710-794) in the form of the chronicles Kojiki and Nihongi that the ancient Japanese had developed their own system of religious beliefs (Shinto) worshipping the spirits of nature (Sato 1966; Silberman 1962). However, during the period of the expansion of Chinese civilisation into neighbouring areas (e.g. Korea), the Japanese also appropriated Confucian and Buddhist philosophical ideas from Korean scholars in the mid 6th century. During the period from the 4th to 8th centuries Japan was visited by a great number of people from the Korean peninsula for whom knowledge of Chinese was a status symbol as Koreans themselves did not have their own writing system till at least the 15th century. Proficiency in Chinese and the ability to write poetry were the prerequisites for entering a Confucian bureaucracy (Kim Heung Joong 1993). Apart from the influence of various religious doctrines and the influence of the Chinese writing system, the Japanese also acquired from Korea various goods, pottery, metallurgical processes and weaving techniques (Edwards 1983; Ledyard 1975).

The penetration of Chinese philosophical thought in the form of Buddhism and Confucianism was not welcomed by all Japanese. 4 It did not satisfy some Japanese rulers who saw little relevance in Chinese thought and
techniques - in fact, there were armed struggles among groups of Buddhist priests of different sects in 981 (Japanese Religion 1972).

In order to counter Chinese philosophies, modifications in religious beliefs arose which from 9th century emphasised the oneness of the three teachings: Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism ("Sankyokiitsusetsu") and from the 11th century the emphasis was on the oneness of just two original sources: Buddhism and Shintoism ("Honjisuiykusetsu") (Shitahodo 1960).

The Japanese, being faced with cultural and political philosophies far more complex than their own, had introduced in the 10th century a concept of selection of those aspects of the Chinese system which were acceptable to Japanese society - this was called "Wakonkansaisetsu" (Japanese spirit with Chinese skills) which emphasised that wisdom and intelligence had to be reached through the study of Chinese classics while still maintaining the Japanese spirit (Kawamura 1980; Shimbori 1960; Shitahodo 1960; Sugimoto & Swain 1989).

The influence of such modifications of Chinese philosophical doctrines between the 9th and 12th centuries had lasting effects for subsequent periods as new political and socio-economic structures were established. The principle of "Wakonkansaisetsu" persisted, being known simply as "Wakon-Kansai" when the need was for Chinese learning and "Wakon-Yosai" when the need was for Western learning and skills. It should, however, be acknowledged that the principle of "Wakon-Yosai" was mirrored also in China during the mid-19th century with the formulation of the so called "Ti-Yong" principle which advocated the preservation of Chinese traditional values and beliefs [Ti-] and
Western techniques for practical use [-Yong ] (Chen 1989). The Japanese (and Chinese) selectively borrowed those aspects of the Western system which were acceptable to the Japanese (or Chinese) society as the need arose for knowledge from different countries. Foreign ideology was never accepted in its totality. This is probably why the contacts the Japanese developed with different nations through the centuries were basically pragmatic and eclectic in nature (Silberman 1962).

This pragmatism and eclecticism can be well demonstrated by the study of various educational trends through Japanese history, especially those trends which required the knowledge of a foreign language for borrowing ideas in order to make modernisation more successful.

The appreciation of the value of learning had already been established through the influence of Chinese classics in earlier periods creating a milieu for the spread of schooling in the Middle Ages. In fact, in olden days written classical Chinese in East Asia served as the common lingua franca and spoken Chinese was of only secondary importance (Komatsu 1993). The Japanese preoccupation with the reading of Chinese classical writings influenced the way Japanese approached the study of various subjects including languages. Below is a Table showing some general aspects of Japanese education in different periods:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name of School/Establishment</th>
<th>Description/Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>607</td>
<td>Horyu-ji Temple (was built by Prince Shotoku Taishi)*</td>
<td>A place of learning based on the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>646</td>
<td>Proliferation of provincial Temples [Kokubunji]</td>
<td>Buddhist monks used as teachers for propagation of Buddhism - based on the Chinese system of the Tang Dynasty. Used for Education of clergy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th - 8th</td>
<td>Dojo &quot;School for Govt. Officials&quot; [Established by Taiho Code (701)]</td>
<td>Training places for Hosso sect of Buddhism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th - 12th</td>
<td>Daigakuryo (University)</td>
<td>Training of Govt. Officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1185-1333</td>
<td>&quot;Schools for Military&quot;</td>
<td>Training of the Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th-16th</td>
<td>Temple Schools</td>
<td>Based on Buddhist philosophy for education of nobles and samurai - the main syllabus included reading, writing &amp; arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1543-1639</td>
<td>Luis de Almeida Christian School (1567); The Jesuits College (1580)</td>
<td>Learning from 'Southern Barbarians' (Portuguese &amp; Spanish). Training of Japanese priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1871</td>
<td>Hanko (Domain Schools)</td>
<td>Based on Confucian teaching - instruction in Chinese classics to Samurai's children; maintained strict class divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th-19th</td>
<td>Terakoya (School for Commoners)</td>
<td>Usually one teacher school; teaching calligraphy. reading, abacus, primers and stressing moral exhortation, obedience and responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639-1853 'Seclusion' [Sakoku]</td>
<td>Clan and Temple Schools: 2398 Terakoya schools were opened by 1853</td>
<td>The period between 1639 to 1853 is known in Japan as the seclusion era. However, the period between 1716 - 1745 saw the removal of the ban on foreign books and a strong desire to learn through Dutch influences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Naval training School (1855); Western Science School (1863)</td>
<td>Move away from the Dutch studies to other Western influences (English/American).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Earliest Contacts with the West

The first Japanese contacts with Europeans occurred about the mid-16th century when Portuguese sailors drifted ashore near the coast of Tanegashima, south of Kagoshima (Arima 1964; Numata 1964ab). This was followed in 1549 by the arrival in Kagoshima of the Jesuit Francis Xavier, who obtained permission from Japanese officials to establish his mission in southern Japan. It is believed that within 30 years of Jesuit activities there were at least 150,000 Christian converts by 1581. Apart from religious indoctrination of the Japanese people, the Portuguese imparted some knowledge of the geography of the world (Ayusawa 1964). Western arts (Miki 1964), Western medicine (Otori 1964), navigation (Arima 1964) military strategy (Nagoya 1993) and astronomy (Ito 1987).

A few years later a wave of Spanish Franciscan and Dominican missionaries came also to Japan. However, the missionaries were seen as a threat by the Japanese ruling class and were ordered to leave Japan in 1586. Many of the priests ignored the decree and did not leave, in fact, their presence was strengthened by the arrival of Spanish Augustinian priests from the Philippines. In 1596 a number of them were crucified in Nagasaki. New orders were issued and the Spanish were expelled in 1624 (Arima 1964) and trade with Portugal was prohibited in 1639 two years after the infamous slaying of 30,000 Christians in Shimabara (Japan Weekly Mail, March 12, 1870). In the very early beginnings of the 17th century Protestant Dutch and English traders made inroads into Japan. Although, the anti-Christian persecution lasted at least until 1660, the Dutch and the English were not affected. Gradually, however Christians were driven out of Japan. Japanese were not allowed to travel overseas. The Dutch were allowed to stay under the
condition that they would observe the laws prohibiting the spread of Christianity (Massarella & Tytler 1990). Some of the Dutch residents helped the shogunate army in the attack on Shimabara (Arima 1964). The culture of "komo bunka" (Dutch) was taking over from the "namban bunka" (southern barbarians' culture – Portuguese) influences (Otori 1964). It should also be mentioned that some contacts with the Chinese and the Koreans were also maintained.

3.3.1 First contacts with the English

The first contact the Japanese had with the English language was as early as the 17th century and was related to two separate events (Boulger 1886, 1887; Cortazzi 1990; Hall 1949; Hildreth 1973; Nitobe 1891/1973; Rogers 1956).

In April 1600 William Adams and Timothy Shoten, both Englishmen, arrived on the coast of Bungo (now Oita prefecture). In 1598 Adams was in charge as a pilot-major of the Dutch fleet which arrived in Japan. Adams, after being interrogated by the Japanese officials, was allowed to stay and worked in the service of the Japanese court.

From various historical accounts it is known that Adams was employed as a ship builder, diplomat and in a sense as a linguist who, in later years, had to mediate between Dutch and Japanese officials and later also had to help the English to negotiate with the Japanese to establish their presence in Japan. Adams was described by the next English arrival, Captain John Saris as some sort of a "traitor" to the English nation as recorded by a writer by the name of Boulger during the latter half of 19th century:
Not merely did he say that Adams was only fit to be employed as a master of the junk and as a linguist at Court, but he went on to declare that Adams was better affected to the Flemings and the Spaniards than to his own nation (Boulger 1887, p. 317).  

Captain John Saris arrived in Japan with 24 Englishmen, five Indians, one Spaniard and one Japanese on the 9th of June, 1613 on a small island lying west of Bungo. He and his crew were received in the most friendly manner (Friend of India 1820 vol. 1 quoted in Japan Christian Quarterly, Fall 1989; Boulger 1887). With the help of William Adams, Saris was able to obtain a number of concessions in order to trade with Japan.

Due to the concessions received from the Japanese the East India Company was able to establish the "English factory" [a trading post] in 1613 with its first director Richard Cocks. It lasted till 1623 when the East India company decided to withdraw shipping services between Japan and Batavia [Indonesia] (Boulger 1887; Farrington 1991; Hildreth 1973; Massarella & Tytler 1990; Nitobe 1973).

The men mentioned above were the first from the British Isles to arrive in the Japanese archipelago. Although it is probably a reasonable assumption that William Adams was the most successful Englishman in negotiating with the Japanese in the 17th century, there is no information available as to whether he was teaching English or of what traces, if any, the English language left in Japan at that time.
3.3.2 The Era of Seclusion and Dutch Learning

After the withdrawal of the English factory from Japan, the expulsion of Christians and the Shimabara incident, contact between Japanese and foreigners was prohibited - the only exception being the Dutch and the Chinese (and to some extent Koreans) who were allowed to carry on their business in Japan. From 1639 Japan entered a period of self-imposed seclusion which was to last for over two centuries.

The English tried, without success to re-establish their trading position on a number of occasions (e.g. 1673 and 1791) by sending ships to Japan.

Between 1639 and 1853 Dutch traders were confined to the southern island port of Deshima near Nagasaki and were under strict surveillance of Japanese officials. According to Hildreth (1973) one of the most important offices on the island was the office of interpreters. In fact, the training of interpreters of Japanese-Dutch [for Japanese Nationals] began as early as 1673 (Boxer 1968). The most experienced interpreters were called "true interpreters" and there were eight of them. In fact, when they were not involved in any official business, they were keeping an eye on the Dutchmen. There were also distinctions made between "high-interpreters", "inferior interpreters", "learning interpreters" and "house interpreters" (Hildreth 1973, pp. 231-232), the latter being employed by the Dutch in their own houses. As the Tokugawa period was characterised by strict social stratification (Kobayashi 1965), many of the interpreters were of samurai rank. Commoners had hardly any contact with the Dutch. In other words, those who experienced the learning of a foreign language (Dutch) first hand from the Westerners were the Japanese elite.
The existence of a Dutch factory on Deshima made it possible for some famous Europeans to visit Japan. Among those who came to Japan were, Willem ten Rhijne, Engelbert Kaempfer, Carl P. Thunberg and Philip von Siebold who between them were responsible for introducing western medical practices to Japan at various stages while attached to Dutch East India company in Deshima (Otori 1964; Ueno 1964). In fact, much of the knowledge about Japan and the Japanese between 1800 and 1854 was transmitted by the writings of these people (Otori 1964; Sakamaki 1937). Willem ten Rhijne was the first European to be introduced to acupuncture and other Japanese medical practices which he in turn made known in Europe. Kaempfer arrived in Japan in 1690 and stayed there till 1692. During his stay, apart from being a physician, he collected Japanese plant specimens which he described in his publications in Europe in 1700s (Ueno 1964). Thunberg arrived in Japan in 1775 and left in 1776. He also collected specimens of plants, insects and animals. Siebold arrived in 1823 and was deported in 1829 for obtaining a map of Japan from a Japanese friend, an astronomer.

According to accounts given by Thunberg, some of the Japanese interpreters were highly skilled in the Dutch language and were able to translate scientific books from Dutch into Japanese (Numata 1964b). The Japanese preoccupation with Dutch learning (Rangaku) often involved translation of works which had been previously translated into Dutch from other Western languages and in many instances from English (Numata 1964b; Ayusawa 1964; Ueno 1964). Numata (1964) also states that the first contact any Japanese Dutch interpreter had with the English language was in 1761 when Motoki Ryoei (1735-1794) used an English book brought by a Dutchman and had it re-written.
Officially, the Japanese have been interested in English learning since 1808 which is well before the Meiji Restoration of 1868. This is related to the so called "Phaeton Incident" when H.M.S. Phaeton entered the port of Nagasaki holding some members of the Dutch factory as hostages. The interpreters in the service of the Tokugawa government were unable to communicate with the English. The whole incident was seen as a national disgrace and the Governor and some other Japanese committed suicide because they had failed to take effective action (Murdoch 1926 quoted in Jones 1991; De Barry 1958). The Nagasaki interpreters were ordered to study English in addition to the Dutch, French and Russian (Numata 1964; Omura 1981). Apparently, the first foreign English language teacher was a Dutchman, Jan Cook Blomhoff of the Dutch factory who was supposed to train the interpreters. However, according to Omura (1981) there is not much information on his teaching activity.

3.3.3 Promotion of Western Studies through the Establishment of the "Bureau of Translation"

In 1808 the shogunate approached one of the Japanese Dutch scholars, Baba Sajuro (1787-1822) to carry out the translation of Western geographical works supported by other known Japanese scholars of that time (Smith 1948). Baba's work inaugurated a period of preoccupation with the translation of European scientific works and the beginning of an official translation office. This was followed by the opening of a translation office at the astronomical observatory in 1811 (Doi 1979; Jansen 1984). However, as the Japanese were more and more afraid of the intrusion of Western powers and their technological know-how, the Tokugawa leaders were keen on obtaining from the West as much military and technological knowledge as possible. At the
suggestion of Katsu Rintaro (1823-1899), who was working on Japanese national defence, an Institute for Western learning (Yogakusho) was established in 1854. The Institute was renamed Banshoshirabesho in 1855 (Jansen 1957, 1989). One of the most important aspects of Banshoshirabesho was the study of languages. In addition to Dutch, English and French were introduced in 1860, and German and Russian in 1864 (Smith 1948). The number of teachers at Banshoshirabesho in 1866 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>17 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>10 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>6 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>4 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Numata 1938 quoted in Smith 1948, p. 132).

Japan's preoccupation with the translation of Western books on science was also carried out through the establishments called "seirenjo" (also called "kaibutsukan": kai=to develop; butsu=things; kan=building). One seirenjo was opened in Satsuma han (domain) and the other in the Saga han in 1851 and 1852 respectively. Studies through translations at those "laboratory-like" institutions were applied to practical scientific tasks. Both seirenjos sent their students on missions to Europe and the USA in 1860s. The return of these Japanese officials from the USA brought an end to instruction through Dutch and resulted in the establishment of the English language school (Eigakuryo) in 1865. In fact, the strong desire by the Japanese to achieve technological modernisation at the end of the Tokugawa reign led to the setting of the dual objectives of language and technical training.
In the second half of the 19th century many of the translating establishments including the Bureau of Astronomy, were instructed by officials to give their volumes of Western books to Banshoshirabesho. According to Jansen (1957) the findings by the Japanese scholars in 1954, revealed that the Ueno collection in Tokyo had 3500 volumes of Western books and one third of them can be traced back to the various offices of translation which formed Banshoshirabesho. Looking at the various seals on the books the Japanese scholars concluded that Banshoshirabesho, in the very early stages of its operation had some 600 volumes of Western books in 1859 (Jansen 1957). Jansen further classified the various Western books as representing a variety of different fields and claims that

one is struck, on looking through the Ueno collection, to see how little there is that is expressive of the ideals and values of the Western world. Literature, philosophy, and works of cultural interest are virtually non-existent. On the other hand, in terms of practical problems and concerns the Japanese were well provided with information. This was also true in the realm of international relations (Jansen 1957, p. 592-593).

The importance of translation and the study of foreign languages was stressed by Fukuzawa Yukichi who symbolises a close link between Dutch and English learning as he had studied both Dutch and English. Fukuzawa was a firm believer that English would be the most useful language of the future. In his autobiography he wrote the following:

As certain as day, English was to be the most useful language of the future. I realised that a man would have to be able to read and converse in English to be recognised as a scholar in Western subjects in the coming time..., I made firm my determination to learn the new language by my own efforts. Sometimes I tried to make out the English sentences by translating each word into
Dutch;.., After a while we came to see that English was a language not so entirely foreign to us as we had taught..., Our knowledge of Dutch could be applied directly to English (Fukuzawa 1960, p. 98-103).

Fukuzawa was also a member of a government mission both to Europe and the USA in 1861 and 1867 respectively. When he returned from the USA, he was put under house arrest and ultimately decided to leave the political scene in order to get involved in education. In 1858 he founded Keio Gijuku (School for Western or European Studies where English was a main subject of instruction, see Fukuzawa 1960, pp. 211-213) which in 1890 was transformed into Keio University. Fukuzawa was able through the President of Harvard University, Charles Elliot, to secure the appointment of three American scholars to head three new departments. The three professors were: John H. Wigmore for the law faculty; Garrett Droppers for Economics and William S. Liscomb for literature (Keio University Bulletin 1990-1992, p. 11).

Fukuzawa, apart from being involved in education, was also a prolific writer and it is estimated that during his writing career he wrote an equivalent of some 4.5 million words in English. Two of his books in Japanese dealing with various social and educational issues "Seiyo Jijo" (Conditions in the West) of 1865 and the "Gakumon no Susume" (The Advocacy of Learning) sold 250,000 and 220,000 copies respectively (Koizumi 1964).

3.4 The Significance of Tokugawa Self-Imposed Seclusion (1639-1853)

It would be a mistake to assume that Japan's absence from world affairs during 1639-1853 inhibited its modernisation and development. In fact, this
would not have been in Japan's national interest. While entry to Japan was opened to only few countries and the Japanese were not allowed to leave Japan, they had maintained enough contact with the West to trade with the outside world and to obtain knowledge from other countries. Books which entered Japan as Dutch publications were usually translated into Japanese. Japan, through the study of Dutch, was responding to the changes which were taking place at that time in such countries as England, France and Germany.

This contact through translation with different developments in the West was controlled through the concept of Wakon-Yosai where the use of translation skills was regulated by government institutions and decrees. This concept was also reflected in the slogan of Sakuma Shozan "Toyo dotoku, seiyō gijutsu" meaning Eastern morality, Western technology (Horio 1988, p. 28; Sukehiro 1989, p. 442).

While many European books were translated into Japanese, the study of books from the Iberian Peninsula was prohibited and one reason for this was that Christianity was seen as a weapon against Japan - it did not represent Eastern morality.

Due to a number of very important historical events during the Tokugawa period (e.g. Opium war of 1840 in China; arrival of Perry in 1853 in Uraga and the shelling of Shimonoseki in 1864 by a foreign fleet) "gaiatsu" or pressure from outside accelerated the process of modernisation.

The Japanese had realised that their institutions of translation (e.g. Banshoshirabesho) were not fully equipped to meet the needs of the country to
sustain the pressure created by a foreign governments (e.g. the USA; UK) at the end of the Tokugawa reign. In order to catch up with Western technological advances, the Japanese sent overseas (e.g. to Europe and the USA) some of their most outstanding students who, upon their return, took on leadership and influenced the way Japan progressed in the early Meiji era (Nakamura 1964). Sending Japanese students overseas started an era of "Ryugakusei" (overseas studies) which was followed by the employment of foreign instructors in Japan (Jones 1974,1980; Hirakawa 1989).

After signing a number of treaties with various countries in 1858 the Japanese realised that Holland did not exert the technological power they had imagined it did. They abandoned the study of Dutch and began to study English and, for a short time, French. An English school was opened in Nagasaki in 1858. However, it must be acknowledged that the first native teacher was Ronald MacDonald, who arrived in Japan in July 1848 pretending that he had been shipwrecked (Nakano 1981). He was assigned to teach English to Japanese who were engaged in the study of Dutch. One of his students was Einosuke Moriyama who served as an interpreter when Perry's "Black Ships" arrived in Japan. 12

The monopoly of teaching of English in the early stages of official contact with the West was basically in the hands of American missionaries (Jones 1974). Two well known American missionaries of that time were Dr. Samuel R. Brown and Guido F. Verbeck. Brown took part in the development of an English-French school in Yokohama in 1867 and Verbeck taught in an English school in Nagasaki (Nagasaki Eigo Denshujo) which was changed into "Seibikan" [ 濟美館 ] (Jones 1974; Omura 1981; Yamauchi
According to Jones (1980), many of the Western instructors who were already employed during the Tokugawa period were well-educated and half of them stayed on working during the Meiji period.

3.5 Meiji Educational and Foreign Language Policies

In 1871 the Meiji government established the Ministry of Education (Mombusho), the Minister of Education being Arinori Mori. He was familiar with educational developments both in Europe and the USA. Mori believed that the purpose of education was to serve the State. He imposed "military-style" training and discipline which was reinforced by centralised control of the education system. His idea was expressed in article 1. on higher education:

the purpose of the Imperial University shall be to provide instruction in the arts and sciences and to inquire into the abstruse principles of learning in accordance with the needs of the state (Japanese Association of Private Colleges and Universities 1987, p. 7).

And "in accordance with the needs of the state". Mori led the way towards reaching standards relevant to the introduction of "Western culture": one objective was for the acquisition of "higher learning" and the second one was more "concerned with application and utility than with truth for truth's sake" (Nagai 1971, p. 25). In his policy address, Mori stated that intellectual preoccupations such as

the reading of books and the writing of essays are not useful for action. Men who engage in such pursuits are not what I mean by men of ability. In these times of competition with foreign nations, such heedless men cannot satisfy the urgent needs of the state (quoted in Nagai 1971, pp. 25 - 26).
As Japan of the Tokugawa period had not developed any particular type of high school education (see Table: 3, p. 75), the Japanese started their "urgent" modernising process with the establishment of institutions of higher learning in the Meiji period. The modern Japanese university has been referred to as the product of translation (Nagai 1971). The university "translation culture" was designed to protect Japanese society from undesirable social, political and cultural ideas from outside (Nagai 1971, p. 59). Tokyo University, for example, traces its existence from the Institute for the Study of Translation of Barbarian Documents (Banshoshirabesho) which was founded during the Tokugawa reign. In 1863 it was renamed the Western Science School and then in turn in 1870 became Nanko University and later Tokyo Imperial University (see section 4.1).

In the early stages of the operation of establishments of higher learning prospective students had to attend an institution called "yobimon" (preparatory school) and pass a very competitive examination (Amano 1990). Amano claims that the failure rate was high due to poor preparation of students. To be able to enter the "yobimon" students had to be 13 years of age and pass examinations in Chinese studies, Japanese, mathematics and English. In fact, some proficiency in English was required for admission (Amano 1990, p. 88).

In 1886 Mori Arinori ordered a reorganisation of the system of preparatory schools and established five higher middle schools (Amano 1990) which had to cater "for those who are fit to enter the top levels of society" and later "will wield the most decisive influence over the mental life of society" (quoted in Horio 1988, p. 76). Foreign language study was prescribed in the curriculum of higher high schools, in fact,
During a decade - or two - say roughly 1877 - 1885 all higher instruction was imparted in English, French or German. Even Japanese professors lectured in Western tongues: technical terms had not been translated into Japanese (Nitobe 1929 quoted in Omura 1981, pp. 93 -94).

Tokyo University alone in 1877 had 26 foreigners and 19 Japanese on its teaching staff and some of the Japanese lecturers used to teach in a foreign language. However, according to Passin (1966) instruction in a foreign language at the university was forbidden in 1882 and although language and special classes were allowed to be taken in a foreign language and foreigners dominated the institutions for some time, they were slowly being replaced either by those trained at university or by those coming back from overseas studies.

Thus during the formative years of the Japanese educational system the "assimilation" of foreign culture through translation was reflected in a "respect for utility" (Nagai 1971, p. 56). Nagai comments also that any characterization of modern Japanese culture as "imitative" must be qualified. "Imitation" did not involve the complete abandonment of Japanese culture and the wholesale adoption of Western culture. Some things were adopted, other things rejected. Choice was involved (Nagai 1971, p. 60).

The principle of "Wakon-Yosai" was achieved by putting emphasis on technical translations together with the introduction of the Press Law in 1875 which in fact was a censorship law (Beasley 1990; Chamberlain 1987; Mitchell 1983).
The problem of excluding undesirable "Western-oriented" influences and the use of the selection technique [Wakon-Yosai] have figured prominently throughout the Japanese history. The seclusion period was one of the times where only selected people could study through: "Dutch learning" During the Meiji era, probably one of the most progressive in Japanese history, there was a conflict of interest between those who admired the Confucian school based on Chinese learning ["Kokugaku = nativism"] and those who saw progress through learning from the USA or European countries ["bummei kaika = civilization and enlightenment"] . Such a conflict was highlighted between 1878-1882 and is related to the Emperor Meiji [Meiji Tenno] who made an inspection trip of social and educational conditions in various districts of Japan. The Emperor's views were expressed by a scholar at the imperial house, Motoda Nagazane, according to whom

the Emperor concluded that the common people did not really understand the Western oriented educational reforms ..., hastily implemented, the new education had little relevance for their everyday life (Monbusho 1980, p. 77).

In fact, in 1882 Motoda Nagazane edited a book on "Essential of Primary Instruction" in which he outlined policies how to promote ethical and moral education based on Confucian ideas (Monbusho 1980, p. 79). This would partially explain why foreigners were not allowed to teach certain subjects through English or other foreign languages in 1882 as stated in Passin (1966, p. 95).

3.5.1 Mori Arinori and Explicit language Planning

Mori Arinori seems to have doubted whether the Japanese language could ever be an appropriate language of instruction and dissemination of
foreign ideas as the Japanese language of that time was based on the old writing system of the Heian period. There was no correspondence between the written and spoken form (Kono 1976). Mori tried to remedy the situation by replacing Japanese with English as the official language of Japan.

Mori's ideas on education and language stem from his familiarity with the educational systems of his time both in Europe and in the USA. While he was a Japanese Charge d'Affaires in Washington he had requested a number of American educationists to prepare a memorandum for the Japanese government on how to reform Japanese education (Murray 1872). One of the issues involved was abandonment of Japanese and the adoption of English "improved by planning out its irregularities, and also reformed in orthography" (The Nation Jan 23. 1873, p. 59). According to Nagai (1983) Mori believed that English people and Americans used too many idioms and that English was "ungrammatical". In order to overcome this problem he proposed to "build-up" a new language called "Japanese-English" which would be grammatical and would not use many idioms. He added that some Americans and British would begin to admire Japanese-English.

However, according to historical sources in the forms of letters to an American Sanskrit scholar, Professor William D. Whitney of Yale University, Mori did not know how to go about his proposal (Miller 1982). In fact, the whole affair was discussed by the American Oriental Society in October 1872. The society's reply to Mori's proposal was in line with the principal position taken by Professor Whitney whose reply was rather negative with regard to the replacement of Japanese by English. He claimed that there was no nation in world history which had given up its own language for that of another on the
grounds of the inherent superiority of the other language. He told Mori that adopting and "re-shaping" English into their own variety would make it strange, and even ridiculous to its English and American users. For the same reason, he further added that they could not afford to ignore the established English orthography. To substitute English for Japanese would bring chaos to Japanese society by separating a class educated in a foreign language from the main body of the populace. In fact, Whitney acknowledged that in order to prevent any social upheavals related to the language issue, the Japanese language should be taken care of, especially, with regard to its emancipation from Chinese influence (The Nation 1873a, p. 59).

Mori's hopes of replacing the Japanese language were not fulfilled. 17 His proposal for replacing Japanese "with a rationalised form of English which he called 'Japanese English' " (Nagai 1971, p. 223) was seen as Mori's extremism by those "nationalists who opposed both Mori and the diffusion of western culture" (Morikawa 1989). Seen by many as a pro-western fanatic he was, assassinated in 1889.

3.5.2 Meiji High Schools and the Teaching of Foreign Languages

It was not until 1872 that high schools based on an entirely new system of education were established. In that year the education officials revised the school curricula in order to promote studies through foreign languages. Those schools where all the subjects were taught in a foreign language were called "Kaisei Gakko" which, according to Amano (1990), could be defined as a specialized school where instruction was given in a foreign language by foreign teachers. Students were required to be able to use a foreign language
before they entered it. As a result there was a need for other Foreign Language Schools.

The first Tokyo Foreign Language School was established in 1874 and it combined part of the university where French and English were taught together with the Language School of the Foreign Office where the teaching of German, Russian and Chinese was carried out. This was followed by establishment of schools in Osaka, Aichi, Nagasaki, Niigata, Miyagi and Hiroshima prefectures (Amano 1990). As most of these schools taught in English, they became known as English Language schools. The entrance examinations to these schools were based on translations basically from English into Japanese and on some occasions from Japanese into English. According to Amano (1990, p. 86), the number of graduates in 1876 was rather small as represented in the following Table:

Table 4  English Language Schools Graduates in 1876

| Tokyo 37 | Osaka 12 |
| Aichi 9  | Hiroshima 9 |
| Niigata 4 | Nagasaki 4 |

In July 1881 the Ministry of Education declared a new set of laws governing the middle school curricula. The middle schools were divided into two types: ordinary and advanced middle schools (Appendix II).

In 1886, a year after Arinori Mori was appointed Minister of Education, a number of educational ordinances were put into effect. One of these was a
new middle school ordinance which divided the school into 5-year (ordinary) and 2-year [advanced] divisions (Noji 1969); (Appendix III). An interesting outcome of this division was that a second foreign language was required in the 4th and 5th year of study at the middle [ordinary]school.

Because of Mori's positive convictions about the English language, he encouraged the spread of English at all levels of the school system. High school students had 6 hours of English per week in the first two years and 7 hours in the 3rd year and 5 hours in the following two years (Appendix III). A comparison of the regulations of 1881 with those of 1886 (Appendix II and III) reveals that in 1886 there was a decrease of hours for studying the National language and Chinese but an increase in hours of studying the first foreign language with the addition of another foreign language. However, under a new Minister of Education, Inoue Kowashi, the syllabus was revised in 1894, dropping the requirements of the second foreign language and increasing the number of hours for every grade for studying the National language and Chinese. According to Noji the change was explained by the authorities as follows:

Instruction of the national language is the source of the patriotic spirit and the national language is the main subject and Chinese is subordinate in instruction (quoted in Noji 1969, p. 17).

Noji (1969) further states that the study of Chinese became less important after March 1894,

because the purpose of the study of Chinese sentences was to get an understanding of Chinese sentences, not to learn composition and expression in Chinese-style sentences (Noji 1969, p. 16).
In other words, it would be safe to say that in the course of the Japanese preoccupation with the study of Chinese, the influence of Confucian trained scholars was sometimes evident, that is, the study was concerned with reading and translating the Chinese language word for word and reordering it in order to match the Japanese syntax. This technique is known as "yaku-doku" [discussed in 3.7.1] which dates back over a thousand years and influenced the way Japanese studied foreign languages (Hino 1988a, p. 45).

However, there is no doubt that Inoue Kowashi gave precedence to Chinese studies over "the importation of things Western" (quoted in Hirakawa 1989, p. 493). In fact, both concepts, the "wakon-kansaisetsu" and "wakon-yosaisetsu" were in operation during his political term: he could accept "western-style production" but at the same time

[in terms of] the way of loyalty to ruler, love of country, and allegiance.... - nothing equals Chinese studies. We must revive these values..., (quoted in Hirakawa 1989, p. 494).

### 3.5.3 Foreign Language Study in Schools Relating to Commerce/Business

When Mori Arinori returned from the USA, he established the first school of commerce in 1875 known as "Shosho Koshun Sho" with the help of Professor Whitney (Ohtani 1981:188). The school curriculum was based on five years of study. In the first 3 years students had an intensive English course together with the study of domestic trade. In the last 2 years the students had to study foreign trade practices and the study was conducted entirely in English. In 1876 Mori's commerce school was taken over by the Tokyo prefectural government but managed by a Tokyo Chamber of Commerce. According to Ohtani (1981) the curriculum consisted of the following subjects which had to be studied in English:
(a) English writing for commerce and translation of English into Japanese
(b) English dictation
(c) English penmanship
(d) Commercial arithmetics
(e) Bookkeeping and economics
(f) Commerce and commercial law

In 1884 the commercial school in Tokyo was put under the control of the State. Students who wanted to enter the school had to be graduates of the 4-year course of a higher primary school and often had to sit an entrance examination in a foreign language. In 1885 the school was under the direction of the Minister of Education (Mori Arinori) and it was combined with the school of foreign languages. In 1886 the school was operating under the influence of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and the Institute Superieure de Commerce d'Antwerp (The Anglo-Japanese Gazette, November 1904, p. 117). The school went through a number of further changes and developed a program for a preparatory course lasting one year, a three year course and a two year graduate course.

According to the report in the Anglo-Japanese Gazette (Nov 1904, p. 118) the Tokyo Commercial High School was a far better institution than the school in Antwerp and indeed than any other school operating at that time in Europe. Between 1884 and 1897 it produced 775 graduates of whom 10% were foreigners. In the academic year 1898/1899 the school had 503 students of whom 173 were in a preparatory course; 144 were enrolled in the first year followed by 106 students in the second year and 66 students in the third year.
The higher professional course had 14 students. In addition to the above enrolment there were 178 regular students and 218 part-time students enrolled in study of foreign languages. The following Tables illustrate the curriculum of Tokyo Commercial School:

Table 5 Curriculum of Tokyo Commercial School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese writing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese composition</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical physics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General economics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one of French, German, Russian.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish, Italian, or Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics/Military</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>1st Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jap. commrc. correspondence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commrc. arithmetics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commrc. geography</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Commerce</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of trade</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science of Finance</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil law</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws of bankruptcy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial policy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International law</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of French, German</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian, Spanish, Chinese or Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science of Commerce</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commrc.correspd/Office work</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics/military</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Data adopted & adapted from the Anglo-Japanese Gazette November 1904, p. 118]
In order to satisfy the growing demand for commercial training a similar school to that in Tokyo was opened a few years later in Kobe. However, the school in Kobe catered for both graduates from middle schools and commercial middle schools. Due to this division there was a difference in the curricula of preparatory courses. This difference is stated in the two following Tables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7 Curriculum for preparatory commercial courses</th>
<th>Table 8 Preparatory Course for graduates of Commercial Middle High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory Course for graduates of Middle High Schools</td>
<td>Preparatory Course for graduates of Commercial Middle High Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hours</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Composition</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Arithmetic</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Commerce</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics/Military</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Jurisprudence</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Data adopted from Anglo-Japanese Gazette November 1904, p. 119]

The main 3-year commercial course was organized on the same lines as that of Tokyo commercial school. There were commercial schools opened in Nagoya and Nagasaki. According to the Anglo-Japanese Gazette of November 1904
there was also a school in Osaka which drew up its curriculum on the lines of Austrian commercial academies.

An important issue which comes up in the description of commercial schools of the Meiji period is the inclusion of a number of foreign languages with the study of English as the main language in the curriculum having more hours devoted to it than any other subject taught.

3.6 The Employment of Foreign Experts

During the entire Meiji period (1868-1912) there might have been as many as 4000 foreign experts and advisers in Japan - they were known as "o-yatoi" - 2000 of whom can be identified by name, job and national origin. At least 1000 of them were from Britain (Beasley 1990; Jones 1980). The navy arsenals in Yokosuka and Tsukuji employed British experts. The Tokyo and Osaka arsenals had Belgian, French and Italian engineers working for them.

In one of the reports issued by a construction unit at the Military training centre (Kobusho) of 1875 it was stated that the task of employing foreigners was to meet "in all spheres the needs of public bodies and private firms" by "learning from England" (Koyama 1972 quoted in Yamamura 1977).

One of the foreign dignitaries who was securing positions for British subjects was Sir Harry Parkes, who maintained the view that "engineering could not be taught until basic English had been mastered" (Jones 1974, p. 312).

The British contribution to science education was most visible during the Early Meiji Era (Terakawa and Brock 1978). In 1873 a group of
Among them were H. Dyer, W.E. Ayrton, J. Perry and E. Divers, all of whom were foundation professors in their respective engineering subjects. R.W. Atkinson, a chemist, came to Japan in 1874 and was based at the Tokyo Kaisei School. 1879 saw the arrival of a Scottish professor, J.M. Dixon who became a secretary of Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo. He was famous for his teaching of English (Doi 1979).

During the Meiji era a number of British textbooks were translated into Japanese. Amongst these were, H. Spencer's (1861) "Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical" and A. Bain's (1879) "Education as a Science". At the elementary level, such textbooks as J. Hooker's (1872) "Botany"; H. Stewart's (1872) "Physics" and H. Roscoe's (1873) "Chemistry" which were published by Macmillan for schools in England, were used in Japan (see Tsurumi 1974). According to Terakawa & Brock (1978) the British science teachers and writers who contributed to Japanese education were also the leaders of British science education in Great Britain.

Among the many who contributed to educational development in Japan, especially in the field of English language education, were also some missionaries. Most of them were from America, and some of them arrived in Japan via China at the end of the Tokugawa reign. Apparently European mission societies were not greatly interested in Japan at that time (Scheiner 1970). In fact, a general belief among some American missionaries was that if Japan was to be Christianised it had to be carried out by Americans themselves (Thomas 1887 quoted in Scheiner 1970, p. 13).
The early Christian schools not only contributed to the teaching of Christianity and English but also contributed to the emancipation of Japanese women by establishing the first women's colleges before the government decree of 1872. The earliest women's school was known as Ferris Women's School established in Yokohama in 1870 and attached to James Hepburn language and medical school. In the same year there was another school opened in Tokyo under the name of "Tsukiji A" which in 1889 became Joshi Gakuin. The third one was opened in 1871 and was called Kyoritsu Women's School (see Anderson, 1975). Between 1877 and 1889 there were 9 secondary schools managed by Christian missionaries. Among teachers who were devoted Christians were William E. Griffis, Leroy Janes, Edward Warren Clark and William S. Clark (Ion 1977; Goff 1988). E. D. Clark was a teacher at the "Denshujo" in Shizuoka, a school which was renowned for its Western studies by 1871 (Ion 1977). William S. Clark was engaged by the Sapporo Agricultural College (Goff 1988). While he was there, as a lecturer at the college he introduced an oral English entrance examination as lectures were mainly given in English by a group of American teachers.

The first of the students attending the college in Sapporo were some of the graduates of the English language schools in Tokyo (see p. 93). Clark was probably the first teacher in Japan to administer oral subject-examinations through English (The East Vol. 25, No. 2, 1985).

Apart from the above mentioned foreign missionaries there was a well-known figure, Dr. James Hepburn, a Presbyterian medical missionary, who arrived in Japan in 1859. His experiences in both China and Japan led to his becoming a lexicographer. He worked in Japan during the formative years of
the establishment of the modern educational system. An interesting feature of his activities apart from the establishment of medical and language schools, was the publication of his Japanese-English dictionary in romanized script (romaji) in 1867.

There were also other well-known scholars not associated with Christian teaching activities, among them, Edward S. Morse, Ernest Fenellosa and Lafcadio Hearn (Ion 1977). Lafcadio Hearn, who arrived in Japan in 1890, is better known in Japan as Yakumo Koizumi as he became a Japanese subject in 1895. He wrote books and essays about Japan introducing the Japanese culture to the West and vice-versa. He was also a lecturer in English at Tokyo University. He died in Japan in 1904 (Cleaver 1985).

One of the foreigners most influential on the development of the educational system in Japan was David Murray, a professor at Rutgers College. He became acquainted with Mori Arinori and some members of the Iwakura Mission to Europe and America (1871-1873). As a Japanese Charge d'Affaires in America Mori Arinori approached a number of American scholars to prepare a memorandum for the Japanese government on the "necessity for a national system of education" (Murray 1872; Ikeda 1961; Amano 1990). Murray's reply was evaluated by the Japanese as the best advice. He was invited to Japan and was appointed "Superintendent of Educational Affairs in the Empire of Japan" (Ikeda 1961, p. 209). According to Amano (1990), Murray was a strong proponent of examination systems and credentialism. In one of his speeches in December 1877 at Tokyo University Murray put "the examination at the core of educational
policy" (Amano 1990, p. 5). Amano further states that Murray's concluding remarks of his speech

emphasised that establishing the connection between examinations promotion, degrees and professional certification would lead people to respect examinations..., if examinations were introduced ..., and children encouraged to compete with one another, the education system could become the main road to success and wealth (Amano 1990, p. 5).

However, Amano admits that it is difficult to assess the influence of Murray's ideas on the further development of Japan's new educational regime (p. 7).

In the late 1880s Japanese educationists were slowly turning away from the English towards the German model. This is well demonstrated in the following statement made by Inoue Kowashi who claimed that

of all nations in present-day Europe, only Prussia is similar to us..., we should encourage the study of German and thereby allow it, several years hence, to overcome the dominance now enjoyed by English and French (Inoue quoted in Hirakawa 1989, p. 494).

Without regard to the trends over certain years relevant to the employment of foreigners, Jones (1980) claims that when calculating the data with reference to "man years of service by area of government", her calculation came to more than 9500 years to which British subjects contributed more than 4300 years. The French contributed more than 1500, followed by the Germans and Americans with more than 1200 years (Jones 1980, p. 7).

The employment of foreign experts was economical and a necessity. It was far easier for Japanese to engage readily available foreigners than wait for the educated Japanese coming from abroad (Chamberlain 1987). In fact, it
was claimed by one writer (Umetani 1971, p. 10) that foreign nationals employed in Japan were known as "readymade living machines".

3.7 Methods of Language Education in Japan as Discussed by Japanese Scholars

From the official inception of English language instruction in Japan a number of different "methods" of teaching English were introduced [or at least known among some Japanese scholars]. Ito (1981) provides a summary of the history of different methods according to the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9 A Historical Division of Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Method</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from Ito 1981, p. 205)

Ito's division of language teaching methods into "neat" periods is based on certain historical accounts. The first two periods are known as "Eigakujidai" (English Studies Period) derived from "Eigakusha" (men of English studies). The date of 1808 refers to the "Phaeton incident" (Omura
1982; Jansen 1989; p. 78 in this chapter). The year 1897 is associated with a number of Japanese language educators, such as Shoichi Toyama and Yoshisaburo Okakura, who introduced the Psychological and Phonetic methods from Europe (Doi 1979).

1923 was the year of the opening of the Institute for Research into English Teaching (Goken). Its President was Harold Palmer who arrived in Japan in 1922 and stayed there till 1936. His activities mark the beginnings of the 3rd period.

The 4th period of Ito's division is associated with the names of Charles H. Fries, F. Twaddel and A.S. Hornby and the establishment of English Language Exploratory Committee (ELEC) which now is known as the English Language Education Council. Hornby had actually arrived in Japan in 1923 and after a few years in Kyushu he moved to Tokyo to work together with Harold Palmer (Stein 1989; Grodinsky 1991).

Ito's last period of 1969 is represented by a number of methods/approaches and is related to the establishment of the English Language Education Society which treated "English language as an independent science, not as part of applied linguistics" (Ito 1981, p. 207). Of course, these divisions seem to be a product of Ito's own designations. They did not necessarily reflect the reality of classroom activity as these were not the dominant approaches used in the study of languages in Japan. Indeed even Ito admits that the Grammar Translation Method "has been the most common among the Japanese teachers" (Ito 1981, p. 208).
Omura (1981) claims that there were two further methods which were very popular in Japan during the beginning of English instruction. One was called "seisoku" (regular) and the other "hensoku" (irregular). In order to find out what these methods involve Omura (1981, p. 94) refers the reader to a Japanese-English Dictionary by Brinkley which was published by Tokyo Sanseido in 1896. The entries in Brinkley's dictionary are as follows:

**Seisoku, n.** A method of learning a language by studying the correct pronunciation as well as the meaning

**Hensoku, n.** A method of learning a foreign language which consists in translating the meaning without regard to the correct pronunciation of the words, and without paying much attention to the rules of syntax

It would be appropriate to add to this Table "the communicative approach" which basically was introduced into the language field in the 1970s [based, however, on much earlier writings by Hymes (1964)] and which caught on in Japan in the late 1980s, especially in high schools (Monbusho's Japan Exchange Teaching Conferences 1987;1988;1989;1990).

Ito's description of the introduction of "teaching methods" into Japan was not the only published classification. Masukawa (1981, p. 244) divides "methodologies" into broader periods, the first period starting before 1890. His period II lasts between 1900 and 1939; and the third period comes after the World War II.

Doi (1979) offers yet another view. He says that "the real approach" to the proper study of English may be attributed to J.M. Dixon who came to Japan in 1879 (mentioned on p. 101 in this chapter). He designates this period
as "Eigaku" (the first period of English study) and includes both Japanese and foreign scholars who contributed to English education either as teachers or writers of textbooks.

Doi's second period also seems to be related to scholarly achievements by both foreigners and Japanese. This period is associated with the name of Ichikawa Sanki who in 1912 published a book "Studies in English Grammar" which showed substantial influence from European scholars, notably H. Sweet and O. Jespersen. Ichikawa Sanki was a student of J. Lawrence who taught English philology and classical languages at the Tokyo Imperial University between 1906 and 1916. Doi also calls this period the period of English philology. He does not specify explicitly the 3rd period but from his careful analysis of different scholarly influences we may assume that he designates the post-war era of the 1950s as a period of Michigan influence which is related to University of Michigan's professors who were "not only the best known but...the most favored among English teachers in Japan" (Doi 1979, p. 104). However, he claims that structuralism has produced hardly any notable achievements in the field of English linguistics in Japan and at any rate, American structuralism has practically been superseded..., by the inrush of transformational-generative grammar (Doi 1979, pp. 104-105).

Unfortunately, despite all the various "methods" of teaching English shown in Ito's Table, neither the influence of structuralists nor that of generative grammarians did much to change the course of English study in Japan. In fact, the "translation method" prevails to this day and according to some teachers both Japanese and foreign, this is the greatest handicap to
improving the oral/aural English language skills of Japanese students. This matter will be further discussed in the section which follows.

3.7.1 Issues in "Grammar-Translation" Pedagogy

The influence on Japanese English education of some foreign scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries reinforced the idea of the grammar-translation "method". An example is provided by a book written by A. W. Medley (1937) and revised for the Japanese student by Y. Fuji in 1968.²³

According to Medley's preface to his book "Trivium, the threefold path to English":

Translation, grammar and composition cannot be studied separately... if you work conscientiously at translations, you are sure to grasp a general idea of grammar.

In fact, he named his method the Trinity Method implying the amalgamation of the three subjects 'translation', 'grammar' and 'composition'..., and (the writer) is able to assure you that in it you will find no 'un-English English' which may mislead you in your study of the English language.

I was told by a number of Japanese English teachers that the book was very popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

According to Japanese researchers, nowadays, the most common "method" of teaching English in Japan is the so called "Yakudoku" method which for all intents and purposes is the grammar-translation method under another name (Hino 1982; 1988) with one difference that grammar-translation
was originally developed in Europe on the basis of studying Latin and classical Greek, while in Japan Yakudoku did not have such underpinnings.

Yakudoku can be traced to the study of Chinese of the Heian period (794-1192) where "translation-reading" was used by the Buddhist priests. As was pointed out earlier, the introduction of the Chinese writing system and the Japanese preoccupation with Chinese studies can be identified as the first attempt by the Japanese to learn a foreign language.

Despite the fact that, according to a number of Japanese educationists, various language teaching methods, classified into neat periods were supposed to follow one another, the reality is that the "yakudoku method" is still used by 70% to 80% of Japanese teachers of English at high schools and universities and that 70% of Hino's students had been taught by this method (Hino 1988a, p. 46). As yakudoku simply means "translation-reading" it is a method where the English sentence is translated word-by-word and then re-ordered to fit the Japanese syntax.

The "yaku-doku" method has been criticised at various times by a number of scholars (Hino 1982, 1988a). For instance, as early as 1727 Sorai Ogyu said that one can not understand Chinese by using the "yaku-doku" method as it ignores the linguistic and cultural differences between the two languages. Application of yakudoku to Dutch studies was criticised in 1788 by Gentāku Otsuki in his book "Steps in Dutch Studies". The first criticism of applying yakudoku to the teaching of English was made by Yoshizaburo Okakura in 1911 in the book "Eigo Kyoiku" [English Education]. According to Hino (1988a, p. 51) this publication was the first systematic study of
teaching of English in Japan. The move away from the method of "yaku­
doku" was initiated by the British scholar, Harold E. Palmer.

3.7.2 Harold E. Palmer in Japan

It is claimed that the arrival of H.E. Palmer of the University of
London did not greatly change the way English teaching was conducted in
Japan. According to Okuda (1981, p. 273), teachers at that time in Japan were
forced to conduct their classes by the traditional grammar-translation method
because the entrance examination system for passing exams from lower level
to higher level school or to universities required them to train students in this
method. The statement expressed by Okuda is supported by a comment made
by Professor Kuroda (1957a) who declared that in Japan “the examination sets
the aim, and therefore skill in translation and the mechanics of the language is
the objective.”

Kuroda also commented on the contribution of H.E.Palmer during his
14 years stay in Japan. He said that Palmer had contributed to the studies in
intonation, vocabulary frequency, classroom procedures and many other areas
through a series of manuals, texts and bulletins issued by the Institute for
Research in English Teaching (IRET). However, he stressed that Palmer's 14
years in Japan “were not productive of a permanent improvement in the
teaching of English”. There were a number of reasons for this. It may be of
interest to quote verbatim some of these given by Kuroda:

His (Palmer's) oral approach method was not practicable in the
hands of ill-equipped teachers who had to deal with classes of 50 or
more students nor did it seem to be a short cut in the preparation
for the entrance examination to the next higher grade of school...,
Many teachers [are]..., tending toward teaching about English in
Japanese. Throughout the six years of secondary school study,
emphasis is on vocabulary and grammar... It is necessary for the teacher to explain these grammatical principles in Japanese, so in his so-called English classes, between translation and explanation, the student hears and is asked to speak, mostly Japanese [except of course when he reads the text]... This kind of learning tends to be 90% drudgery (see note 27).

According to Palmer, Mombusho and most of the Japanese English teachers showed an "attitude of insincerity" towards the establishment of the Institute for Research in English Teaching [IRET] (Palmer 1938, p. 218). That is, they consented to its establishment while remaining convinced that it would be ineffectual. However, he stressed that these "distrustful teacher-clans" were won over or replaced as a result of the reforms taken by IRET.

English he claimed, is re-becoming a language for use and not merely for decoration,...the Japanese can learn English, and other foreign languages, as successfully as any other people (Palmer 1938, p. 219).

In fact, his assertion is also based on his belief that the students of the Meiji period approached the study of English as a living language. In his paper he pays respect to such scholars of English studies as Joji Sakurai, Baron Kanda, Sanki Ichikawa and Professor Doi.

Palmer also claims that in 1936 the IRET was very popular among some schools where success in efficiency, in proficiency and in examinations was improved (Palmer 1938, p. 218).

3.7.3 The Use of English in the Pre-War and War Periods

The time during which H.E. Palmer lived in Japan is often labelled "a dark period in the social and political history in Japan" (Nakano 1981, pp. 232-233). According to Nakano when the US Congress changed the
immigration laws in 1924 to prohibit the entry of Japanese nationals, reactionary forces against the teaching of English in Japan came to the surface. He gives examples of articles which appeared in the Asahi newspaper in 1924. One was written by Kyosuke Fukunaga, a lieutenant-commander in the Japanese navy, who claimed that English was the language of "a hostile nation" and it should not be taught in middle schools. A similar article was written by Shukotsu Togawa. In 1927 Tsukuru Fujimura, a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, in an edition of "Gendai Magazine" (May) demanded the "instant abolition" of the department of English in all Japanese schools. There were also other Japanese who made similar demands in 1929 and 1935. Fujimura repeated his demand in 1938 (Nakano 1981).

Despite the problems which language educators, both foreign and Japanese, encountered during the "dark period", one must keep in mind that the decisions against foreign influences were voiced by certain "interest groups" and not necessarily by government policies. One of such groups was Japan's "Romantic School" [Nihon Romanaha] which criticised the Japanese obsession with "things Western" and called on the Japanese intellectuals (e.g. writers) to return to "Japanese classics and the ancient aesthetic sensibility" as expressed in "The Japanese Bridge" [Nihon no hashi] by Yasuda Yojuroin 1936 (The Cambridge History of Japan Vol. 6, 1988, p. 756). The nationalistic educational policy of the 1930s was clearly visible after the Sino-Japanese war of 1937 when militaristic attitudes had prevailed in schools (Hino 1988b).

Japan's desire to free itself from "degrading dependence on the West" (Spinks 1941, p. 479) was basically inaugurated by "the press campaign"
which advocated a total ban on English teaching in Japan (Morris 1943, p. 58). However, this opposition to English teaching could not have had too many supporters in view of the fact that the Japanese Broadcasting Station [NHK] was continuously involved in the spread of the English language between the years 1925 and 1941.

1927 saw the appointment of Mr. Edward Gantlett as an English language lecturer and H.E. Palmer was in charge of an English language news broadcast called "Current Topics" (Akiyama 1977, p. 76). Akiyama further quotes from the English Language Education Journal on the state of English broadcasting of the 1920s and 1930s maintaining the view that the English language Broadcasting "contributed indirectly to the reformation of English language education" at that time. According to the survey by the Public Broadcasting Station (NHK) of 1937 about 150,000 people listened to the English language program (Akiyama 1977).

Despite the growing opposition to the teaching of English, some of the foreign teachers were still engaged in teaching activities till December 1941. An anti-war book "Journey's End" written by Sherriff was still used as a textbook in 1941 (Morris 1943, p. 66). A.S. Hornby's "Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary" was published by Kaitakusha in 1942 risking the displeasure of some government officials (Grodinsky 1991, p. 7). A Japanese literary figure, Abe Tomoji also published two articles in English in government sponsored magazines during the war years. He was described by the military as "being uncooperative" (Akashi 1993, p. 177). According to Akashi (1993) one of the Japanese generals proposed to organise (on the German Nazi model) propaganda corps which would include literary men (Bunkajin) who were supposed to be drafted into the 1930s military in order to
act as war correspondents and propagandists and at the same time encouraged 
hostility towards the Anglo-American powers. At the same time they would 
acknowledge the superiority of the Japanese culture. In fact, The Singapore 
Times of Feb 28, 1942 which was edited by Ibuse Masuji had the following in 
its editorial:

One of the first considerations in the construction of mutual well 
being and prosperity in Asia is that of introducing a common 
language. The suggestion is therefore, that the language of Nippon 
becomes the lingua franca of Malaya (quoted in Akashi 1993, p. 138).

However, it must be stressed that the Japanese propaganda machine was still 
using English and Chinese edition newspapers for spreading their beliefs on 
the superiority of the Japanese "Kodo Bunka" (Imperial Way Culture) which 
was an outcome of the "refining process in the crucible of Chinese, Indian 
and Western thought" (cited in Akashi 1993, p. 140).

Despite the establishment of a semi-official organisation for the 
promotion of Nippongo by the Ministry of Education in April 1940, the 
teaching of English was still carried out during the war years in some boys' 
high schools with the number of hours significantly reduced (Koike 1981; 
Ogasawara 1977). The demands for total abolition of English were in fact 
criticised by the then Prime Minister, General Tojo who felt that 

while sympathising with the patriotic motives..., it was necessary 
not to do away with English instruction but even to increase the 
number of hours devoted to it. We shall require, large numbers of 
English speakers to administer our conquered territories. In 
Australia alone the figure will be enormous (quoted in Morris 
1943, p. 59).
3.8 A Historical Background to Language contact and the periods of Appearance of English Loanwords in the Japanese Sociolinguistic Context

Japanese along with some other languages (e.g. German & French) is among the most English-affected languages in the world, a fact which supports the "internationality" of English on the global scene. Despite the distance of Japan from English speaking countries, an Englishman or an American may be astonished at the number, form and pronunciation of English derived vocabulary in the Japanese language. The widespread, but imperfect teaching of English and the new communication technology are probably among the reasons for further increase of the number of loan-words in the Japanese context. These developments are important from the socio-linguistic point of view and need to be mentioned when describing the status designation of English as an international language.

As mentioned in the foregoing, Japan has taken a great number of ideas from foreign countries with which it has had contact through different stages of development. Japanese literary and cultural tradition has been enriched by these contacts and this is reflected by a great number of loanwords from various languages which influenced the Japanese language through different historical periods.

During the 5th century A.D. the Japanese began to study another language (Chinese) while still not having developed their own orthographic system. The spread of the Chinese writing system was very important to the Japanese in enabling them to import the ideology of Confucius and the understanding of Buddhism which was introduced into Japan from Korea in
the 6th century. Some of the Sanskrit words which are related to Buddhism were introduced into Japan via Chinese and Sino-Korean influences at that time (Lewin 1976; Miller 1976; Vos 1963).

Generally, the Japanese do not count Chinese loanwords as foreign loanwords "since they are not only numerous but written in Chinese characters and hence are not easily distinguishable from native words" (Kawamoto 1983:61). In fact, it had already been stated in 1905 during the Japan Society session in Tokyo that they are used by "the public at large without the least consciousness of their foreign derivation" (L.E.-The Anglo-Japanese Gazette, June 1905 p. 120). Miller (1967) points out that many "older layers of loanwords involving Korean and the other Altaic languages are... all but impossible to separate". The different stages of linguistic borrowing from various languages are summarised on the following diagram:

**Figure 5 Language Contact**

- **Chinese** from 5th century A.D.
- **Portuguese** 1543-1639
  - **Spanish** 1592-1624
    - **English** 1613-1623
      - **Dutch** 1609-1854
        - **English** 1854-1941
          - 1945 till now

Based on the data cited in Vos (1963)
Stanlaw (1987) provides a Table depicting the development of Japanese and English language contact including such varieties as Yokohama dialect and "Bamboo English". He states

that ever since the initial contact with English in the nineteenth century, Japanese have borrowed English loanwords in their vocabulary en masse. This borrowing has been so pervasive and so commonplace that a number of rubrics have been coined to describe it: e.g. Japlish, Janglish, Japangurishu, or the more neutral "Japanized English" (Stanlaw 1987, p. 93).

Pierce (1971) states that "the term Japlish..., is a label often applied to modern Japanese because of the enormous number of words borrowed from English" (p. 45). It is coined from the words Japanese and English in the same way as Franglais (Francais plus English) or Deutschlisch (Deutsch plus English) or even something like Engleutsch (English plus Deutsch).29

There are a great number of sources which provide some historical data and background as to the "invasion" of foreign words into the Japanese language (Haarman 1989; Horiuchi 1963; Kitahara 1983; Matsuda 1986; Miura 1979; McCreary 1990; Ogaeri 1959; Pei 1968; Takashi 1990; Umegaki 1973; The New Crown Japanese-English Dictionary, Sanseido Press 1968). One of the earliest sources which mentioned loanwords in the Japanese sociolinguistic context was an article by L.E. (1905) in the Anglo-Japanese Gazette, June edition which reports on the session of the Japan Society where a paper was presented on the affinity of the languages of Japan, China and Korea by Mr. K. Takahashi. In the writer's opinion this was the best interpretation on the subject at that time. An interesting feature of this paper was the inclusion of only a few words from other languages (e.g. Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish and a few examples from French and English).
according to him "they are too new, however, to be fully assimilated by the Japanese, and remain prima facie foreign words" (L.E. 1905, p. 120; The Anglo-Japanese Gazette, June).

Another early source was a paper by Clement (1930) who reported on educational trends in Japan and mentioned the work of Professor Sanki Ichikawa of the Imperial University in Tokyo. Ichikawa made a study of the influence of English on the Japanese language and published his results in 1928 under thirteen headings: "Food and Drink, Clothing and Toilet, Dwellings and Building, Sports and Games, School Life, Political and Social, Family and Religion, Literature and Art, Science, Mechanics and Engineering, Commerce and Finance, Nautical and Miscellaneous" (Clement 1930, p. 179). According to Miller (1967) Ichikawa identified 1400 English loanwords in Japanese of which over 200 were listed under "Sports and Games" (Clement 1930, p. 180). Miller further states that only two years later in 1930 another Japanese researcher found 5000 loanwords from English and called it "Japanized English".

In fact, from the time of the opening up of Japan in 1858 the expression "datsua nyuo" [leave Asia, join Europe (Kitahara 1983)] was very popular as the progress and development was measured according to Western-World practices rather than Asian influences. The English language was the language which was perceived by many influential Japanese as the language for importation of new ideas, a fact already recognised in 1859 by Fukuzawa Yukichi.
Without doubt English has been the major donor of loanwords into Japanese since the Meiji restoration often also replacing loanwords previously imported into Japanese from other languages (e.g. French loanwords; Miller 1967). English was a vehicle for Japan's modernisation and a source of linguistic innovation. Matsuda (1986) in his paper on "Cross-Over Languages" provides us with a number of "fashionable" English loanwords in different historical periods of Japan and how they were (are) used in different fields in the Japanized form (Appendix IV).

3.8.1 Characteristics of English loanwords in Japanese

Foreign loanwords are usually recognisable because they are written in the katakana script and being able to be placed according to their grammatical function within Japanese syntax. Most of the English loanwords are nouns though some adjectives have also been adopted. These adjectives usually take a suffix "-NA" as in akademiku-na (academic), aguresshibu-na (aggressive) (Matsuda 1986, p. 56). Verbs can be created by adding the Japanese suffix "-suru" to some English loanwords. Ashworth & Lincoln (1973) and Matsuda (1986) give examples of forming verbs from foreign loanwords by adding the suffix "-RU". For instance, the loanword "demo" (demonstration) plus "-RU" = demoru meaning to demonstrate.

Ashworth and Lincoln (1973) claimed that the new pattern of forming verbs from foreign loanwords with suffix "-RU" had only been developed in spoken language and that it had not been accepted at that time in written form. However, according to Professor Matsuda (1992) some of the words which are rather informal, for instance, "ajiru" (agitate), "saboru" (cut classes), and "demoru" can be used in a written form by combining katakana and hiragana and they are not slang.
An interesting feature about the bringing of English loanwords into the Japanese language is that the opposition to it is almost negligible in comparison to the situation in France. However, the new loanwords in Japan have to be approved by the Ministry of Education for official use (Hoffer 1980).

From time to time, the issue of the suitability of foreign words used by some Japanese is debated in the vernacular press, and often surveys on this subject are carried out by various media e.g. press or public broadcasting (NHK). A unique means is sometimes used on how to decide on the suitability of a given loanword or acronym in daily Japanese usage. For instance, "BG" for a business girl (Sonoda 1983) was banned from being used on the NHK television/radio stations in 1983 due to the fact that it could have been understood by some as a woman working in a bar or as a prostitute. In response to this decision a women's weekly magazine "Josei-Jishin" asked the readers to choose a new acronym for the "BG". As a result the majority of women voted for "OL" office lady as the preferred alternative (Understanding Japan May 1992, p. 5, Vol. 1, No. 2).

The latest dispute about the use of acronyms such as "ILO" (International Labor Organization) and "PKO" (Peace Keeping Operation) surfaced on June 29, 1992 when the Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa was reprimanded by the party vice-president Shin Kanemaru for using the acronym PKO in front of Japanese people - it is reported that Kanemaru said "government bureaucrats use English for everything. But not all of us are as smart as you are" (Japan Times July 12, 1992, p. 2). The next day the Chief Cabinet Secretary declared that the government would find suitable
Japanese translations for the English acronyms. In 1988 NHK also conducted a survey on the acceptance of foreign words among Japanese. They surveyed 2,004 people living within 50 km of Tokyo and basically found that the acceptance of foreign words was most visible among the younger group of respondents (20-24 of age) and 50% of the respondents claimed that foreign words were beneficial because they created new images and 33% said that the loanwords could convey subtle nuances which were impossible to be expressed by other means (I. M. 1988, The Japan Times, Sept 20).

An interesting experiment with reference to the use of loanwords was carried out by Morris (1970) while attending a Japanese literary symposium. He set himself the task of counting the number of loanwords used in the Japanese speeches of the participants. He gave the most negative rating to a Japanese professor of literature who used a foreign loanword for every six lines, second came a foreign scholar who had lived in Japan for some 30 years and who used a foreign loanword every nine lines. Morris claimed that it is unfortunate that even literary figures pollute the Japanese language with foreign loanwords. Ironically he divided "Japlish" into a standard variety and a variety which contributed to the linguistic pollution of Japanese (figure 6). The "standard Japlish" in his terms was a variety which introduced new concepts or ideas which were not available in the Japanese language. Loanwords, he considered should not be used to replace native Japanese words. In fact, he supplied a list of loanwords used during the conference which had legitimate Japanese equivalents.
Regardless, of the "harm" the English language does to the Japanese language we can clearly see that the role of English is manifold. In the early stages of the modernisation during the Meiji period the Japanese imported Western ideas through the intensive study of English and according to Redman (1929) English became the official second language as early as 1888 because it was taught in all the schools (p. 190). With the process of modernisation came the idea of "Westernisation" (replaced by Americanization after the 2nd World War) which is symbolised by the foreign concepts embodied in foreign loanwords.

Thus, these foreign loanwords may connote prestige and their use may vary considerably between speakers due to their different exposure to English, for instance,

today the elite of the Japanese society writes under the heavy English lexical and stylistic influence, whether conscious or not: particularly the academics' rigid and formal style reminds us of translations of British and American writings (Matsuda 1986, p. 78).

Since the beginning of the Meiji period English books, both works of literature and of grammar, have been successively translated into Japanese influencing the language in various ways. Some of the well-known Japanese
novelists, such as Soseki Natsume (1867-1916); Junichiro Tanizaki (1886-1965); Naoya Shiga (1883-1971) were influenced by Western style writing (Matsuda 1986; Japan Reports Jan/Feb 1986 Vol. 20, No. 1). Natsume, was himself an English teacher and was influenced by George Meredith and R. L. Stevenson. One of his novels "Kokoro" contains as many as 90 adjectival clauses which were rather unusual for Japanese novels of the time of writing (Inui 1974 cited in Matsuda 1986, p. 74; see also Kimura 1957; Matsui 1975 and Rayan 1976, p. 264).

Tanizaki, for instance, criticised in 1934 his own use of personal pronouns in his novel "Kojin" of 1920 as his intention was to write sentences resembling those of English writing which was popular at that time in Japan. According to Sanki Ichikawa (1966) "the too frequent employment of personal pronouns... is foreign to the Japanese idiom and it must be looked upon as a result of English studies" (cited in Matsuda 1986, p. 72). In the post-war period English not only influence Japan but had almost the same impact on other countries (both industrialised and developing). However, the reaction in other countries to English penetration into the vocabulary of the national language was often apprehension (e.g. France, Indonesia).

Thus, it can be stated that the vocabulary of the English language has firmly established itself within the Japanese language and whether it is called "Japlish" or "Enganese" (Seward 1983) - is irrelevant to argue whether such things are misuses of English or whether they pose a threat to Japanese; they are now simply part of the Japanese language" (Prof. Keifuku Ueno cited in Asahi Shimbun Publication 1972, p. 27).
"Japlish" in a sense symbolises both the modernisation of the Japanese linguistic system and Japan's technological achievements. In fact some authorities claim that "the English language is the only means of modernisation in Japan, as the modern shaping of Japanese technical and technological terminology has been entirely based on adopting and integrating English expressions (cf. hita <heater>) or on coining internal expressions on the basis of English words (cf. wapuro <abbreviated form of word processor>) (Haarmann 1989, p. 16). The vocabulary created as a result of "the coining of internal expressions on the basis of English words "is called "pseudo-words" by Miura (1975, p. 15) and "Japlish words" by Matsuda (1986, p. 57). There was, according to Neustupny (1983), a clear reason for such coinages. The Japanese written language "had to liberate itself from the dependence on classical Chinese. The only way to modernise was in affiliation with the modern languages of the developed West" (p. 23). The modernisation did not necessarily mean the "Westernisation" of Japanese culture (Haarmann 1989) or "the Europeanization of thought processes" (Tsurumi 1986). It should also be acknowledged that "Japlish" does not constitute some sort of spoken or written "English" dialect and according to Jorden and Noda (1987)

a loanword - regardless of its origin - is now Japanese and both its Japanese pronunciation and its meaning must be mastered., one must never assume understanding of a Japanese borrowing on the basis of the meaning of its origin (p. 70).

The validity of Jorden and Noda's claim can be illustrated by reference to a recent Japan Airlines (JAL) advertisement in Time Magazine (August 31, 1992) where there is an example of miscommunication due to different interpretations of the meaning of a loanword by a Japanese and by an English
speaking person. The JAL's advertisement talks about the Maxwell Trading company which has recently opened an office in Tokyo. The interior design of the office was to combine the characteristics of East and West. During the reception Maxwell's Japanese trading partner Mr. Shimatsu came to the American representative and said "tometo mu'udii desu" - which meant the office was "very moody" in the eyes of the American. Being taken aback he went to Mr. Shimatsu to find out whether the colour is making it moody? Mr. Shimatsu replied that everything is fine and "mu'udii". However, the American went on and said but you know "moody" means not happy, downcast - Mr. Shimatsu nearly choked on his coffee when he heard that, saying "I did not mean that" in Japan "mu'udii" means pleasant and cosy.

Matsuda (1986) rightly points out that the status of English as an international language helps the influx of English words into the Japanese linguistic corpus and that

twists and deformation in and misuse of English loanwords.... might cause occasional misunderstanding between foreigners and Japanese, English loanwords will greatly contribute to cross-cultural communication...., and vivify the Japanese language (p. 79).

It should, however, be added that the constant use of English by the Japanese through the last 125 years also reinforces the status of English as an international language and as Loveday (1986) states

the sociocultural motivation for this contact is highly complex and must also relate to the symbolic value of English ..., its international employment for scientific, academic and commercial purposes, Japanese growing bilingualism in English, internal social desires concerning image and levels of sophistication that seem to be satisfied through an appeal to English linguistic resources (p. 316).
In order to see how loanwords penetrate the various areas of Japanese life through the influence of English on the Japanese language, a small scale investigation into the use of loanwords in the daily life of the Japanese has been incorporated into this study. The data have been drawn from lessons for "Business Japanese" published by a respected Japanese magazine: "Business Japan" and an advertising leaflet for the items which were to be put on sale in a big store in 1991. The loanwords in the advertisement were chosen by identifying the katakana script which is used to write foreign words (including foreign family names) - the katakana script allows the Japanese to distinguish the new words from the written text and also it serves in a sense as a "transcription" system for pronunciation of the new words. Some examples of loanwords with some explanation of their meanings are included in the Tables in Appendix V and VI.

3.9 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter aimed at describing the course of socio-historical development of foreign language education in Japan as well as the role of various historical factors which contributed to English becoming both the most studied language in Japan and the predominant language of information gathering about world-wide trends in education and scientific/technological innovations in the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Despite Japan's geographical isolation and the sometimes politically imposed closure of the country (e.g. sakoku), the Japanese have taken trouble to learn the languages and customs of other countries through different contacts they developed over centuries with different civilisations. These contacts were initiated, often under pressure, by foreign establishments such as
missionaries, traders and dignitaries representing the interests of foreign governments.

Somehow the Japanese knew how to utilise successfully the knowledge they gained from such encounters. This utilisation of knowledge was achieved by the study of Chinese classics, Dutch learning and the English language through different periods in Japanese history. The knowledge the Japanese acquired from foreigners was used for pragmatic rather than sentimental or ideological reasons.

From the very outset of their contacts with other civilisations the Japanese regulated their modernising activities through the concept of "Wakon-Kansai" or "Wakon-Yosai". By doing so, they maintained their traditional values and at the same time introduced Chinese or Western educational models depending on the various socio-historical circumstances.

The experience the Japanese had through the various contacts with different people helped them to exploit exoglossic languages they had come into contact with in order to acquire some of the foreign concepts both linguistic and social/modernising.

There was a need for such contacts and for linguistic borrowing in order to expand the Japanese language for truly pragmatic purposes. In ancient times the contacts with the Chinese and the Chinese language resulted in some of the basic language planning activities [e.g. corpus planning] while the contact with the Anglo-American civilisation in the early Meiji period initiated the status planning activities with regard to the standardisation of the Japanese
written language in order to make it more compatible with the spoken variety and at the same time elevating it to the status of a modern language useful for the spread of "modernising" knowledge.
Chapter 3

Notes

1. For further account of various military expeditions to Hokkaido as described by Japanese Chronicles (Nihonshoki) see Kodama, S. (1970).


3. During this period we have the first historical accounts from China about the people of Japan from a Chinese book "Wei Chih" [the people of WA] and a description of the female shaman Pimiko or Himiko. See Sugimoto, M and D. L. Swain (1989), p. 3 n. 5

4. Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced in 513 and 538 [552] respectively. In 894 the imperial envoys ceased to be sent to China. See: Tamaru, N (1987).

5. Some Japanese saw the early missionaries as potential traders and others saw them as allies against the then too powerful Buddhist clergy [The Japan Weekly Mail (1870) "The Christian Question", Yokohama, March 12, p. 85].

6. For a brief account on the Korea-Japan relations during the Tokugawa period see Park Seon-Rae (1992).


8. Nitobe (1973, p. 16) also states that there was an English ship in the port of Hizen in 1564, though there are no details about its activities. It is also known that the English were interested in finding a sea route to Japan as early as the 15th century and that a captain, John Cabot, received the support of Henry VII in 1498 for his voyage in order to find "Chipangu", for instance, see R. Pflederer (1994).

10. M.P. H. Roessingh (1964) reports that at one stage there were as many as 150 interpreters including senior and apprentices. They belonged to a sort of guild or college and served as linguists, commercial agents and spies. In Roessingh, M.P. H. (1964).

11. "Banshoshirabesho" is often referred to in Western writings as "The Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books" According to Jansen (1957) the Kanji for "ban" was supposed to stand for barbarian. In 1863 the name of Banshoshirabesho was changed to School of Western Science [Kaisei-sho].

12. It was reported in New York Times on 18th November 1858 that "Moryama Yehosky[sic] speaks English quite fairly, and Dutch perfectly" (cited in Reischauer 1974, p. 3).

13. According to Amano (1990) the first Minister of Education was Oki Takato and Mori Arinori was the first Minister of Education in the first Cabinet system established in 1885 under the Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi.

14. Sugimoto et al. (1983, p. 396) claim that the Western Science School had a twofold function: to gather intelligence about social, political, economic and military conditions; secondly to engage in research and education related to military technology of the West including basic sciences needed for technology development.

15. The idea of "Wakon-Yosai" can be clearly demonstrated by a recent issue of the Japanese edition of Newsweek magazine, May 27, 1993 where the cover picture of both English and Japanese edition had the Princess Masako under two different headings: the English heading read as follows "The Reluctant Princess: the Wooing of Japan's Royal Bride" while the Japanese heading was "The Birth of a Princess". In order not to offend the Imperial Household Agency, right-wing fanatics and others the English cover story had to be censored. For criticism see: Shota, U (1993).

16. Ironically, during the lecture [The 1983 Council of Europe Education Study Tour to Japan] Dr. Nagai made the following comment on Mori's intention: "Well, that prediction is rather interesting, because at the present time slightly more than 50% of American high school kids, you know, according to the report of the Ministry of Education, Washington D.C., have difficulty using English. So, if they have Japanese-English, as Mori said, they may be very happy" (Nagai 1983, p. 72).
17. A member of parliament during the military dominated "dark days ", Ozaki Yukio also wanted to abolish the use of Japanese. Nagoya Shiga, a novelist also insisted that Japan adopts French as her official language.

18. "Kobusho" was in fact a military training centre established in 1856 in order to train shogunate samurai. In 1866 it became Military Academy [Rikugunsho] (Sugimoto and Swain 1989, p. 398). Beasley (1989, p. 643) refers to it in English as the Ministry of Public Works.

19. The name Tokyo Imperial University was used from 1886 (UNESCO 1966, p. 82).

20. Basically, Japan did not use examinations for recruitment and advancement till at least 1885 . Those who belonged to a certain rank of the nobility rank were able to secure various government and administrative positions. From 1868 those who were acquainted with some type of Western learning (e.g. a language) were able to join certain government establishments even if they were of a lower rank. The school examination system started with the establishment of the modern educational system when students had to sit for exams in order to enter certain schools (chapt II p. 90). The horrors of the entrance examination had been already described by E. W. Clement (1930). Also see) Tokyo Gazette (1940), Vol. 4, No. 6. and Sugimoto & Swain (1989) p. 40.

21. Doi calls this the "Michigan Boom". It is also interesting to note that the first Department of Linguistics was at Tokyo Imperial University as early as 1886.

22. For a different designation on the teaching methods in the post-war period (eg "the period of the established paradigm" and "the period of uncertainty") see Ota, A (1977).

23. The 1968 edition of the book has three Japanese authors in addition to Medley; they are T. Murai, Y. Iida. S. Shimokawa in addition to the reviser Y. Fuji.

24. Howatt (1984) claims that the method could be even called "the grammar school method" as it began in Prussian Gymnasium [High School] at the end of the 18th century. It was used for acquiring a reading knowledge of a foreign language by studying grammar.


27. This information is based on documents [minutes and reports of meetings] in unbound form of the UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Teaching of Modern Languages, Wesley College, February 1957, Sydney. Prof. Kuroda was one of the participants.

28. There are also Ainu loanwords in Japanese (Miller 1967) and quite a number of Malayo-Polynesian components which probably influenced both Japanese and Korean languages in the very early stages of their development; see: Murayama, S (1976).

29. In fact, none of the terms mentioned refers to the way the Japanese, the French or the Germans speak English. For the discussion on the influence of the English language see Heald, D (1970) and Buck, T (1974).


31. Natsume Soseki, whilst in Britain between 1900 and 1902 was in charge of the Japanese language examination at the University of Glasgow which introduced Japanese as one of the languages in the university's entrance examination (see The Age of Tomorrow 121, p. 11).
Chapter 4
A Sociolinguistic View of the Use of English in Contemporary Japan

4.1 Introduction

The Japanese educational system has always reflected the views of the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) and indirectly the views of the graduates of Tokyo University (always ranked as THE university) who most of the time form the majority of the decisions makers within the system.

The establishment of Mombusho itself in 1871 was the outcome of the restructuring of the former Tokyo University which in 1869 was formed by incorporating the Central College (Shohei School); the South College (Daigaku Nanko); the East College (Daigaku Toko). All these institutions were called "Daigaku" (university). However, due to conflicts between scholars of Western studies and scholars of National and Chinese studies, the Central College was dissolved and scholars mostly of Western studies took over the teaching activities. Daigaku became Mombusho which took over the responsibility for controlling the national education system and reorganisation of the University (UNESCO 1966; Tokyo University Bulletin 1987). In 1874 Nanko and Toko Colleges became a College of Western studies and a Medical school respectively. The two institutions became Tokyo Daigaku (Todai=Tokyo University) in 1877.

While in the early stages of the Meiji period there were no restrictions on the use of textbooks within the education system (many were translations of Western books as noted in chapter 3), from 1886 Mombusho inaugurated the authorisation system which stipulated that only texts approved by the Ministry
could be used. These regulations were successfully reinforced in 1897 and in 1907 when the content was based on the Imperial Rescript on Education. After the Manchurian Incident of 1931 the educational policies of the Ministry of Education resembled the prevailing fascist ideology and in the pre-war period Japan took on militaristic and nationalistic orientations (UNESCO 1966).

The militaristic and nationalistic character of education intensified from 1941 onwards, "military drills" being added alongside other subjects at the secondary level. The hours of English teaching decreased but English was not abolished completely. In fact, some commercial schools had 14 hours of foreign language studies including English a week after the educational reforms of 1943 (UNESCO 1966, p. 180). Although the Japanese discarded various foreign languages during their historical oscillation between preoccupation with and rejection of the study of "things Western" they never abandoned the study of English. The popularisation and promotion of English studies intensified again after the Second World War with various groups and organisations being drawn into decision making processes.

The following sections of this chapter discuss the issues involved in the propagation of English in post-war Japan with regard to various educational proposals and policies which were initiated by both the Ministry of Education and other outside organisations. The use of English within the Japanese educational, social, mass media and occupational context with reference to both explicit and implicit policies associated with the internationalisation of the Japanese people and the spread of English worldwide will be outlined.
4.2 Background to Post-War Educational Reforms

Perhaps unexpectedly, immediately following World War II the Japanese showed unprecedented interest in the learning of English. According to a report by the writers of the newspaper (Asahi Shimbun) the late Kikumatsu Ogawa, head of a publishing company was on his way to a farm in Chiba to buy some sweet potatoes on August 15th, 1945. While waiting at the Iwai station he heard the Emperor's announcement about Japan's conditions for surrender. Ogawa realised that "the Americans are coming. We're going to need English". He apparently forgot his potatoes and went back to Tokyo. It is claimed that overnight he produced a manuscript for a booklet under the title of "Handbook of Japanese-American Conversation" which "sold four million copies in a month, a record that no subsequent best seller has yet been able to match" (The Staff of the Asahi Shimbun 1972, p. 26).

Following Japan's surrender the country was occupied by the US military for seven years. During these years a number of changes occurred within Japanese society. These changes included the political, economic, bureaucratic and most of all educational restructuring of the system. A new Japanese constitution was introduced by the US which guaranteed basic rights for all citizens to attend educational institutions and rights for the establishment of unions. Education was no longer to be "thought of as an Imperial prerogative" as in prewar Japan when teachers "were expected to function in their dealings with children and their parents as the Emperor's servants [Tenne no kanri]" (Horio 1988). Japanese educational philosophy had long been based on the concept that the individual was a subject of the state (refer to Mori's article 1 on higher education mentioned in section 3.5) where the educational system was designed in such a way that
students had to respect conformity and were discouraged from taking independent actions. The Minister of Education, in his speech of 1941 demanded

the eradication of thoughts based on individualism and liberalism, and the firm establishment of a national moral standard with emphasis on service to the state (quoted in Beauchamp 1987, p. 302).

However, after the arrival of occupation forces and the publication of the Emperor's new rescript in which he denied his divinity it was possible for the US educational missions to proceed with the revision of the curricula and the reorganisation of administrative changes in education system.

In 1946 the first report and recommendations of the US education mission were submitted. On the basis of this the Fundamental School Law and the School Education Law were introduced which emphasised individuality and education for all. The School Education Law also increased the compulsory school-age from 12 to 15 and introduced a school system of 6 years of primary school, 3 years of lower secondary school (junior high schools), 3 years of higher secondary school (senior high schools) and 4 years of university (the system commonly known as 6-3-3-4) (Hall 1949; Amano 1984; Beauchamp & Rubinger 1989).

Another important step in the post-war reconstruction of the Japanese educational system was the changing of the school administration law. This was accomplished, partially, by the establishment of Boards of Education. The members of the Board of Education were supposed to be elected by public vote which was a novelty in the Japanese system. In this way it was possible
to lessen the direct power of Mombusho on the newly established educational system (Kaigo 1965; Morito 1955).

While the National Standards for curricula were to be set by the Ministry of Education, the responsibility for classroom teaching activity was left to the teachers (Kishimoto & Takemura 1966). In order to provide better for each student's individual needs, more elective subjects were introduced into the high school system at both junior and senior levels. While the first US educational mission recommended reforms to the Japanese language, the mission did not enforce the teaching of English. However, according to Wray (1991) the American educationists "paradoxically..., persuaded the Japanese to make English an elective."\(^2\)

The establishment of the 6-3-3-4 educational system in 1947 created a problem for the Japanese officials who had not expected to start the new school year for 3-year junior high schools till at least 1949. Notwithstanding, the junior high schools, under pressure from the American General Headquarters opened in 1947. This, in turn, created a shortage of teachers, especially properly qualified English teachers (Torii 1977).\(^3\) Most pre-war English teachers went to senior high schools while junior high schools were filled with teachers who had hardly any educational experience. Many of them, at that time, were repatriates from the front whose English proficiency and teaching techniques were questionable (Torii 1977, p. 65). The overall shortage of teachers was so bad that when the Ministry of Education advertised for 165,000 teachers in 1948 only 55,000 places were filled and the remaining 109,000 teaching vacancies could not be filled (Karasawa 1966). This situation created overcrowded classes and teacher discontent.
4.3 Support of English Teaching through the Use of the Media and Voluntary Personnel

While Mr. Ogawa's publication of his Japanese-American handbook was selling a great number of copies, the National Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), in order to meet people's needs in English just after the war, began "Practical English Conversation" in September, 1945. The program lasted for about five months (Akiyama 1977).

In 1946 two new programs were introduced through the medium of radio. One program was "Fundamental English" for junior high schools and the other, called "English Conversation", catered for people who wanted to use English in real life situations (Akiyama 1977). However, Nishimoto (1969) claims that "the school broadcasting as a whole was run a rather low key throughout 1946". Albeit, Akiyama (1977), provides some NHK statistics which show significant audience participation in these programs:

Table 10  Audience participation: English through radio (Figures for 1946)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

adapted from Akiyama (1977, p. 77)

School broadcasting resumed in 1948 with English being broadcast in 1949 first for 15 minutes and extended to 20 minutes in the 50's (Nishimoto 1969).
In July 1953 English television teaching programs were established and at the first stages of development were broadcast during the school holidays and in 1954 with the establishment of more TV stations the programs were beamed during the school hours, lasting 20 minutes (Akiyama 1977; Nishimoto 1969). According to Nishimoto's data there were 250 schools in 1954 using TV educational broadcasting which in 1958 grew to over 3000 including kindergarten and nursery schools.

In order to speed up the "democratisation" of education according to new principles under the US occupational forces, the Japanese Ministry of Education adopted correspondence education as a means of educating the masses who could not attend regular schools. The first correspondence education study committee was established as early as 1946 and after reporting to the Ministry of Education it was replaced by the second committee which looked into various aspects of high school education (e.g. preparation of texts). In January 1948 the idea of correspondence education took off. Radio and television played a very important role and this was emphasised by the establishment of NHK Gakuen Correspondence High School in 1949. English, of course, was included on the curriculum. Television correspondence courses began in 1959.

One interesting feature of educational TV was an experiment on the "English classroom" carried out by NHK in 1961. This was a comparison between two groups of classes of 93 and 85 students respectively. For the reading-writing test students were supposed to perform a variety of tasks: Japanese translations of English, filling blanks (i.e. cloze), comprehension and rearrangement of words. For the hearing test students were supposed to listen
to different words and select the correct one (i.e. phoneme discrimination), listen to words and write the Japanese meaning, listen to sentences and select the same sentence from among Japanese sentence equivalents and listen to Japanese sentences and select an English equivalent. Teachers' English language ability was also taken into account. On the basis of this experiment it was claimed that the effects of TV viewing upon auditory skills varied - when the teacher's "native-like" ability was high the benefit was small and when it was low the benefit of TV viewing was much greater. The study also claimed that students' reading and writing ability improved in classes where the teacher was of relatively low instructional ability - in classes with teachers of relatively high instructional ability students' writing and reading improvement seemed to decrease (Nishimoto 1969, pp. 166-176). The findings reflect the fact that students of teachers with low "native-like" ability had most to gain (in the area of auditory support) from the educational TV program. Other students were already functioning at a higher level.

In order to improve the oral skills in English at the high school level the first "native speaker assistantship" was taken up by three American ladies who decided to accept offers to teach conversational English on a voluntary basis at the request of Mr. Kondo of Yakumo Girls' School in Tokyo in the spring of 1948. By the fall of the same year other schools asked the Ministry of Education to involve native American volunteers in the teaching of English due to the noticeable progress made by students of the Yakumo Girls' high school (Steig 1952?). A number of people replied to various advertisements in Tokyo newspapers and 22 women were selected to help with English instruction at five schools. By March 1950 there were 90 volunteer teachers both women and men teaching at 66 schools. However, the demand was
growing so there was a need for the foreign teachers to train Japanese teachers of English (S. L. Amstrong, Nippon Times included in Steig's thesis 1952?, p. 479). Initially 21 Japanese teachers of English were taught by 6 American teachers. Altogether there were 3 groups of 7 Japanese teachers each instructed by two American teachers of 26 sessions meeting twice a week. The re-trained Japanese teachers carried out in-service training for 1000 teachers in Tokyo in August 1950 (Steig 1952?).

Having an occupying force on their own soil the Japanese did not need to be told that English would be an important subject for them during the democratisation process of their education system. It was during that period that it was needed most.

Well before the involvement of American volunteers and educational advisers to Japan after the war with regard to English language education, Mr. Ogawa, the author of the handbook on Japanese-American conversation, knew on the very day of the Japanese surrender that English was a must. In this respect, he was not the first to acknowledge this - there were others - before him and after him, as language education always seemed to play a very important role in the Japanese educational system, especially, during the Meiji Restoration when Japan had to catch up with European and American technological advancement. For example, Hall, a member of an early post-war educational mission to Japan, noted:

the choice of what foreign languages should be studied in the educational system is a matter which the Japanese feel should be left to them and should not be influenced by foreign groups. In the past the percentages of students studying each of the languages offered has fluctuated in a manner indicating direct correlation
with Japanese foreign trade, diplomatic alliances, and cultural importations (Hall 1949, p. 383).

The Japanese acceptance of the responsibility for their acquisition of language skills for international (or diplomatic) communication is also stressed by Watanabe (1989) in his claim that

The Prime Minister had to be a linguist, capable of negotiating with MacArthur directly. Prime Minister Yoshida in particular, did nothing to diminish the arrogant pose which made people nickname him the "One-Man Prime Minister". But he had outstanding ability. He alone could speak with MacArthur without being subservient - was what everyone felt. However, when the Peace Treaty came into effect, and we became independent,..., Japan was no longer to be administered in accordance with the mind of MacArthur alone. We no longer needed ex-diplomat prime ministers whose qualifications were a talent for the English language (p. 109).

4.3.1 Outside Organisations Involved in English Language Education

Further impetus to the extension of English language proficiency in post-war Japan came from a number of non-government sources. In 1949 the American Military established a scholarship program for Japanese scholars under the name GARIOA. 4 Between 1949-1952 about 1100 Japanese were sent to study in the USA. About 25% of those who went were potential English teachers. Some went to the University of Michigan and studied under Charles C. Fries (Bryant 1956; Torii 1977).

Koike (1981) claims that those who returned from the USA were influenced by the audiolingual approach, and they in turn made that approach quite popular among the junior high school teachers. However, it was not
spread among senior high school teachers because of the University Entrance requirements which emphasised reading and comprehension. So the senior high school teachers kept on training students in the famous "yaku-doku" method. During the 1950's a number of American English language scholars came to Japan and the introduction of American structuralism was overtaken by a new breed of linguists involved in the application of transformational-grammar to the teaching of English (Doi 1979). However, it was not widely known how to apply T-G grammar to the teaching of English. Ogasawara (1983) comments on a letter by a high school teacher to an English teaching journal of December 1982 who complained that since the "advent of Chomskyan linguistics, he had not found Japanese books showing how to apply transformational generative grammar to the teaching of English."

In the next issue, says Ogasawara, there was a reply from a professor who said there were some books written but that the professor felt more should be written. These two letters, as Ogasawara has pointed out "illustrate the attitudes of the average language teacher in Japan" in that they were preoccupied with Chomskyan linguistics when the English teaching profession world-wide had moved on towards communicative approaches.

During the 1950s and the 1960s a number of language education organisations were established. 1956 saw the establishment of English Language Exploratory Committee (ELEC) which is currently known as The English Language Education Council, Inc. (Iino & Igarashi 1969; Shimuzu 1977; Hornby 1977; Reischauer 1977). ELEC was often responsible for organising specialist conferences on English language teaching with the support of bodies such as the John D. Rockefeller III Fund and the Japan Foundation. The first ELEC specialists' conference held in 1956, in which A.
S. Hornby, C. C. Fries and W. F. Twaddell participated made a number of recommendations with regard to teaching of English at Japanese educational institutions. They recommended that a number of institutes should be established which would

- re-train older teachers,
- train younger teachers with new methods and new materials, and
- supplement the training of prospective teachers of English in universities.

They also stated that consideration should be given to exploring the possibility of involving in the teacher training program

- one or two foreign experts on long term contracts,
- visiting American and British specialists, and
- native English speakers as informants.

The specialists at the conference also recognised the difficulties involved in the administration of university entrance examination. They acknowledged that

there remains the danger of unrealistic entrance examinations, which are neither a reliable test of the applicant's ability to use English in future studies nor a just evaluation of his achievement in upper secondary schools. Among such dangers are the use of questions involving translation...., obscure fill-the-blank items, over precise and sometimes artificial grammatical distinctions (EL EC Sept. 3-7, 1956).
1962 saw the establishment of the Japan Association of College English Teachers JACET). In 1963 the Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP) was established with the support of business groups, scholars of English and the Ministry of Education which formally recognised this organisation in 1968. The STEP test is administered twice a year and it can be taken by anybody on payment of a fee. Sometimes newspapers job advertisements carry a requirement that the applicants should have achieved a certain level on the STEP test. In 1979 another testing organisation was established with the support of Educational Testing Services in Princeton N.J., USA. The organisation which is based in Tokyo (Japan), administers a Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) which is used by various business enterprises throughout the world (discussed in chapter 6).

4.3.2 OECD Report of 1971 and the Recommendations of the Council for the Improvement of English Teaching

The problems involved in foreign language education in Japan were clearly articulated by the group of "eminent" scholars from Israel, the United Kingdom, France, Norway and the USA in the report of the United Nations in 1971. In this report "Education for World Participation" (OECD Japan, Chapter VIII, 1971) they stated that

the first and most obvious condition for increased international participation is language. It would seem to the Examiners that the Japanese performance in the field of foreign language training is less than what Japan requires in its present stage in history..., The Japanese educational system at the secondary level devotes a great deal of time and effort to foreign language instruction but the practical results are far less than what could be expected..... in the past..., the emphasis was on reading and understanding, not on expressing oneself through writing and speaking. This was also
compatible, perhaps, in the value of the "golden silence" [Iwanuga hana] (p. 110).

The group recommended the retraining of language teachers, study abroad, exchange programs of teachers - "for this should not be one way traffic". They also stated that the rules governing employment of foreign teachers should be revised. The report said

that the emphasis within the teaching of foreign languages should be shifted to active mastery - the student should be able to read for pleasure, write and speak with ease in at least one foreign language.

All these recommendations by different English language specialists both Japanese and foreign, reached a peak in 1975 with a report by the chairperson of the research committee on "improvement of the teaching of English" to the Minister of Education. The Council for the Improvement of English Teaching was set up by the Ministry of Education in 1960. Basically, the first preoccupation of this council was to revise the course of English study. In 1960 the council proposed a number of changes especially with regard to the training of teachers of English and emphasised the use of the audio-lingual approach (Koike 1981).

There were many reports on the improvement of English instruction from a number of organisations in the 1950s and 1960s and the Council for the Improvement of English Teaching submitted a report to the Minister of Education in 1975. According to Koike (1981) recommendations were made in favour of
- intensive in-service training for English language teaching lasting one month;
- help with financial assistance for teachers who want to pursue graduate work overseas;
- introduction of audio-visual equipment into secondary senior high schools;
- more help from the division of the Ministry of Education to secondary;
- schools with study guides, vocabulary aids and other linguistic materials.

Despite all the differences in recommendations in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s by different organisations (ELEC, ODEC, CITE) some points were shared, namely, that steps should be taken to improve the overall English language ability of Japanese teachers by means of in-service training both in Japan and overseas as well as teacher exchanges and at the same time the approach to teaching of English should move towards more communicatively oriented activity with less emphasis on reading and translation.

4.4 Support for the teaching of English in Schools

The most significant support for the extension of English language learning came through the school system. The basic framework of school curriculum objectives and the content of teaching are outlined in the Course of Study which is published by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture every few years. Usually it takes a couple of years from the publication of the new recommendations to come into force. The teaching of English is described in the Course of Studies, of which first post-war publication appeared in 1947.

According to Iino & Igarashi (1969) the main objectives of the first course of study were as follows:
-teaching the formation of the habit of thinking in English and to make our mind work as the mind of people who speak it as a native language;

-Hearing and speaking are primary skills in language training..., 

-Reading and writing are secondary skills, so they must be learned through hearing and speaking.

-It is necessary to know the manners and customs or the daily life of English speaking people, which will lead the learners to international good-will.

This first Course of Study of 1947 was revised on a number of occasions. The first revision in 1951 (made public in 1952) was the result of the collaboration of a team of 28 teachers under the supervision of J. O. Gaunlett. It was further revised in 1958 (JHS) and 1961 (SHS) (Bryant 1956; Iino & Igarashi 1969).

The first Course of Study of 1947 was only a booklet of 32 pages and heavily relied on the teaching method of H.E. Palmer (Iino & Igarashi 1969). The subsequent revision of the Course of Study of 1951 also followed the principles of Palmer and this in fact was reported in the final report of Civil Information and Education Section of Allied Headquarters on Japanese education:

Nearly all lower secondary schools now offer English at all three grade levels, and nearly all pupils enrol for it..., most secondary schools in the past used the translation method in the teaching of English ..., this resulted in a reading knowledge, but only rarely an ability to speak the language. The trend now is toward the oral approach which is considered to be better...,The one great problem
in the English language program is a lack of qualified teachers (quoted in Bryant 1956, p. 29).

Torii (1977) claims that when he was at Cornell University he was told that the "tentative" course of study of 1947 was written by an American structural linguist "who had perhaps learned Japanese in the Army Specialized Training Program [ASTP]" (p. 70). If this is the case, the materials may well have derived in the first place from the work of the British linguist Palmer who, according to Ogasawara (1983), around 1930 with his Japanese assistant developed teaching materials at the request of the USA Embassy in Tokyo. The mimeographed course material was taken back to the USA by a military language specialist. The course was modified and later used at their ASTP program in Japanese. Americans probably did not know who the original course designer was. This may provide an explanation for the resemblance between the suggested course of study and the approach advocated by Palmer.

The American Occupation of Japan ended with the signing of the San Francisco Treaty on 8 Sept. 1951 (formally implemented on 28 April, 1952). The Japanese government changed some of the reforms started by the Americans and the Ministry of Education initiated four 5-year plans from 1958 and a 12-year plan from 1980 till 1992 (Beauchamp 1987).

The last 5-year plan created two Course of Study books for both lower secondary schools (Junior H.S.) and upper secondary schools (Senior H.S.) for all the subjects. The lower secondary course of study was officially announced on 23rd July, 1977 and put into effect on 1st April, 1981. The upper secondary course of study was announced on 30th August, 1978 and put
into effect on 1st April, 1982. The Course of Study for lower secondary schools, contains 17 pages out of 131 for foreign languages (section 9) of which basically 9 pages are concerned with the teaching of English and the remainder with German and French. The overall objectives are stated as follows:

\[
\text{to develop students' basic ability to understand a foreign language and express themselves in it..., and to help them acquire the basic understanding of the daily life and way of thinking of foreign people (Mombusho February, 1983, p. 103).}
\]

The latest Course of Study\(^6\) specifies objectives for each grade (1,2,3) including various grammatical items, language activities and materials recommended that students acquire a vocabulary of about 350 words in each grade. A separate vocabulary list is attached. However, the course of study does not specify how to teach the students "the daily life and way of thinking of foreign people" as prescribed in the overall objective. Nor does it exactly specify the language materials to be used (p. 104). In fact, the reader may well become confused with the prescription given by Mombusho. And such misunderstanding seems to occur for all the grades in junior high schools. The upper secondary schools are divided into full-time, part-time (night schools) and correspondence. The full-time schools program lasts three years and the part-time and correspondence last 4 or more years. In terms of the content the upper secondary schools are divided into 'academic' schools where students undertake study towards the examination for entry to university or some other professional colleges or general employment (e.g. office work) and vocational high schools such as agricultural (norin-koko) or commercial (shoko) where students are trained usually for specific employment (some may sit for the university entrance exam). English is taught in all the types of schools and the
preparation of the students enrolled in English may vary markedly from school to school. In vocational schools there may be a small number of students taking English where in academic high schools 99% of students take English for 3 years as it is one of the subjects required for the university entrance examinations.  

In the upper secondary Course of Study there are 16 pages out of 187 devoted to foreign language study. Ten pages out of these relate to the teaching of English and six pages to German and French. The overall objective for the foreign languages aims (as does the lower secondary) "to develop students' ability to understand a foreign language and express themselves in it..., and to understand the daily life and way of thinking of foreign people" (p. 79). It further states that the main objectives in English are "to develop students' basic ability of hearing, speaking, reading and writing in English..., and to develop the basis for international understanding" (p. 79 and p. 179). The Course of Study for upper secondary high school students also makes a provision for students to study two languages (where and if possible). However, "the number of credits for the second one may be reduced down to two" (p. 90) (Appendix VII).

With the introduction of the Course of Study for lower secondary schools on April 1st, 1981 the teaching hours for English classes were reduced from four to three hours a week - a decision which evoked an angry response from some sections of the public opinion.
4.4.1 Japanese Public Opinion and the Teaching of English

In June 1981 an "informal" organisation was formed, "The Association Opposed to Only Three Hours of English a Week in Middle School". It was a group of concerned people which collected 40,000 signatures and presented a petition to the Japanese parliament (Diet) under the title "Against the Forced Implementation of Three Hours English a Week in the Middle School". The "concerned group of people" argued their case as follows:

Under Japan's democratized educational system, the right to draw up class timeTables rests with each middle school., middle schools that consider four or five hours necessary should be able to offer additional classes., W e wished the Diet to recognize that the Ministry of Education should not force this norm [3 hours] on the boards of education (Kumabe 1982, p. 124).

However, the lower house committee on education did not approve the petition as the officials from the Ministry of Education lodged a complaint with the Diet saying that they could not make an exception for English in view of the fact that some other compulsory subjects' teaching hours and content were also cut (1982). Another petition was presented to the Diet without any positive outcome. The Ministry of Education decision not only affected lower secondary schools but also upper secondary schools where the basic instruction in English is three hours. However, the senior high school students are in a somewhat better position because they can choose other "English options" available at that level, for instance, English II A (conversation), English II B (comprehension) or English II C (composition) (Appendix VII). The public opinion, however, had not much influence on the decisions taken by the government officials. In fact, a few years before this incident one parliamentarian wanted to restrict the teaching of English to only some students and introduce other languages into the educational system alongside English.
This argument has been reflected in a very sensitive debate which was carried out in 1974 and 1975 by two very outstanding members of Japanese society with regard to the teaching of English in Japan. One of them was a professor and the other a politician (though both of them were former language students with the experience of studying overseas).

The politician, Mr. Hiraizumi, started the debate on 18th of April 1974 by publishing a pamphlet on the state of English language education in Japan addressed to educational administrators and teachers (Japan Echo 1975). Basically, Mr. Hiraizumi's argument was to change the whole course of foreign language study in Japan by introducing other languages into the educational system and excluding them from the university entrance examination. He blamed the poor state of English education on the lack of enthusiasm, the university entrance examination and the "Western" methods being applied to the teaching of English. Hiraizumi claimed that only those who were interested in English should study it with a minimum of two hours a day and a month of intensive training each year.

It took a year for Professor Shoichi Watanabe to counterattack the view of Mr. Hiraizumi. Professor Watanabe published his view under the following heading: "Hiraizumi Proposal for Reform of English Education - A Plan to Invite National Decay". He claimed that the picture was not as bad as it was presented by Mr. Hiraizumi. He said that the teaching of English both before the 2nd World War and after the war had made some visible contribution to Japanese society. For instance, he said, Japan already had translations of such writers as Shakespeare, Emerson, Carlyle and others before the 2nd World War. Watanabe also supported the importance of
grammar and translation in the teaching of English. He supported then current state of the art in English language teaching by some historical facts - he went back as far as the era of Prince Shotoku (AD 574-622); (see Table 3, section 3.2) and said that since those times Japanese students' preoccupation with languages (e.g. Korean and Chinese) was to read the originals accurately. Watanabe also defended then current structure of the entrance examinations.

In May 1975 Wataru Hiraizumi published a reply to professor Watanabe's comments saying that the professor did not refute him at all at least in his claim that "present foreign language education is totally ineffective and produces no results at all" (Hiraizumi 1975, p. 111). He further went on describing some language courses he took himself during the war years:

... as a student during the years of World War II and immediately after the war, about 10 hours of German, which I chose as my first foreign language and 6 hours of English as my second foreign language, were compulsory each week at the high school and college..., Nonetheless, I am keenly aware of how discouraging the average "results" of foreign language education were (Hiraizumi 1975, p. 112).

Hiraizumi also criticised the weaknesses of present conversation classes and pointed out that (a) teachers were not good at it because they did not study conversation in the old system themselves and (b) conversation is not included on the entrance examination so there is no need to bother about it.

Professor Watanabe replied in June 1975. He defended the English language teaching again as not being as bad as Hiraizumi described it. He, then, described his postwar study of English in a high school. He mentioned his (by
then) already retired teacher who taught from Bacon's essays which in fact were materials supplied by the Ministry of Education. He also made the following comment:

> Even so, I think we read the seventeenth century English of the essays with great accuracy and understood the content very well. I think that even in comparison with American or English youths of the same age..., our reading was not less accurate. Indeed, I suspect it was more accurate (Watanabe June 1975, p. 119).

Then, he went on to say that having this type of training he was able to read most English prose. However, he commented that such an achievement would not be accepted by Mr. Hiraizumi as a positive outcome of language education. Professor Watanabe also expressed a view that being able to read a page of an English book in half-an-hour or an hour is quite an achievement.

It seems to me that both Mr. Hiraizumi and Professor Watanabe expressed valid views. By doing so they exposed to the public the pros and cons of English education in pre-war and post-war Japan. However, their debate "failed to make any radical lasting impression on members of the huge English teaching profession" (Kumabe 1975 cited in Neustupny 1976). In fact, in the 1970s and early 1980s most of the debates and proposals relating to educational issues were not satisfactorily dealt by the bureaucrats. In order to lessen the power of highly centralised bureaucratic structure and its influence on educational decision-making processes an ad hoc Council on Education was established in 1984.

One of the highlights of the 1980s was the institution in 1984 of the Ad Hoc National Council on Educational Reform by the then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. The Council had a number of advisory groups in order to review post-war educational reforms with the intention of reducing the bureaucratic power of the Ministry of Education which had the monopoly on decision making processes with regard to educational policies. This was supposed to be achieved by a "liberalization of education" (Amano 1992, p. 6), especially of those aspects which hindered the education system of Japan from responding to the recent social and cultural changes.

In 1987 the advisory panel to the Prime Minister Nakasone recommended that a number of changes should be initiated in order to

a) promote individuality
b) introduce greater variety of subjects to high schools
c) revise the university entrance examination system
d) improve the system of accepting foreign students
e) respond to internationalization

(ISEI 1989, p. 93; Nakajima 1988)

With regard to internationalist ideology the National Council on Educational Reform included

the ability to communicate in one or more foreign languages, a thorough knowledge of foreign countries and cultures, a capacity to appreciate cultural differences and an international consciousness [kokusaiteki ninshiki] (quoted in Lincicome 1993, p. 92)

In spite of the principles expressed in these recommendations, however, according to a former director of the Citizens Institute for Educational...
Research, Toshio Morita, the intentions of the National Council on Educational Reform were not contributions to international society but a calculated expansion of Japanese economic and political power in the international community (cited in Lincicome 1993, p. 129).

The whole process of intended educational reform was hampered by the emergence of a number of conflicting views with regard to the liberalization of education. In fact, one subcommittee emphasised the importance of the internationalisation of education while another committee allied itself with the issues which fostered native traditions and cultivated Japanese identity [Wakon-Yosai] (Wray 1991, p. 468).

It has been reported that Prime Minister Nakasone did not have total support for his reforms even from the members of his own party who formed the so called "zoku" (an unofficial clique which has no official membership and no official role) which is said to "influence the policy process through various formal and informal channels" (Schoppa 1991, p. 82).

Such zoku powers, were indeed, on the rise and made substantial policy changes difficult to carry out. Some members of the education zoku (bunkyo zoku) "became active in the sphere [of education] in order to further their nationalist ideological agenda" (Schoppa 1991, p. 92).

The National Council on Educational Reform did not initiate any drastic changes to effect liberalization of education and "this has been blamed on strong resistance from the Ministry of Education" (Amano 1992, p. 7). There have been small visible changes implemented, at least at
the high school level, with regard to the revision of the Course of Study which will allow schools to introduce elective courses and diversify their curricula (Amano 1992) including more communicatively oriented English classes. There were minor changes to the University Entrance Examination but no changes in the subjects covered in the examination with the answer sheet style being the same as used on previous occasions (Nakajima 1988, p. 169).

However, due to the rapid expansion of the Japanese economy in the 1970s and 1980s it became possible for further support to be offered to English teaching in schools by the widespread promotion of international exchange and private study abroad programs.

4.4.3 The Promotion of International Exchange and the Teaching of English

The rapid expansion of the Japanese economy in the 1970s and in 1980s has been paralleled by the rapid growth of the "Ryugaku Boom" [Study abroad boom]. The first boom in studying abroad was experienced in 1972 (during the Meiji Era there was also a movement among the samurai class to study abroad; see section 3.4). As the Japanese economy started to reach its heights, 1986 saw the second Ryugaku boom with a continuously increasing number of Japanese students going to English speaking countries, especially the USA, to study at institutions of higher learning.

Students who go, for instance to the USA, have a "variety of objectives" and may enrol for either degree or non-degree courses (Regur 1990). Most of the students went abroad as "private" students (without
government scholarships). According to Mombusho (1990) statistics, in 1989 there were 113,234 students abroad of whom 62,382 were in North America.

In order to increase international understanding and improve skills in a foreign language (usually in English) government sponsored programs for educational exchanges have also been instituted. For instance, during the 1989 school year there were 2,096 senior high schools students on exchange overseas (Mombusho 1990). There were also 3,043 teachers of both elementary and secondary schools who went for study tours abroad and in addition there were 194 secondary school teachers of English who went to study abroad. The overseas study programs may last two, six or twelve months and according to Mr. Wada, a Mombusho official, in 1990 there were 175 teachers of English on a two month program in the USA and the United Kingdom. The 6 month program had 50 teachers and the 12 month program, which started in 1990 had only 5 teachers of English studying abroad (Wada 1990).

In order to improve Japanese High school students' English language communicative skills and to promote mutual international understanding between Japan and a few selected countries, the Japanese government under the auspices of the various ministries and local government created a Japanese Exchange Teaching Program(me) in 1987. Under this program Japan is importing native speakers of English and a number of native speakers from France and Germany. The number of native English speakers is represented in the following Table:
The largest number of AET/ALTs is from the USA followed by the UK and Canada. Ireland is the least represented among the English speaking countries. France and Germany were represented in 1992 by 20 and 18 participants respectively. In fact, the large number of the participants from the USA was criticised by some sectors of the Japanese community saying that it was a "political ploy aimed at diffusing tension caused by Japan's huge trade surplus" (Nozawa 1988). The program was also criticised by some members of the teaching profession including Tokyo University Professor, Shunsuke Wakabayashi (Wakabayashi 1988). The program, however, also had its supporters such as Professor Ikuo Koike of Keio University who stated that it was a positive move in English language education in Japan moving away from the traditional grammar-translation to more communicatively oriented classes (Koike 1990; Nozawa 1989).

There were two main "buzzwords" which seemed to be heavily emphasised at the various conferences of the Japanese Teaching Program(me) between 1987 and 1991. These were "internationalisation" and "Team-
teaching". The issue of internationalisation had been dealt with in 1988 at the Conference for Improvement of English Teaching in Japan (Kaizenkon). One of the Japanese participants expressed his dismay at the report published by the Educational Personnel Training Council (an advisory body to Mombusho) in 1987, where the definition of internationalisation was interpreted as "just to produce Japanese people who can work abroad for the future development of the Japanese economy, smartly dodging trade friction" (Nozawa and Takasuka 1988, p. 6). The Japanese participant claimed that in his view internationalisation meant "a world in which Japanese live in harmony with its neighbours including China and South Korea" (Nozawa & Takasuka 1988). A very similar view was expressed by Perman (1990) who referred to various people now living in Japan who in fact formed the Japan's "international community" long before Japanese officials promoted the issue of internationalisation. She further stated that while there is a growing number of Japanese travelling overseas

Japan needs to embrace all of the globe in the name of internationalization, unless Japanese internationalization can answer more questions than it asks..., the ships of internationalization that set sail in the 19th century will only be sailing into the 21st at half mast" (Perman 1990, p. 7).

On the issue of internationalisation and English language education one Western visiting professor at Tsukuba university had this to say:

inviting foreign teachers to Japan does little to solve the problem. The foreign teacher may provide the occasional international experience for the students but can do nothing to avoid the pressure on English teachers to get their students into good colleges. As a result many students hate English and avoid speaking to foreigners..., the Japanese university entrance exam system means
that English teaching, in particular, does not produce the kind of citizen that can easily become international (Wray 1990b, p. 35).

Since the inception of the Japanese exchange program hundreds of letters and articles have been written in Japanese newspapers by both professional teachers and laymen, native speakers and non-native speakers. Many of the letters and articles have been negative about the program and its participants (cf. Flanagan (1988) and Hasegawa (1990b). However, it might be argued that the value of this assignment can only be fully assessed not by outsiders but by the consumers, that is Japanese students who may be at one stage of their lives be able to utilise this to help them to move into a truly international experience, for instance, by going to a foreign country and using their English skills in international contexts where English is spoken either as a native or a non-native language. By doing so they will realise that the English language has "many faces" and so do the countries where it is spoken as a native, second or foreign language.

In this section it has been argued that English teaching in Japanese schools expanded significantly in the post-war years with support from both governmental and outside organisations including Japanese public opinion. The discussion has also revealed a close link between the "internationalisation" of Japanese society and the teaching of English in the Japanese educational system.

4.5 The Present Demand for English Language Skills within the Japanese Social and Occupational Context

As of June 1992 there were 1.26 million foreigners living in Japan, some of them on short-term visas and others on long term contracts such as, for instance, the Japanese Exchange Teaching Program(me). Those who come
on short term-visas (e.g. 3-month) are usually involved in teaching English or another foreign language (Focus Japan, June 1993, p. 4). According to Waller (1990ab) in Tokyo alone at one time there would be about 70,000 such "tourists-teachers" engaged in teaching English. In addition to these people there are academics, designers, economists, restaurant employees, entertainers and businessmen. They contribute greatly to the internationalisation of the Japanese society. This is reflected, for instance, in the existence of various English newspapers published within Japan.

The need for both foreign expertise and Japanese expertise combined with the knowledge of the language can be established by looking through English dailies. The diffusion of English in the Japanese occupational market is enormous and it points to English as functioning in Japan as a truly international language, whether used in educational, academic or purely business oriented enterprises.

It would almost be impossible to pin-point every factor that might have contributed to Japanese modernisation through the study of English. However, one of the many evidences of the modernisation of Japan has been in Japan's preoccupation with the study of foreign languages and the employment of foreign experts. In fact, the present situation "resembles" very much the initial stages of "rapid modernisation" of the Meiji era when foreign experts were welcomed and Japanese students were sent abroad, especially, to English speaking countries in order to access the scientific/technical knowledge of the West.
Japanese scholars also have been able to transmit this knowledge in a foreign language when the need arose. A number of English language newspapers have been published. One of the keys to the advancement and success of Japan in the world has been the study and the use of English in different fields (e.g. science and commerce). In fact, the English language has remained till today by far the most taught foreign language in Japan since the opening of the country in 1853. The statistical data on the study of English in the present day Japan is shown in the Table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>No. of learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior H.S.</td>
<td>5.9 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior H.S.</td>
<td>5.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior College</td>
<td>50 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College/University</td>
<td>2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined data for two year college, orep school/elementary (private) business school</td>
<td>0.5 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.5% of the total population study English

[Data adapted from a handout, Koike (April 21, 1993: Singapore)]

Today this pre-occupation with the study of English is reflected in the enormous number of scientific/technical and social articles which are published within Japan by both Japanese and foreign researchers. There are a great many professional journals which are exclusively published in foreign languages, mainly in English (e.g. Kwansei Gakuin Annual Studies; Journal of Experimental Medicine). Other scholarly publications which are written in Japanese usually will have an abstract or a summary of their Japanese content.
in English. As will be shown later (Appendix IX) the most commonly used "lingua franca" across various languages [excluding Japanese] in professional publications is English.

Apart from the widespread use of English in scholarly/scientific Japanese journals, Japan also has four English dailies; The Japan Times, The Daily Yomiuri, The Mainichi Daily News and the Asahi Evening News. The four dailies publish a comprehensive coverage of overseas news supplied by various news agencies from all over the world. They also feature editorial opinions, business entertainment and sports. The Japan Times carries the largest classified advertisement section of all the four English dailies. There is also "The Nikkei Weekly" which is printed in Japan, the USA and the Netherlands. This paper concentrates entirely on the events which make the news in Japan. It is estimated that 20% to 40% of English language newspapers published in Japan are read by Japanese (Katsumata 1992).

In remaining sections of this chapter, two aims will be pursued:

(a) to establish the importance of English language use within the Japanese social context measured by a count of classified advertisements in English and is confined to one daily newspaper the Japan Times.

(b) to assess both the role of English as the language for academic/professional publications in Japan and the role of these publications in supporting an English as the International language based on the analysis of various Japanese professional/academic journals which were published both in pre-war and post-war Japan.
4.5.1 The Classified Section in the Japan Times - 10 issues April/May/July 1992

The Japan Times carries the largest classified section of all the four dailies in Japan. All English language employment advertisements were counted and divided into (a) those which sought "bilingual" people, English teachers, and (b) those which sought teachers of languages other than English (Table 13). Furthermore, these advertisements were divided into advertisements which sought Japanese "bilinguals" (English); Japanese bilinguals in other languages, native English speaker bilinguals (Japanese) and advertisements for bilinguals where nationality was not specified (Table 14).

The language teaching advertisements were divided into advertisements which sought qualified English teachers (native speakers), Japanese English teachers, native English teachers with no specified qualifications and advertisements for teaching languages other than English.

Analysing the ten issues of the Japan Times of April/May and July 1992 the following data were obtained (Table 13 & Table 14):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>April/May/July 1992</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual Ads</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Teaching Ads</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Other Languages</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Adverts</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,891</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14  Categories of Ads/positions in the Japan Times*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>April/May/ July 1992</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Bilinguals English</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Bilinguals Other langs</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native English Bilinguals</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals any nation</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native English only</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Native English</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese English teachers</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (native) teaching no qualifications stated</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach other languages</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other adverts</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: It should be noted that the figures presented here relate to the number of positions, not the number of advertisements (since advertisements often include more than one position).
Out of the total 1891 English language advertisements 48.2% were advertisements seeking bilingual personnel; 27.8% of the adverts were asking for English teaching staff and 2.4% sought people to teach languages other than English. 21.6% of other advertisements did not specify whether a knowledge of Japanese or English was required. Furthermore, out of the 911 (48.2%) advertisements 23.3% sought Japanese bilinguals (English) and only 1.5% were advertisements which sought Japanese bilinguals in other languages. 3.4% of the advertisements asked for both native English speakers bilinguals (Japanese) and for native speakers only. 19.9% of advertisements looked for bilinguals without specifying the nationality of the applicants (Table 15).

With regard to language teaching positions 15.9% of the advertisements sought native English speakers without specifying any qualifications (if we consider that the English Teaching ads made 27.8% of all the ads then 15.9% this is a considerable figure). Only 9.4% of the adverts sought native English teachers with some sort of qualifications (e.g. degree, teaching certificate or EFL related training). The demand for Japanese English
teachers was rather small and was represented by only 2.5% of the counted advertisements. The demand for teachers of languages other than English was also represented by the very small proportion of 2.4%. Adverts which did not make any reference to a language requirement accounted for 18.2% of the total count.

We can assume from the data obtained from the count of the classified advertisements that there is a considerable demand for both bilingual and language teaching personnel at privately owned schools [government schools and institutions usually do not advertise their positions in the Japan Times]. In fact, advertising campaigns to lure students into some schools can run into billions of yen. This is shown in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the school</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Amount spent on advertising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GEOS</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>Y 970 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEON</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Y 370 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>22,800</td>
<td>Y 2.1 bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>no figures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Data adapted from H. Levinson (1992) Japan Times, July 29 p. 3]

Almost one fourth of the counted advertisements were directed towards Japanese nationals with knowledge of English. These findings seem to support the view that Japan is not such a monolingual society as is sometimes supposed and that the number of bilinguals is growing (Goebel-Noguchi 1991).
4.5.2 The Diffusion of English through Radio and Television

The diffusion of English through radio and television is accomplished by means of radio/television lessons of English through various broadcasting stations both public and private on one level and on another through news broadcasts from overseas by satellite or cable stations. For instance, the public broadcasting station (NHK) runs satellite service news in English from such networks as CNN, BBC, ABC and runs its own, sport items, and music (a sample program copy see Appendix VIII).

The expansion of such services as satellite broadcasting will bring on a greater variety of shows from overseas, especially English speaking countries. In the latest survey presented by Koike (1993) it was estimated that the money spent on foreign language lessons through such media as radio, television, publishing companies and electronic companies amounts to 300 billion yen.

In some parts of Japan it is also possible to receive programs from American bases (both radio and television) which constantly beam programs originating in the USA.

The University of the Air (Open University) which was established by the Japanese government in 1985 is using radio/television networks for study purposes including the study of English.

4.5.3. The English Language and the professional/academic publications in Japan

Foreign language education in Japan has been usually associated with the study of both the humanities and sciences so that the majority of
institutions of higher learning (e.g. universities) require their scientists to publish in English for both domestic and international contexts.

In the study which was carried out by Maher (1986, 1989) on multilingualism in the field of the medical sciences it was concluded that English was used quite often as an "occupational language" for publication in medical journals. In fact, it was found that 53.3% of Maher's respondents (Japanese doctors) replied positively to a question "Do you ever write articles or reports in English?" and 10.8% claimed they did so often. 64.2% of Maher's respondents were willing to write a presentation paper in English for a medical conference (Maher 1989, p. 311). Maher claims that there were at least four factors which contributed to the phenomenon of the spread of English within the field of medicine:

1. the quality of research
2. language proficiency
3. symbolic significance
4. the political situation

(Maher 1989, p. 312)

He also states that from the language planning point of view in the newer medical schools only English language contributions are acceptable for house publications (Maher 1989, p. 313).

In order to assess the competition among different languages in the Japanese academic context the following journals were consulted:

According to the count obtained from the issues between 1930 and 1941 out of the 348 articles 75.5% were published in English; 21.8% in German and 2.5% in French\(^{17}\) (Table 16; Appendix IX).

The count for 1984 and 1986 period included 17 issues and all of them were written in English (Table 17; Appendix IX).

Table 18 (appendix IX) includes the data from the Japanese Journal of Microbiology for the period from 1957 to 1964. All articles were written in English.

4.5.3.2 Kwansei Gakuin University Annual Studies

A total of 40 volumes were checked for the period of 1953 and 1991. Out of the 487 articles 85.6% were published in English; 9.8% were in German; 4.1% in French and even two articles in Polish which accounted for 0.4% of the total count (Table 19).

4.5.3.3 Japanese Journal of Ethnology (Minzokugaku-Kenkyu)

A total of 94 issues were checked for the period of 1963 to 1992. Out of the 331 abstracts 95.5% were written in English; 2.7% were in French; 1.2% in German and 0.6% in Spanish (Table 20).
4.5.3.4 The Japanese Journal of Social Anthropology

A total of 94 issues were checked for the period of 1963 to 1991. Out of 528 articles 58.5% were in English; 40.9% were in Japanese and only 0.6% were in German.

4.5.3.5 The Hiroshima Mathematical Journal of Hiroshima University

The journal had 99.2% of its publications in English for the period of 1978 to 1990 and only 0.74% were in French. None of the articles was in Japanese (Table 23).

4.5.3.6 A Journal of Mathematics of Kyoto University

The journal for the period from 1978 to 1990 had 94.4% of its articles in English; 5.1% in French and only 0.37% of them were in German (Table 24).

Some of the journals acknowledge on one of their pages that they publish articles in English in principle (e.g. Keio Economic Studies) or another language (e.g. Kobe University Economic Review) (Appendix X & XI).

In a country with hundreds of universities and thousands of publications it cannot be expected that every publication will be dominated by English. For instance, The Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters of Tokai University for a period from 1967 to 1991 had 91.9% of its articles written in Japanese; 6.8% were in English and only 1.2% were in German (Table 22). However, the English language accounted for 70% of the journal's abstracts followed by abstracts in German which accounted for 19.5%; French abstracts were
represented by 7.3% and there was one abstract in Latin which accounted for 2.43% of the total count (Table 22).

4.6. Conclusion

The above discussion illustrates that English is the predominant foreign language used within various domains be it educational, academic or mass media. At the educational level it is language designated as a school subject taught for 6 years - it is a compulsory subject in the university entrance examination. Among some academic publications English has acquired a special status, as the most common medium of some academic journals and a required medium of some medical publications within the new medical schools (Maher 1989).

Within mass media English is used in various Japanese newspapers/journals and radio and television.

Within the educational domain English seems to have been dominating the educational scene since the end of the 2nd World War and probably reached the "saturation point" in the 1980s when various interest groups expressed their views on the shortcomings of English language teaching.

An ongoing area of debate has been the place of oral communication in the schools syllabus.
Despite arguments on the part of some Mombusho officials and language specialists in favour of oral communication, no dramatic changes have been made to the university entrance examination to accommodate the recommendation of the communicatively oriented New Course of Study (except a few universities see chapter 5).

With respect to the administration of the school system two opposing views seem to have emerged; on the one hand some government officials and members of the public at large who formed the advisory groups to the Nakasone's Educational Reform Committees explicitly state their stand and support changes on the wider scale with regard to the rigid system they created after the 2nd World War; on the other hand the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education (associated with "zoku") seem to oppose the changes which would affect a centrally controlled school system. Their policies seem to be implicit in essence. While the Mombusho officials, along with other Ministries and local government, support the need for the Japanese society to be more international (section 4.4.3) for the most part they seem to be "inward looking" (Hane 1986, p. 400) and this can be inferred from their inability or unwillingness to sponsor more Japanese English teachers for study abroad. The number of such teachers in comparison to the number of native English speakers who are on the Japanese Exchange Program is almost negligible (section 4.4.3). Japanese officials also seem to portray Japanese students coming home from extended stay overseas (kikoku-shijo = children coming home, returnees) as individuals suffering severe cultural shock having difficulty to reintegrate into the Japanese school system which is academically more demanding and group oriented than the Western model (Goodman 1990). One could ask what is the rationale for trying to internationalise the
society when the internationalisation brings so many unwanted ills - and may have a negative effect on students' Japanese identity. It seems as if the principle of *Wakon-Yosai* is in operation. While some officials support exchanges on the international level (e.g. 4-week exchanges with sister schools overseas) they basically prefer these to occur at home (in Japan), like the Japanese Exchange Teaching Program. However, an exodus of Japanese teachers (e.g. English teachers) leaving for overseas would bring havoc to the system on their return (e.g. The Meji Restoration was only possible because of the people who travelled abroad and on their return initiated progressive reforms which sped up the process of modernisation).

A 1984 report on Educational Reform in Japan addressed issues to be implemented in the light of socioeconomic, technological and cultural changes [Conference on Culture and Education 22nd March 1984 (UNESCO No. 22, Dec 1985) ]. These issues were re-defined in the fourth and final report of 1987 (UNESCO No. 25, Dec 1988) and with reference to internationalisation the following position was taken:

...Japan cannot survive in isolation from the international community with regard to various aspects of development including natural resources, energy, industry, commerce, education, culture, and so on (p. 69)

It seems that the issue of internationalisation is driven by pragmatic considerations rather than by the principles which are neatly represented in various reports and statements by Mombusho officials.

One Japanese social scientist identifies this pragmatism as follows: *Japan is a profoundly "secular", or "this-worldly" society, without a transcendentalism referent as in the case with the Christian West.*
This lack of transcendentalism has made it easier for Japan to absorb parts of cultures, be it Western or Eastern, on a piecemeal basis, rather than on an "all-or-nothing-at-all" basis. Its internationalisation has not been guided by moral imperatives, but by pragmatic calculation of costs and benefits, which lead Japan to the road of unprecedentedly strong "Militarism" in the pre-war days and to notorious "Economic Animalism" (maximization of economic interests) after the World War II period (Nakano 1984, p. 120).

Within the academic network of information exchange, English has been declared the medium of communication within newer medical schools (Maher 1989) implying that knowledge of English is an important skill for medical professionals and this also is true for scholars working in other occupational fields as noted by the analysis of the various journals mentioned in this chapter. Maher correctly points out that at present English has become the vehicle of technical information in Japan (p. 300) but he also acknowledges the fact that this has not always been the case especially in the medical sciences. He further describes various influences the different languages had on the dissemination of medical information within Japan. His main analysis concentrates on the use of German in medical journals during the 1930s and he concludes that German was THE language of medical writings in Japan at that period. He states that this might have been due to the increase of academic exchanges and the military alliance between the two countries (p. 303) when there was a trend to "focus-off" the enemy language in favour of German (p. 314).

While it is true that "fascist affiliations" of both countries might have contributed to closer cooperation between various scientists it is not necessarily true that German was [in 1930s] the predominant language of medical publications. According to data from the Japanese Journal of
Experimental Medicine English was already the predominant language of medical publications between 1930 and 1941 (Table 16, appendix IX). At the same time there is no intention to discredit the view presented by Maher (1989). In fact, it is proposed that in order to understand the trend of foreign language use during the "militaristic period" it is necessary to select a much bigger number of academic publications of that time to see whether some of the universities had different preferences for different countries. If this was the case it would be interesting to find out whether these preferences were related to political, scientific or other ideological inclinations. It is well-known that during Japan's historical oscillation between preoccupation with and rejection of the study of "things Western" (chapter 4, p. 132) the reasons for this trend were primarily pragmatic considerations and political affiliations with various countries (e.g. the USA) rather than any sentimental values attached to languages or nations concerned. Even during the early stages of the Meiji Period (the first decade) when Tokyo's University medical school was largely under German influence [according to Passin (1968) writing medical dissertations in German by Japanese scholars was a norm for quite some time], the school of science was under both American and British influence (Japan's Private Colleges and Universities 1987, p. 179).

Private universities were also influenced by foreign philosophies and ideologies and were often established by political associations or groups of bureaucrats who had been studying overseas (Yamamura 1983). The universities in some cases represented the views as expressed by the political group which founded the university (Yamamura 1983/1984). Tokyo Senmon Gakko (Waseda University) would idealise the British system and Meiji University (formerly Meiji Gijuku) would follow the French political and
juridical system. German influences, apart from those at the medical school of Tokyo University, were spread through the semi-government association (the Doitsugaku Kyokai = Verein für Deutschen Wissenschaft) informing bureaucrats of German propaganda (ideology) in order to accept Germany as the model state for Japan (Yamamuro 1983/1984, p. 78) (cf. Eto 1967).

Whether there was an explicit foreign language policy as such at the institutions of higher learning during the 15 year period preceding the capitulation of Japan in 1945 with regard to academic publications (e.g. medical) is not certain. The choice of language within various academic publications was not uniform and was not determined by some established rules. However, in present day Japan evidence of a somewhat more regulated language policy at the academic level is evidenced by editors specifying the language choice in which prospective authors can publish. Usually the chosen language is English. The decisive factor in this regard is the role of English in international communication which can advance Japanese science in the international community (Maher 1989, p. 313).

In addition to the fields of education and higher education mass media such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television also play a very important role. The use of English in such media without doubt strengthens the spread of English internationally. However, the extent of the spread of English by the media (e.g. TV) goes beyond the scope of this study.
Chapter 4

NOTES:

2. Some members of the American educational mission to Japan were more concerned about the nature and modification of the Japanese language than the imposition of English on the Japanese people. R. K. Hall was, for instance, one of the proponents of the abolition of Kanji with substituting it with "romaji" (roman script) (Hall 1949; Nishi 1982).

3. Kazuo (1967) claimed that the system of 6-3-3-4 had its demerits. He said that before the 2nd World War children finished school earlier and could go onto employment. In the new system they stay longer at school which creates a serious labor shortage in industry (p. 430) and increases the burden on the average family budget in the form of education expenses (p. 432).

4. GARIOA stood for "Government appropriation for relief in occupied areas fund" [Understanding Japan (August 1993 Vol 2, No. 5)].

5. Chomsky's popularity in Japan was acknowledged by the Kyoto Prize he received in 1988 for his contribution to "the way to understanding how the human mind works" [Japan Pictorial (1989 Vol. 12, No. 2)].

6. The latest copy of the Course of Study I was able to get in English was the 1983 publication.

7. In academic high schools students can choose a number of different areas within the subject field called English; see appendix VII which represents the changes to the Course of Study.

8. Looking at the appendix VII we can see that all of these options will basically become oral/aural communication from 1994 in order to move away from "the traditional approach" [yaku-doku] to more communicative teaching interactions within the classroom context.

9. This program is the extension of a former Mombusho English Fellows program established in 1979 when "team-teaching" was introduced into some high schools.

10. At the start of the program the "AET" stood for an Assistant English teacher – "ALT" now stands for: assistant language teacher. "CIR" stands for
Coordinator for International Relations and they usually need to know Japanese.

11. To see the extent the Japanese have incorporated the various elements of internationalisation into their daily lives see: Hakuhodo Institute of life and living survey under the title "Japanese more receptive to information than goods" in Japan Times, July 6, 1988 p. 16.

12. The first newspaper published in Japan was the English edition of "The Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser" [22 June 1861] (Altman 1975). Other early newspapers were The Herald Japan (1861); The Express Japan (1862) (UNESCO 1966, p. 228).

13. In fact, the first issue of The Japan Times published in 1897 consisted only of advertisements [Intersect (July 1992)].

14. We probably have to assume that the knowledge of English was required as the adverts were placed in the English language newspaper.

15. According to the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (1992) there are more than 8000 English language schools in Japan; see the Nikkei Weekly 1992, February 22, p. 19.

16. One of the reasons for choosing these journals is that they cut across various scientific fields including medicine and stretch from the pre-war to post-war situation. The pre-war publications of a medical journal included in my thesis also questions the claim that German was the predominant or preferred language of medical publications in Japan. The support for English as an international language as the main language of various scientific publications in Japan is well represented in many present-day publications in Japan and for that reason this matter is addressed in this thesis.


18. Students coming back from Overseas stays may transfer their credits in Japan and some also get special entry to universities.
Chapter 5
English in Japanese Schools

5.1 Introduction

General dissatisfaction with English instruction at the high school level is not new to Japan. It has been investigated in numerous studies and blamed on the Japanese teachers' preoccupation with translation and grammatical rules or the yaku-doku "method" and on intense examination pressure, for instance, at the stage of the move from junior high school to senior high school and eventually the university entrance examination (Koike 1981; Matsuoka 1991; Matsuyama 1981; Moore 1990; Motegi & Shimizu 1990). Other researchers have blamed lack of student motivation (Koike 1981; Imamura 1981) and large classes (e.g. 45 students) (Otani 1981) as a common handicap in teaching English.

The problem of the dominance of the university entrance examination has been addressed to some extent. As described in chapter 4 a number of changes have been made recently to the Course of Study in order to overcome the discrepancies which occur between the prescribed syllabus and the examination dominated teachers' practices.

In further considering the points of criticism outlined above, this chapter proposes to investigate some aspects of English teaching in Japan from a sociolinguistic perspective. In order to do so it is important to characterise the population who constitute the English teaching profession in Japan according to social variables, and to consider, how such variables affect their perception and how they are imparting their English language skills to
students, what they choose to emphasise in the English language classroom setting and how they perceive their role within the wider society.

5.2 Rationale

In order to produce a "sociolinguistic profile" of English as a performance variety within the Japanese educational system (e.g. high schools) a number of questionnaires were devised to explore the sociolinguistic scene from a functional point of view (see Kachru 1981, 1983b in the case of India; Berns 1990 in the case of West-Germany and Japan).

To deal successfully with language variation reflecting the Japanese social context it is "important that the non-native varieties of English be studied in the context of situation which is appropriate to each variety, its uses and user" (Kachru 1983b, p. 215). A Japanese high school setting reflects one such context where users rely on exoglossic norms (e.g. BrEng or AmEng) rather than on any other indigenised variety of English. As has been shown before (see section 3.8 & 3.8.1), the Japanese "nativise" the English language, however, they also codify the new vocabulary to suit the Japanese language - this type of phonological and semantic modification has been labelled from the functional point of view the "creative or the imaginative/innovative" function (Kachru 1983b, p. 216; Berns 1990, p. 70) which in fact supports the "internationality" of English in the Japanese context. Among other functions the English language may exhibit in the non-native contexts Kachru lists:

- the instrumental function - which implies the use of English in the education system, usually as the language of instruction
– the regulative function – which implies the use of English in the legal and administrative system
– the interpersonal function - which implies the use of language for communication between various ethnic/social groups and in religious ceremonies - this function is related to the use of English as intra- or international language.

One should, however, be aware that these functions reflect "culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies" (Kachru 1983b, p. 215). For the Japanese "monocultural" school context¹ a different schema is required. The following diagram represents such a schema:
Sociolinguistic Perspective

Language Variation

English

Functions/roles reflecting Uses/Users

Japanese

Fulfils functions/roles required in Japanese society

Instrumental

Short Term

For Schooling

Junior H.S.

Entrance Exam

Senior H.S.

Entrance Exam

Higher Educ.

Long Term

For Employment

Teaching

Business

Mass Media

Immediate

For Interpersonal Links

Potential International Function

At School

At Home

In Church

Other e.g. Coffee Shop

Potential Internal Function

Limited Interactional

Function

Student to teacher

Student to Student

Teacher to Teacher

Student to AET

Teacher to AET

Teacher to Family Member

Teacher to Foreigners

Teachers to AETs

This was revealed by the responses from the teachers questionnaire
5.3 Statistical Background to Teachers and Students in Japan

Table 26 presents data for the years 1886, 1901 and 1989 on teacher and student populations within Japan. In presenting these data it is necessary to point out that the additional survey material presented in this chapter is representative of only a very small proportion of the teacher and student body.

**Table 26**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type &amp; Number of Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>In all 30,367</td>
<td>84,703</td>
<td>3,232,719</td>
<td>986,615</td>
<td>1,440 Foreign languages taught. English being the most popular subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>In all 29,335 primary 27,010 High Sch. 376</td>
<td>118,104 102,700 6,623</td>
<td>5,265,000 4,980,604 129,134</td>
<td>17,540</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Primary 24,851</td>
<td>443,450 (total) 256,345 (F)=58%</td>
<td>9,606,627 4,687,523 (48.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.H.S 11,264</td>
<td>286,301 (total) 102,128 (F)=35% 184,173 (M)=65%</td>
<td>5,619,297 2,743,897 (48.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.H.S 5,511</td>
<td>284,461 57,185 (F)=20% 227,276 (M)=80%</td>
<td>5,644,376 2,801,754 (49.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data taken and adopted from Yamawaki (Ed.) (1904); Passin 1966; Mombusho 1990.

Among all teachers in junior and senior high schools, which represent a population of 570,762, there are 70,000 Japanese teachers of English. It can be seen from the data above that the percentage of women teachers in high schools in comparison to primary schools is small.
On a historical dimension, it is interesting to note that in 1886 there were 986,615 female students in the schools out of a total student body of 3,232,719 and in 1901 the total population for girls in high schools was 17,540. This may be explained by the fact that most females of school age during the Meiji era were employed in agriculture and had to devote themselves to becoming "good wives and wise mothers" (Smith 1983). Even those who were able to receive some schooling were educated according to the needs of the state and society to fit a utilitarian pattern (Fuji 1982). In pre-war Japan the participation rate of women in higher education was very low as shown in the following Table:

Table 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data taken from Tomoda (1972)

In recent years educational opportunities have changed dramatically. Today 95.3% enter high-school and 36.5% enter college. However, according to Mombusho (1990) data only about 26.4% of women attend universities though they are well represented in junior colleges (2-3 years duration) which account for 91.1% of the total enrolment for both genders. This would explain why there are not many female teachers in high schools while there are far more female than male teachers in elementary schools.

To be a teacher in a senior high school it is necessary to complete an undergraduate course (Bachelor's degree + 32 credits in special education = 1st class certificate) or obtain a Master degree plus 47 credits in special education
(to receive an advanced teaching certificate). Graduates of junior colleges receive 2nd class teaching certificates (for which they need 13 credits in special education) and usually are employed in kindergartens and elementary schools.

5.4 Teachers' Questionnaire

A questionnaire was administered to teachers of English from all over Japan during the 40th All Japan Teachers' Convention in Okinawa in 1990 in an attempt to assess various aspects of English language instruction within the government education system at the high school level.

5.4.1 Method

Relationships among various background variables such as respondents' age, gender, exposure to native speakers (e.g. overseas study) and respondents' reactions towards various aspects of their programs of English instruction were examined. An attempt was also made to gauge perceptions of the Japanese teachers of their students' English ability. Teachers were also asked to comment on the assistant English teachers from overseas countries working in Japan through the Japanese Exchange Program.

In addition teachers were asked in which school they taught, how many years, how many classes and what size of classes they had been teaching. The questionnaire also sought to elicit some information about attitudes to English teaching including "what to teach" (emphasis) and "how to teach" (use of materials).

In accordance with conclusions reached in studies done by MacNamara (quoted in Harrison et al. 1975) and supported by results from a study by
Oskarsson (1977) that self-reported data on self-perceived proficiency are not greatly inferior to formal testing procedures, teachers were asked to assess their own English ability (Q.8) and their opportunities for using of English outside the school/classroom (Q.11).

Some of the questions had a twofold purpose: for instance Q.18 sought the teachers' opinion on their students' needs with respect to the use of English with foreign assistant English teachers and their knowledge (as Japanese teachers) of the official policy being implemented by the Ministry of Education (Mombusho). Questions 9 and 10 are also in this category. Questions 15,17 and 19 were intended to assess Japanese teachers' attitudes towards English and its speakers. Question 17 specifically asked whether the Japanese teacher of English was prepared to work with speakers of English from other Asian countries. This question was included because Japan has claimed to achieve "internationalisation" through English as the language for international communication.

5.4.2 Procedure

Eight hundred questionnaires (Appendix XII) were hand distributed at random during the 40th Convention of the Federation of English Teachers in Japan which took place in November, 1990 in Okinawa, Japan.

A total of 99 replies were received of which 36 were from female teachers and 63 from male teachers. The questionnaire had 20 questions of which two were open-ended.

The teachers' ages were bracketed in the ranges - under 30; 30-45; 46-55; 56-60. Basically, it can be assumed that there were no teachers below the
age of 24 as teachers this young are not supposed to go to such important events. Teachers usually start their career around that age - if they are employed under that age they are often just assistant teachers as they are struggling to pass the prefectural teacher's registration certificate which is administered by the Prefectural Boards of Education. Nor would one expect a great number of teachers within the age range of 56 to 60 to attend the seminar. At that age teachers are usually employed as deputies or principals or work at local boards of education [it has to be stated that there are teachers of that age still working in schools – but because they have not climbed the "bureaucratic ladder" within the system they quietly wait for the retirement] (Tables 28 & 29).

Table 28 Japanese English Teachers' age & Representation on the Conference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>Between 30-45</th>
<th>Between 46-55</th>
<th>Between 56-60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both genders</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10

Teachers Age & Attendance on the Conference

- Under 30
- Between 30-45
- Between 46-55
- Between 56-60

Y-axis: Teachers Age
X-axis: Both Genders, Male, Female
The above data indicate a spread of "geographical mobility", both rural and urban as most of the respondents were from different parts of Japan (this can be verified by checking the post-codes of their base schools (see Appendix XIII).

The most strongly represented age group was in the range of 30 to 45 and it accounted for 40.8% of the total. The 46 to 55 age group accounted for 31.6% and the group under 30 was represented by 20.4%. The oldest group consisted only of 7.1% and women were not represented in this group. This would be quite consistent with the practices within the Japanese educational system where male teachers at this age usually occupy administrative positions (e.g. deputies, principals or positions at Boards of Education). The smaller proportion of female teachers of English also conforms to what we might
expect on the basis of the historical and statistical data on the position of women in Japanese society discussed in this chapter. As has been said before, only 1.2% of women were enrolled at universities in 1940 and after the war the percentage for the year 1950 was only 2% (Tomoda 1972). The data obtained from female teachers within the age range of 30 to 45, however, support the view that the position of women is changing in Japanese society with many playing an active role in the education system of Japan and in English education. This can also be seen from the results obtained for the group under the age of 30 where female teachers accounted for 30.6% of respondents.

From the answer to question 4 which read as follows: "How many years have you been teaching English?" It appears that there is quite a spread concerning the length of experience among the respondents (Table 30). For instance, 4.1% of the respondents had taught English for only one year whereas 10.2% and 7.1% had taught English for 5 and 20 years respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of years teaching</th>
<th>Both genders</th>
<th>Male teachers</th>
<th>Female teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data on teaching loads were obtained from Q.5 which read "How many classes/periods do you teach in a week?" From Table 31 we can see that 23.7% of teachers had 18 periods per week and 21.6% had 17 periods per week. Only 2.1% of teachers had 20 periods per week. This is confirmed by my own experience which showed that a load of 18 periods would be a standard engagement for senior high school teachers.

Table 31 Teaching load for Japanese English teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching load</th>
<th>Male teachers</th>
<th>Female Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data from question 7 "Have you ever studied English in an English speaking country?" is represented in Table 32. As can be seen from that Table there was a greater percentage of male teachers who studied in English speaking countries. However, when the age and the study abroad for both genders are separately cross tabulated (see the Table 32b) it can be seen that under the age of 45 there were more female teachers than male teachers who had studied overseas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 32</th>
<th>Study abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female teachers</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male teachers</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both genders</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we compare the number of years of teaching English with study abroad we find that the female teachers who have taught English for less than 10 years represent a much bigger group than male teachers among those who have studied overseas. In fact, when we compare the results on the graph it can be seen that the cross-tabulated data are almost in reverse order for the respective genders (see Table 32a). This also reflects the trend in Japanese education where an increasing number of younger women are entering the teaching profession and becoming involved in English teaching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 32 A</th>
<th>Number of years teaching English &amp; teachers' gender &amp; study abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>11.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 12

Teachers' gender & number of years teaching English & study abroad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 10-20</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>11.48%</td>
<td>18.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.31%</td>
<td>21.31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32B Study Abroad & Age of Japanese English Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Abroad &amp; Age</th>
<th>Under 45</th>
<th>Over 45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.23%</td>
<td>24.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30.56%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13

Study Abroad & Age of Japanese English teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 45</th>
<th>Over 45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.23%</td>
<td>24.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30.56%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 8 read as follows "How do you assess your overall ability as compared to a native speaker of English in the areas of understanding, speaking, writing and reading?". From the results obtained for this question we can deduce that the reading skill was regarded as the most successfully acquired skill by our respondents. In fact, 5.3% of the respondents claimed that their reading skill was excellent, 16.8% said that it was very good, 47.4% said it was good, 21.1% fair and 9.5% claimed that their reading was poor (Table 33).

Table 33  Self-assessment: data by Japanese teachers of English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the least successfully acquired skill, as claimed by the respondents, was speaking and 29.2% said they were poor at it. Speaking was
followed by writing and understanding and 18.9% and 11.6% respectively were poor at these. The reading skill was somewhat similar for both male and female teachers. However, a smaller percentage of female than of male teachers indicated that their writing, speaking and understanding skills were good.

"Understanding" (self-assessment) and studying in an English speaking country were also cross-tabulated in order to see if teachers who studied abroad had better understanding of English than those who did not (Table 34).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>fair</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
<th>excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Stdy Abrd</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>26.47</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Stdy Abrd</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female NoStdy Abrd</td>
<td>17.65</td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td>14.71</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male NoStdy Abrd</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21.67</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15

Japanese English teachers self-assessment with residence abroad
All of those who claimed that their understanding was "excellent" had studied abroad (all male teachers). Those who said that their understanding was very good were represented by both groups, however, those who had studied overseas represented the biggest number of respondents. And male teachers were preponderant in the group. The majority of those who had studied abroad assessed their understanding ability as good. The difference in responses within the gender groupings was most noticeable between female teachers. The difference for male teachers was rather small - it was 23.33% for those who had studied abroad and 21.67% for those who had not studied abroad (Table 34). The "fair" and "poor" responses represented both genders. However, teachers who had not studied overseas were those most strongly represented in these groups.

It is not surprising to find out from the next set of data (Table 35) for question 9 (which read "In your English classes which area of teaching do you emphasise most?") that the greatest emphasis in teaching English at the high school level is on reading. Even allowing for the historical dominance of "yaku-doku" as a language teaching method deriving from the introduction of classical Chinese studies, we probably cannot expect a Japanese teacher of English to emphasise speaking (oral skill for communication) if he/she himself/herself admits that his/her best skill is a reading skill. In fact, for both female and male teachers a predominant reading emphasis was attested to by 28.2% of all the respondents. Then came grammar and translation at 21.1% and 19.7% respectively. Speaking was reported only by 5.6% of teachers.
When we consider the results of the female teachers and male teachers separately (Tables 35a & 35b), the emphasis on reading and translation is highly stressed by both groups. 31.3% of female teachers and 25.8% of male teachers put emphasis on reading and 18.8% of female teachers and 19.6% of
male teachers give emphasis on translation. Grammar was somewhat less emphasised by female teachers than male teachers and accounted for 14.6% and 23.7% respectively. It seems that the female teachers put greater importance on communication skills than their male colleagues. Neither writing nor Western-culture were highly placed in the teachers' repertoire of teaching emphases.

Table 35A Emphasis on Teaching by Male Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: Grammar</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: Translation</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: Speaking</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: Writing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: Reading</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: Western Culture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: Communication</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: Other Specify</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17

Emphasis on teaching by Japanese male teachers of English

- A: Grammar
- B: Translation
- C: Speaking
- D: Writing
- E: Reading
- F: Western Culture
- G: Communication
- H: Other Specify
Table 35B  Teaching Emphasis by Female Engl. Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of responses</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: Grammar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: Translation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: Speaking</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: Writing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: Reading</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: Western Culture</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: Communication</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: Other: specify</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18

Teaching Emphasis by Japanese Female Teachers of English

Question 10 asked teachers about the kind of materials they used in teaching English. The results are shown in Table 36.
Table 36 Teaching Materials Used by Japanese teachers of English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: Monbusho text</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: Newspapers &amp; magazines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: Videos</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: games</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: A &amp; B combined</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: A &amp; C combined</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: G &amp; D combined</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19

In summary, 45.3% of the Japanese teachers use only the text prescribed by the Ministry of Education while other teachers incorporate some other materials into their teaching; in fact, the latter practice is supported by Monbusho as high schools no longer have to follow the strict guidelines which were issued before the revision of the Course of Study of 1989.
Monbusho also supports various inter-prefectural workshops on English teaching involving overseas assistant teachers together with Japanese teachers of English. However, the attendance of Japanese teachers at the various "block" seminars is not strong (my own estimate observed when attending a number of seminars is about one Japanese teacher to three foreigners).

The relaxation of rules by Mombusho of "what to teach", "how to teach" and what supplementary materials are to be used is due to policy changes favouring the communicatively oriented syllabus which should have been in use in junior high schools in 1993 and about to be introduced in senior high schools in 1994.

While the Ministry of Education encourages the switch to communicatively oriented teaching methodology, the teaching materials have not been updated to this end. It is possible that the move away from "yakudoku" to the communicative approach is likely to be accepted by only some sections of the Japanese teaching profession (e.g. teachers, professors). Of course, the full acceptance of the communicative approach can be realised at the high school level only if some "modifications" of the entrance examination, which puts so much emphasis on reading and writing skills and translation, takes place. Universities usually do not administer listening or speaking skills tests to students in the entrance examination so there is no need for high school teachers to concentrate on this type of teaching. Each school wants to have a good reputation and the student output to universities by each school is the measure of this reputation. However, the Research Group for English Language Teaching in Japan (Koike et al. 1990) supports the introduction of listening comprehension tests and speaking tests in addition to
other testing. In fact, the survey carried out by the group claims that 82.1% of university teachers agreed to the introduction of listening comprehension tests. However, some universities have already introduced listening comprehension tests and in 1989 there were 69 universities following this practice. Among them 32 were both national and private universities and 5 universities were public (The English Journal 1988, p. 74 cited in Ohashi 1990, pp. 36-37).

There is also a need for improved teacher training in order to familiarise teachers with communicative language tasks required for the classroom setting (Kawaguchi 1990; Ohashi 1990).

Students' low motivation is very often said to be the main reason why high school students are so badly equipped with practical language skills after studying the English language for 6 years (Koike 1981; Imamura 1981). Responses to question 12 "what is the main factor which motivates your students to learn English?" would indicate that in teachers' view the factor which most motivates students to study English (43.4%) is the university entrance examination (Table 37). For 27.9% of students it was their interest in the subject. 21.1% studied it because it was compulsory. Only 2.5% of teachers stated that their students studied it for career advancement. A few teachers (4.1%) specified other factors (e.g. communication, it is a subject like any other).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 37</th>
<th>Factors Motivating Students - Teachers' view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both Genders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. Entrance</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Advancement</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although 22.1% of teachers stated that the students studied English because it was compulsory, this is not really the case in the Japanese educational system. In fact, according to the Ministry of Education guidelines, English is not compulsory at all. Students have the right not to choose it if they do not wish to study it. In bigger cities some schools may offer other languages. However, only 4.7% of the nations' schools taught foreign languages other than English in 1988. The numbers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 38</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data on Schools &amp; Foreign Language Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 schools - French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 schools - German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 schools - Korean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data cited in the Daily Yomiuri 1990, October 18, p. 7)

A small number of schools provide courses in Russian and Italian. In most cases students study English because there are no other languages offered and the time-Table is arranged in such a way that students have no chance of taking other electives except to study English.
Some school administrators and teachers insist that English is a compulsory subject. This usually is the case in private schools which are often affiliated to private universities. Despite their autonomous status they also have to follow the Ministry of Education guidelines and must use books certified by the Ministry.

When the data obtained from question 12 are considered separately for male/female responses, it can be seen that a greater percentage of male than of female teachers regard the university entrance examination as the main motivating factor to study English. The male teachers' response of 47.4% is higher than the combined response for both genders which accounts only for 43.4%.

Female teachers gave a higher priority to interest in the subject than the male teachers and these figures account for 36.4% for female teachers and 23.1% for male teachers. Statistically there are always more male students trying to get into universities than female students - maybe teachers' responses are influenced by this phenomenon.

Question 13 read as follows: "How much access do your students have to English outside the classroom?" The highest response of 33.3% to a great deal was received by books followed by video/films at 27.4%. Talking to English speakers was rated at 9.8%. Magazines received the score of 3.3%.

Under the response for "little" 62% of respondents claimed that there was little possibility for students to talk to English speakers. Then came videos/films and magazines at 56.8% and 47.3% respectively. Little access to
books was acknowledged by 36.5% of respondents. 49.4% of teachers claimed that students did not have any access to magazines, 30.2% claimed they had no access to books and 28.2% no access to native speakers.

The reported lack of access to magazines somewhat surprises me. Having lived in a very remote part of Japan I came across a number of magazines both foreign and local which contained some English vocabulary (in local Japanese magazines) and often on the covers of the magazines one can see headings in English.

A common student pastime after school and on the weekends is to spend time looking through various magazines at local bookshops. Most probably, teachers do not regard this activity as having any influence on students' betterment of language skills. The role English plays in the Japanese magazines is symbolic where often messages are expressed through the mixed medium of English and Japanese. The question of whether symbolic use of English in newspapers and magazines has any influence on learning English has not been researched. In the absence of research data we cannot assume it does. Students probably pay more attention to pictures in those magazines than messages expressed in them through the written medium. Also the occurrence of English words in these publications does not imply that their meanings are conveyed.

Access to books was somewhat evenly rated across the three responses. 30.2% of respondents stated that students had no access to books at all. As quite a number of my respondents (52.2%) came from rural areas, this could perhaps account for the lack of access to English books. This would also
explain the lack of access to English speakers which accounted for 28.2%. This is quite a reasonable figure as most foreigners in Japan reside in big cities.

One of the administrative measures taken by the Ministry of Education in order to improve English education at the high school level is the employment since 1987 of native English speakers from various English-speaking countries (Chapter 4).

In order to evaluate the position of English speaking foreign assistants in Japan a number of questions were asked in relation to the employment of AETs and Japanese teachers' attitudes towards them, Japanese teachers' perceptions of AETs' performance in the team-teaching situations and their choice of which AETs they would like to work with. One of the questions also asked whether the Japanese teacher would be prepared to work with an English speaking AET from an Asian country.

The approval rate for the employment of AETs was rather high (Q.14 "What is your view of employing an English-speaking assistant English teacher?") and averaged out at 84.4% of responses for both genders. The rate was somewhat higher for female teachers than male teachers and was rated at 94.3% and 78.7% respectively. 13.5% of both genders could not decide on this issue. The "can't decide" rate was 3 times higher for male teachers than for female teachers. The disapproval rate was very small and was expressed only by 3.3% of male teachers (Table 39). The data obtained from this item are supported by a survey carried out by the Ministry of Education before the employment of foreign assistants had taken place in which Japanese teachers
of English "expressed their willingness to invite native English-speaking teachers to assist with the teaching" (Koike et al. 1990). In the Ministry's survey this willingness was expressed by 82.5% and 83.5% of junior high school and senior high school teachers respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 39</th>
<th>Japanese teachers' view on employing foreign assistant English teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>both genders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can't decide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disapprove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21

According to data obtained from teachers a very large number of Japanese teachers (94.9% for both genders) had experienced working with assistant English teachers. The difference between male and female teachers was minimal and accounted for only 0.9%. English speaking foreign assistants were positively assessed by Japanese English teachers. There are no responses marking "bad" to a question (Q.16) which read "Have you worked with an
AET in team-teaching situation? If so, how do you assess the assistant English teachers? And a very small percentage replied that the performance of AETs was poor - only 5.6% accounted for this response for both female and male teachers. A "very good" response accounted for 30.3%; "good" was given 34.8% and "fair" 29.2% by both genders (Table 40). This evaluation seems to be quite positive, especially when most of the AETs are not trained teachers.³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both F/M</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fair</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very good</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 40: Assessment of assistant English teachers by Japanese English teachers

Figure 22

Assessment of assistant English teachers by Japanese English teachers
In view of Japanese intentions for a more "internationally aware" society and the employment of native speaking foreigners to meet the requirements of internationalisation through improved language education (Kageura 1992), there were two "deliberate" questions in order to find out teachers preferences for various nationalities.

In response to question 15 "If you had a choice which assistant English teacher (AET) would you like to work with?" most teachers preferred an American AET followed by a Canadian and an Australian. There was a very low preference both for a New Zealand and an Irish AET. This probably has to do with a very low exposure to those speakers of English by Japanese English teachers. In fact, at the time of this survey, these speakers represented a very small number of AETs on the Japanese exchange program. Out of the total number of participants in 1991 there were only 1.56% and 4.52% of Irish and New Zealanders respectively.

When the data from Q.15 was cross-tabulated separately for both female and male teachers with the number of years of teaching English I obtained the following responses (see Figures 23 & 24): of female teachers who taught for less than 10 years 26.54% would choose an American AET; 10.25% would choose a British AET; 5.12% a Canadian AET and 17.94% expressed the will to work with any nationality - of male teachers who also taught for less than 10 years 13.47% would choose an American AET; 5.97% would choose a British AET; 2.98% would work with a Canadian and 7.46% would work with any AET. In addition to these responses 94.7% of Japanese teachers claimed that American English was the most influential variety of
In response to question 17 "would you be prepared to work with an English-speaking assistant English teacher from an Asian country? (e.g. India, Singapore, Hong Kong or Sri Lanka)" to my surprise 67% of teachers were prepared to work with an AET from an Asian country. However, there were no participants from any of these countries represented on the Japanese exchange teaching program. It is my belief that some members from those
countries could contribute to international understanding among the members of the Japanese society, especially, when the English language seems to be more and more diversified across different cultures on both phonological and lexical levels satisfying the needs for both intra- and international communication of these societies. Such an engagement of Asian English speaking AETs would also be an "eye-opener" for the other foreign assistant English teachers who would have never experienced communication in any other English variety but their own. Another interesting feature of the data obtained from Q.17 was that 31.25% of female teachers between 30 and 45 years of age and 15.63% above 45 years of age were not prepared to work with an Asian AET. Only 10.71% and 14.29% of male teachers were of the same opinion as the female teachers of the same age (Table 41 below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Willing to work with an Asian AET with regard to teachers' age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No view</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 18 was aimed at assessing the importance of team-teaching from various points of view as expressed by Japanese teachers of English. Responses to this question showed a perception of team-teaching as important from the teacher's own point of view in the case of 60.8% of Japanese teachers of English surveyed. It was perceived as important from the point of view of Monbusho policy by 38.8% and from the point of view of the students by 42.7%. 37.1% of teachers said that it was "worthwhile" from the teacher's point of view and 47.9% claimed from students point of view. "Unimportant" received a rather small response though 13.5% said that from the policy point of view it was unimportant (Table 42).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 42</th>
<th>Importance of team-teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JETs' view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthwhile</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There seems to be some sort of misunderstanding among the teachers as to what constitutes "a policy view". In fact, it is Monbusho with other Ministries which initiated the exchange teaching program and not the Japanese teachers' union. That is why from the policy point of view team-teaching is very important in order to improve practical language skills for both the teacher and the student and at the same time enrich the process of internationalisation through language education.

There can be little doubt that in most educational settings the purpose of language study is to acquire some "communicative competence" in the language studied. This, at least, is the intention of the Ministry of Education which wants the teachers to move away from "yaku-doku" to a more communicatively oriented approach. Having this in mind an open-ended question was posed: "Please comment: why do you think, after studying for 6 years, students have difficulty in expressing simple ideas in English?".

Ninety teachers out of 99 responded to this open-ended question. There were a number of different answers - however, the most common response was
to attribute blame to (a) the university entrance examination; (b) class-size; (c) lack of opportunity to use English with speakers of English; (d) the national characteristics of shyness and silence reflected, for example, in the observation of some respondents that students at school are not vocal in their own language: and that the education system does not teach them to express themselves freely (see further 4.3.2 on "golden silence"); (e) Mombusho textbooks which do not cater for communicatively oriented classes; (f) insufficient hours of instruction.

Some respondents stated that it did not make any sense to expect students to speak English after 6 years of study and this was supported by the number of hours devoted to the study of English at both junior and senior high schools. In fact, the total of hours for the 6-year period may come between 660 to 700 hours. Indeed, it is unreasonable to expect students to be communicatively active in English if we take into account the time factor during the high school years. The hours devoted to the study of English in the Japanese high school context hardly compare to the hours devoted to the acquisition of English by a 3-year old child who is exposed to a native like language environment of between 8000 to 11000 hours of listening to and speaking in the mother tongue during which time the child can experiment with various forms of expression, some of which are errors from the point of view of the "adult language". In the Japanese classroom setting (and many other) errors are often not acknowledged as the part of the learning process.

Some of the respondents also claimed that teachers did not have the ability to communicate in spoken English in the classroom setting.
Question 11 asked teachers whether they ever used English outside the school/classroom setting (when? where? with whom? for what purpose? how often?). The response rate was 40% for this item so only very general observations can be suggested about their responses. Some respondents seemed not to understand the question in that it specifically asked about "outside school/classroom" setting which they interpreted as referring to their previous study overseas (a matter which question 7 was intended to address). Those who replied to the question as referring to the present situation claimed to be able to use English for communication basically at irregular intervals; these responses cited such examples as talking to "my brother in law" who is British; going to a university [in a sense of visiting former teachers]; using English on Sundays in Church - talking to Filipinos. Others said they were attending foreign language colleges or language centres in order to improve their English. Some referred to speaking to foreign guests or AETs in restaurants or coffee shops and two respondents said they used English with their families, i.e. talking in English with their children to help them learn the language.

5.5 High School Students' Attitudes Towards the Study of English

In the next section of this chapter high school students' attitudes towards the English language, towards the study of English and its use within the Japanese school context will be explored.

5.5.1 Background to Motivation and Attitudes in Research Literature

A number of studies have been carried out about Japanese students' attitudes towards the study of English.
Some of the studies claim that students are motivated to study English when they attend a junior high school but the strength of their motivation is on the wane when they enter a senior high school (Imamura 1981). On the other hand, Berwick and Ross (1989) suggest that motivation to study English is at its highest when students start preparing for the entrance exam into the institution of higher learning (e.g. university) and it is on the wane again when students enter the tertiary college. In fact, in their study of university students they found little relationship between motivation to learn English and performance on the proficiency measure (Berwick & Ross 1989, p. 206). However, they quoted a study by Cowan (1967) of Japanese students resident in the USA in which it was concluded that integratively motivated students seemed to become better speakers of English than non-integratively motivated students.

A study conducted by Cogan & Torney-Purta & Anderson (1988) in comparing students' attitudes towards study of a foreign language both in Japan and the USA revealed that

the Japanese tested do not believe that the foreign language study is especially important for them personally..., Yet some have noted that the Japanese view the study of a foreign language as an academic pursuit, to be mastered for the university entrance exam but not to be valued for other utilitarian reasons or for personal enhancement (Cogan et al. 1988, pp. 295-296).

Benson (1991) claims in his findings that instrumental motives are rejected by freshmen students and that only "cautious" support was given to integrative and personal reasons for learning English. He says that such ambiguities suggest that many freshmen students remain unclear as to any larger purpose for studying English, and are simply doing it because it is required (Benson 1991, p. 45).
The claims made by both Cogan et al. (1988) and Benson (1991) somehow seem to be at odds with the current situation where a large number of Japanese high school and university graduates go overseas in order to attend colleges in English speaking countries (e.g. ELICOS courses). Benson also states that

in Japan school children are virtually given a Hobson's choice: English. The attitudes they develop, therefore, are not just towards the English language itself, but reflect all the subjective and impressionistic feelings associated with learning a new subject. These negative, positive or mixed attitudes, engendered by high-school experiences of English, remain intact into the early years of university study..., (p. 35).

In view of the various opinions given by different researchers concerned with the study of English by Japanese students, the aim of the present questionnaire was to gauge the high school students' attitudes towards the English language, the study of English and its use within the Japanese context.

Attitudes of language learners are often related to an integrative versus instrumental dichotomy following Gardner and Lambert (1959) who stated that

the significant positive correlation between the orientation index and achievement in French indicates that the integratively oriented students are generally more successful in acquiring French than those who are instrumentally oriented (p. 271).

and that the integrative motive would yield higher achievement scores than the instrumental motive in learning a target language (Gardner and Lambert 1972). These claims, though influential, have not been given unqualified support in the research literature.
A number of studies have contradicted the claim that students who are integratively motivated will achieve higher scores on their language tests. For instance, Lukmani (1972) in her study in India obtained the opposite result where the instrumental motive was more highly correlated with achievement than the integrative one. Chihara and Oller (1978) in their sociolinguistic study of adult Japanese speakers learning English, obtained very weak correlations between attitudes and attained EFL proficiency and the instrumental motives "were ranked among those judged least important" (p. 58). Cooper and Fishman (1977) claim that the least popular motives for studying English in Israel were all "integrative". Shaw (1983) also comes to a similar conclusion in his study on Asian learners' attitudes towards English and the validity of the instrumental - integrative dichotomy. Olshtain et al. (1990) claim that "attitudes and motivation seem to play a rather limited role in the overall success in foreign language learning" (p. 39). Brown (1990) also states that

we can thereby move away from the temptation to hinge all of our motivational constructs on the much too simple distinction between "cultural" (integrative) and "practical" (instrumental) orientations to the second language (p. 384).

Brown, bases his observations partially on Kachru's studies on English as an international language where no particular reference to native English culture is acknowledged. It is far more difficult for students in an EFL situation, who are in a traditional classroom setting attending teacher-centred instruction and "at mercy of the teacher" (Brown 1990, p. 389) who is providing little opportunity to experience foreign culture, to identify themselves with the culture of the target language. In addition to this, the absence of English
speakers may be the reason for the lack of an integrative motive which is supposed to enhance students' achievement in the study of a foreign language. However, in a recent study of 134 learners of English in a Hungarian EFL context using a "motivational questionnaire", some support was obtained for the traditional Gardner and Lambert hypothesis (Dörnyei 1990). Despite this, Dörnyei make clear that "instrumentality and integrativeness are broad tendencies or subsystems rather than straightforward universals" (Dörnyei 1990, p. 72). He also states that motivation to learn a foreign language involves two further components; "need for achievement" and "attributions about past failures" and that these need further investigation. In addition to this, Brown (1990) states that the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is more important than the Lambert and Gardner distinction.

There is also a methodological problem from the point of view of interpreting the questions asked in the questionnaire. These may be differently interpreted by both the subjects and researchers and this may vary from one social milieu to another. In fact, Oller et al. (1977a) poses a question as to whether the desire "to know more about the language, literature and culture" is necessarily integrative? Or is it instrumental? Is "having friends who speak English necessarily" integrative? Or could it be an instrumental reason? (Oller et al. 1977a, p. 4; Ely 1986).

As there is no unequivocal pattern of relationship between foreign language achievement and the so called "motivational" orientations in the reviewed literature, I shall concentrate instead on attitudes.
Katz (1960) defines an attitude as

the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of this world in a favourable or unfavourable manner..., Attitudes include both the affective, or feeling core of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief..., (p. 168).

Sarnoff (1960, 1966) on the other hand, defines attitude as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (p. 261 or p. 279).

Such concepts of "attitude" are easier to comprehend and can be dealt with in various social contexts by avoiding the issues of instrumentalism and integrativeness.

5.5.2 Method

A total of 225 students of grade 1, 2 and 3 (corresponding to year 10, 11 and 12 in Australia) from a senior high-school from both advanced and not advanced classes and a "conversation grade 3 class" completed a questionnaire consisting of 19 questions on a Likert-type scale where the subjects were asked to respond to each statement in terms of agreement and disagreement on the five-point scale: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = no opinion; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree.

This questionnaire was based on the work of Pierson, Fu and Lee (1980) though with some statements slightly modified. It attempted to find out which statements produced the strongest agreement and which the least agreement by obtaining percentages, means and standard deviations for all
grades of students who completed the questionnaire (Table 43) (see section 5.5.3).

The questionnaire also sought to find out whether the students in advanced classes exhibited different attitudes towards English from those not in advanced classes and whether there were differences between the genders.

It was hoped to establish how the high-school students viewed such things as "the desire to converse with Westerners"; "discomfort about using English"; "self-confidence in using English or lack for it"; "the desire to learn English"; "detraction from cultural identity"; "freedom of language choice"; and "English as a mark of education and modernisation".

The following Table shows the questions asked (Table 43):

Table 43 Direct Attitude Statements/Lickert-type Questionnaire
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>Strong Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strong Disagree</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Knowing English is the mark of an educated person.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. If I use English my family/friends will be impressed.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I like watching English speaking films.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The English language is very beautiful language.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I should not be compelled to learn English.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I feel uneasy and lack confidence when speaking English.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The use of English contributed to the success of Japan's prosperity and development.</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I love conversing with Westerners in English.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The Japanese language is superior to English.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The command of English helpful in understanding English speakers' people/their cultures.</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITEM</td>
<td>Strong Agree</td>
<td>Strong Disagree</td>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. I would study English even if it were not a compulsory subject in school.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. I wish that I could speak fluent and accurate English.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. I enjoy reading English magazines.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. At times I fear that by using English I will become like a foreigner.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. I feel uncomfortable when one Japanese speaks to another(Japanese) in English</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I do not feel awkward when using English.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. English should not be taught in schools in Japan.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. The command of English is helpful in communicating with people around the world</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Japan/Engl textbooks are helpful in giving an understanding of American culture.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Japan/Engl textbooks are helpful in giving understanding of English culture.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Japan/Engl textbooks are helpful in giving understanding of Irish culture.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Japan/Engl textbooks are helpful in giving understanding of Australian culture.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5.3 Discussion

The Table 43 represents 18 direct attitude statements (Items) and attempts to find out about Japanese students' views within the Japanese high school system on the use, learning and usefulness of English. There are also four items (19, 20, 21, 22) which try to assess the usefulness of Japanese textbooks for understanding American, English and Australian cultures.

It is assumed that agreement with statements 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 18 would be considered to express favourable attitudes whereas agreement with statements 5, 6, 9, 14, 15 and 17 would be considered to express unfavourable attitudes towards English.

Item 14 received the least agreement among all the responses from the students. This was followed by item 17, 13, 16, and 15. The strongest agreement on items 12, 10 and 18. From these results we can infer that students' responses reflect a very positive attitude towards English.

In order to comprehend students' attitudes towards English some, of the responses will be analysed in detail. The results were as follows:

As can be seen from Table 44 below, item 14 which read "At times I fear that by using English I will become like a foreigner" met with the strongest disagreement.
Table 44  Using English vs Cultural Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Dis</th>
<th>StrDis</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>StdDev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students (N=225)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/students (N=99)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/students (N=126)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/advanced (N=38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/notadvanc(N=34)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/advanced(N=47)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/notadvanc(N=46)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/Conversa(N=27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/Conversa(N=33)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results obtained from item 14 do not support the view that learning a foreign language in a Japanese context will change students' cultural identity. The same item was employed in the study done by Pierson, Fu and Lee (1980) with 466 Hong Kong high-school students and it received the opposite reaction: strongest agreement. They further claim that their results "seem to reflect a tension within the Ss between needing and wanting to use English, while at the same time maintaining their identity as Chinese, in a Chinese Society " (Pierson et al. 1980, p. 292).

Item 17 that English should not be taught in the schools in Japan also met with strong disagreement (least agreement) by the Japanese high-school students. The results for this item are in Table 45
Table 45 shows that the responses from female students are a little higher than those of male students: students in advanced classes both female and male also exhibit higher means than those not in advanced classes. Male students in a conversation class have higher means than those not in advanced male classes. This is probably due to the fact that a conversation class is taken as an extra elective, apart from the regular English class and students are usually highly motivated to join such a class in order to improve their oral/aural skills. In fact, their mean is higher than the overall mean for all the male students, though smaller than the means of female students in all the groups. These results also suggest that the English language is a useful subject within the Japanese high-school system.

Item 12 which read "I wish that I could speak fluent and accurate English" received very strong agreement from the students. The results are as follows:
The responses in Table 46 indicate that students would like to speak "proper English". Female students exhibit a stronger agreement with this item than male students, though it was close to the overall response for both genders. It is assumed that the agreement with this item reflects students' favourable attitudes towards English.

There was also strong agreement on Item 10 "the command of English is very helpful in understanding English speaking people and their cultures" from the high-school respondents. The obtained results are shown in Table 47:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>StdDev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students(N=225)</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/students(N=99)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/students(N=92)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/advanced(N=38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/not advanced(N=34)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/advanced(N=47)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/not advanced(N=46)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/conversation(N=27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/conversation(N=33)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item 18. "The command of English is very helpful in communicating with people around the world" belongs to almost the same category as item 10. This item also received strong agreement from the students. Students seem to realise the importance and prestige of English as a means of communicating with the "outside world". The results for this item are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>StdDev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students(N=225)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/students(N=99)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/students(N=126)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both items 10 and 18, female students' responses seem to be higher than those of male students.

Items 13 and 16 deserve special attention due to the fact that students strongly disagreed with these statements. Table 48 and 49 set out the respective responses on these items:

Table 13 "I enjoy reading English magazines".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>StdDev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students(N=225)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/students(N=99)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/students(N=126)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

231
Item 16. "I do not feel awkward when using English"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 50</th>
<th>Responses to Using English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allstudents (N=225)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/students (N=99)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/students (N=126)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was mentioned on page 227 that agreement with these items would be regarded as showing that students have favourable attitudes towards English. The results suggest there was strong disagreement with these items which would suggest that students had "unfavourable" attitudes towards English. This probably is not the case, however. Students' responses in this case, have more to do with the practicalities of their situation than with their attitudes towards English. Firstly, in most places students have little access to books and magazines in English, a fact verified by the teachers' questionnaire in this chapter. Nor do they have easy access to speakers of English. As a result of this students may in fact feel awkward when using English. Secondly, if learners cannot practise their English in real life "communicative" situations, then, of course they would feel awkward when trying to use English. Thirdly, the Japanese classroom does not offer the opportunity for using English apart from preparing students for skills in grammar, reading and translation. This is why one needs to be cautious in classifying these responses as reflecting students' unfavourable attitudes towards English in the Japanese setting. When students were asked about whether Japanese textbooks provide an understanding of different cultures in English speaking countries, the strongest
agreement among the four possible items was obtained for item 19, followed by 20, 22 and then item 21 (see Table 43).

On the whole it can be inferred from the questionnaire that the Japanese high school students who took part in this research, do not exhibit unfavourable attitudes towards English or its speakers.

5.5.4 Discussion of Longitudinal Studies on Attitudes Carried out by Japanese Researchers

A number of Japanese researchers have carried out attitude surveys on the study of the English language by the Japanese high school students since 1966, notably Miura, Matsura, Imai, Mizuno & Ikenobe (1990). In 1990 that group reported on the students attitudes taking into account data obtained in 1966, 1976 and 1988 (approx. at 10 year intervals). Their findings are important for at least two reasons; firstly, as an early sociolinguistic survey of the teaching of English in Japan (basically parallelling the studies done in other parts of the world on attitudes/motivation, e.g. Canada); secondly, their findings are consistent with the findings of this study with regard to attitudes of high school students towards the study of English.

The study by Miura et al. (1990) covered a wide range of issues and analysed 3617 responses from students from 77 high-schools (8100 questionnaires were sent; 4085 were received back but only 3617 analysed). Their questionnaire was a Lickert-type survey with a scale from five to one; 5 stood for strongly agree, 4 for agree, 3 not decided, 2 for disagree and 1 strongly disagree. The questionnaire had three sections A, B and C. The authors claim that while the positive (favourable) attitudes have decreased
towards English during the past 20 years, students still exhibit positive attitudes towards the subject.

A number of their survey's statements have been translated into English here in order to familiarise the reader what aspects of students' attitudes the researchers were looking for. In section A, for instance, item 14 read as follows:

"We have to study English because it is used as an international language"

| Table 51 Study of English as Knowledge of International Language |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Year | SA+A | NO | D+SD |
| 1966 | 81.7 | 14.7 | 3.6 |
| 1976 | 73.7 | 20.6 | 5.5 |
| 1988 | 70.6 | 24.1 | 5.3 |

Legend:
SA= strongly agree
A=agree
NO= no opinion
SD= strongly disagree
D=disagree

As can be seen from the above Table the support for that item has decreased by just over 10% during the 20 years between 1966 and 1988, however, the percentage of negative responses was very small and rather stable over the 12 years between 1976 and 1988. The students obviously are motivated by the fact that in learning English they will possess knowledge of an international language.

Item 17 read as follows: "We should study English for both international understanding and friendship"

| Table 52 English Promotes International Understanding |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Year | SA+A | NO | D+SD |
| 1966 | 60.4 | 32.6 | 7.1 |
| 1976 | 52.6 | 37.7 | 9.6 |
| 1988 | 56.2 | 36.5 | 7.3 |

234
The data in the above Table show that students valued English because it was seen to promote international understanding and friendship. The figure is not as high as in item 14, however, the disagreement is also rather low.

Item 5 was stated as follows: "We must have a good command of English so that we may play an active role in a cosmopolitan (international) society"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above results we can detect that students perceive English as an important language in the international community.

Item 8 read as follows: "We need to study English because more occupations will require English language skills"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data obtained from this item seem to support the perceived importance of the English language within the Japanese occupational/professional life. The figure dropped by about 10% for the "strongly agree and agree" answer in 1976, but picked up again to the original level in 1988.
The study by Miura et al. (1990) had two other interesting items in section A. Item 3 (A3) read as follows: "I (we) don't study English just for the sake of entrance examination or examination for employment". Item 10 (A10) read as follows: "I (we) study English solely for the purpose of passing entrance examination or employment examination"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1988</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These items express basically the same idea stated in positive and negative terms and as we can see the results of both items for "strongly agree" and "agree" drop by almost the same percentage during the 20 year period. The "disagree" and "strongly disagree" result increased at the same time. I would argue that judging from the above results the authors did not get an unequivocal response. It seems that for some students the study of English is related to the entrance examination and employment, though for others this is not the case.

Item 2 from section B read as follows: "Only looking at the Westerners or the English language makes me terrified". The responses are in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above Table we can assume that the attitudes towards foreigners and the English language were very unfavourable in 1966 though the unfavourable responses have decreased during the following 20 years. The strong disagreement and disagreement, on the other hand, increased. We could conclude that the new generation of Japanese high-schools students perceives foreigners and the English language in a more positive way than their peers 20 years earlier.

Item 4 from section B read as follows: "I do hope that I will be a very fluent English speaker". The results are in the following Table:

Table 57 Desire to become a very fluent English Speaker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the results from this item, the desire to become a very fluent English speaker has decreased in 1976 and remained at a very similar level in 1988. When we compare the previous item (Item 2) with item 4 we see the irony of the results. On the one hand, students are "terrified" when looking at foreigners and the English language and on the other hand, they would like to become fluent English speakers. Item 8 from section B is very similar to the previous item and reads as follows:

"I wish I could speak English with ease". The results are rather surprising:

Table 58 Desire to Communicate in English with Ease

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to this item, regardless of the other responses there seems to be a great desire by the students to communicate in English with ease.

Item 10 from section B reads: "I do not like to study English but I have to". The responses are as follows:

Table 59 Why to Study English - Liking/Have to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above results the "strongly agree" and "agree" response decreased by 20% during the 20 years and the "disagree" and "strongly disagree" increased, however, there was a high percentage of undecided responses.

Item 15 from section B read as follows: "I sincerely hope that there will be no communities where English is required". The results are as follows:

Table 60 No Need For English in Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>D+SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of strongly agree and agree responses has decreased over the 20 years and the percentage of disagreements increased by about 3%. Miura et al. (1990) after analysing all their results claimed that though there was a decrease in positive attitudes in 20 years, students still perceived English as an
important subject, e.g. for international understanding and practical value. When they separated genders they discovered that girls' attitudes towards the study of English were more positive than those of boys. Girls more than boys wanted to acquire English and use it in the future. Boys were more prone to give up studying English than girls. To sum up, students in both surveys, Miura et al. (1990) and my own (which analysed responses from 250 students) clearly show that a majority of students exhibits favourable attitudes to English.

5.5.5 English Conversation Class Data

A separate questionnaire was devised for conversation classes which were taught mostly in a team-teaching situation. The data obtained by this means were intended to supplement the data from other classes, since students attended conversation classes of their own free will. Such students attend their regular English classes as well, and if they prepare for a university entrance examination they may also be attending special English classes outside school hours.

There were two reasons for devising a separate questionnaire; (1) to see whether the students approved of a team-teaching situation and (2) how they perceived their own language abilities while attending conversation classes.

5.5.5.1 Method

A total of 105 students from grade 3 (san-nensei = year 12 in Australia) from a conversation class (3 x 50 minutes per week) at Yaeyama Senior High School, Okinawa completed a ten-question multiple choice questionnaire. The school was my base school while I was a participant on the Japanese Exchange Teaching Program.
Students had to choose only one alternative but in question 9 they were allowed to choose as many alternatives as they wished. Questions were given both in English and Japanese. Below are the responses to the questionnaire.

5.5.5.2 Results

Q.1 Do you think English is an important subject for Japanese students?

Table 61 Importance of Engl. for Students

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>84.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.2 Do you like studying English?

Table 62 Liking to Study English

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. 3 Why did you choose conversation class?

Table 63 Reasons for Choosing English Conversation class

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because I like English</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because I want to learn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English conversation</td>
<td>87.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because it is easy to get</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>credit in this class</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that most students gave strongly affirmative responses. However, from the answers to question two we can assume that 18.3% were not really interested in English per se, though they still attended this class (one reason could be that they did not have any other choice among other electives). From question three it may also be assumed that students see the conversation class as offering another opportunity to improve their communicative skills which were not concentrated on in regular classes.

Q.4 I want to have conversation class

Table 64 Frequency of Conversation Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more often</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the way it is</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less often</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems from the above results that there was a very small number of students who wanted to have conversation classes less often and in fact the percentage of 3.8% represented only 4 students out of 105 students. Those who were not certain (who did not know) constituted 6 students out of 105.

Q.5 The problem with the English conversation class is

Table 65 Problems Related to Conversation Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>problem</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too many students in one class</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not understand spoken English</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too much explanation in Japanese</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussion topics are boring</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the Table above it can be seen that 35.6% were satisfied with their conversation classes. However, 21.2% claimed that there were too many students in their classes. In fact the average number of students for the three conversation classes was 35, whereas in some other prefectures (e.g. Kanagawa) five - some schools have only 10-12 students in conversation classes. Some students said that they did not understand spoken English despite the fact that provision was made to give some basic explanations (e.g. phrases, expressions including cultural customs) in Japanese. On the other hand, some of the students, preferred to have less explanation in Japanese. To avoid Japanese explanation completely would have been in fact impractical, when there were two teachers involved in team-teaching situations (one being Japanese and one foreign). Explanations in Japanese were useful when explaining things which otherwise would take up too much of the 50 minute teaching period (e.g. instructions for group work.). No prescribed textbook was used in this class - materials were collected from various sources (e.g. newspapers, magazines and some EFL/ESL texts). In fact, while I was taking these classes with the Japanese teacher we wanted to make sure that students realised the importance of English not as just one of the mother tongues of the English speaking countries but as a truly "global" international language which could be used for various purposes and not just for the university entrance exams.

Q.6 Do you think it is necessary to have an AET (assistant English teacher) in your English class?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 66</th>
<th>AETs in Japanese English Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.7 Is team-teaching (Japanese English teacher and foreign English teacher) in your class helpful to prepare for an entrance examination to the college/university?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 67 Perception of Team-teaching for Examination

It can be seen from question six that there is strong approval for having foreign assistant English teachers to be engaged in teaching along with the Japanese teachers of English within the high school context.

On question seven 42.9% of the respondents claimed that the collaboration of both teachers in their classes was helpful in preparing them for an entrance examination. It is probable that this figure, in fact, represents the percentage of students who are interested in gaining an entry to a university or a professional college. The 42.9% represented 45 students. The 51.4% represented 54 students - and it is possible that some of these students were going to attend some sort of a college but their entrance examination did not require them to sit a test in English. However, it must be remembered that all universities do require English as one of the subjects for university entrance and as has been mentioned before some have started to use listening tests as their examination component.

Q.8 What do you learn most through team-teaching in your conversation class?
Table 68  Perception of Team-teaching as a learning tool

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation and natural language</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressions not in the textbook</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign culture</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to responses obtained from question eight students claimed that they learnt natural language and expressions not found in the textbook. An unexpected finding was that the interest in learning about "foreign culture" was very small, in spite of the fact that students were told a lot about Australian and other cultures in these classes.

Q.9 Please state your opinion about team-teaching (you can tick off as many answers as you wish).

Table 69  Opinions about Team-Teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We do not have enough opportunities to talk with the foreign teacher</td>
<td>34.2% 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More time should be assigned to actual conversation in English</td>
<td>40.9% 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We want both teachers (foreign and Japanese) to use more different materials</td>
<td>16.1% 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We want to learn more practical(spoken) English</td>
<td>57.1% 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Lab should be used to improve our listening ability</td>
<td>29.5% 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the results obtained from question nine 57.1% of students wanted to learn more practical (spoken) English and 40.9% wanted more time spent on actual conversation. Some of the students also wanted the language lab to be used in order to improve their listening ability. The school, in fact had an excellent language lab, which however, I had never seen being used. This would indicate teachers' reluctance for oral/aural practice.

From the students' responses we can infer that there is strong support for communicatively oriented classes - and this probably reflects the need for more lessons of this type in all English classes not just the conversation class.

Q.10 Do you think that you have improved your oral/aural skills in English after studying English conversation for 4 months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement of oral/aural skills</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the above response 72.4% of the students claimed that they had improved their oral/aural skills, which was, of course their commonest reason for joining the classes (Q.3). My own teaching experience with students in conversation classes supports the result. Most students were prepared to follow instructions in English and talk about personal things (e.g. what they did the previous day), but only after about 3 months in the conversation class.
5.5.5.3 Summary of the Conversation Class Findings

It appears from the questionnaire that students generally seem to have a good impression of conversation classes (Q.3) and they approve of the use of foreign assistant English teachers in their classes (Q.6). Some of the students also believed that the team-teaching would be helpful in preparing them for the university entrance examination (Q.7). They also felt that they had improved their communicative skills after four months of attending conversation classes (Q.10). Most students exhibited favourable attitudes towards English in a conversation class though 18.3% stated that they did not like it (Q.2). It is difficult to give a reasonable explanation for this result. It is possible that they might have had different expectations about the conversation class at the beginning (the enrolment stage) and changed their opinions while the classes were in progress. Another possibility is that this was a percentage of students who could not find any other option (elective) and might not have perceived the conversation class as a study of English. These findings, however, do not seem to support views commonly given by both Japanese and foreign teachers that students are not interested in studying English. It is obvious that far more research must be carried out in this regard in Japan in order to draw valid conclusions - we are dealing with a population of 5 million high school students.

5.6 Native Assistant English Teachers' Views

In line with Japan's intention of fostering the development of a more international society, the Japanese Government employs a large number of native assistant English teachers to work in Japanese high schools.

Since the activities of the AETs (now termed assistant language teachers ALTs) have a significant effect on the teaching of English in Japanese
high schools, an attempt was made to investigate the attitudes they held with respect to the work they were doing. The information sought was about their age, education, in which region of Japan and in which school, they were teaching, what materials they used in team-teaching situations, how they perceived Japanese teachers' English ability. They were also asked to comment on the students' English ability.

5.6.1 Procedure/Method

Fifty-two questionnaires were distributed to AETs at random during the 1991 team-teaching conference in Miyazaki. All of the questionnaires were filled in and returned.

Among the fifty-two respondents 25 were female and 25 male. Two respondents did not state their genders. 43.1% were under 25 and 41.2% were between 25 and 30 years of age, 11.8% were between 31 and 35 and only 3.9% were over 35.

Only 25% of the respondents had teacher training qualifications. This accounted for 13 people. Teaching qualifications of 12 people were identified in the following fields:

Table 71  Type Qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech pathologist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign languages</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESL/EFL</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic history</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forty-eight percent of respondents (AETs) were teaching in rural and 52% in urban areas. 35.3% taught at junior high schools and 45.1% in senior high schools. 19.6% worked in other than school settings (e.g. education centre, school for disabled children).

One of the questions (Q.6) asked how many schools they visited. The answer to this question is shown in the following Tables:

Tables: 72; 73; 74; 75 - Number of Schools Visited by AETs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 72</th>
<th>Table 73</th>
<th>Table 74</th>
<th>Table 75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the results for question six 50% of AETs visited between 1 to 4 schools. However, another 50% visited schools ranging from 5 to 22 which is the major drawback of the program(me) from the teaching point of view. This has been pointed out by both Japanese and foreign assistant English teachers and has recently been discussed by Yano (1991) who gives some hints for the improvement of the AETs' situation.

Another question was aimed at eliciting some information on Japanese teachers' English ability and read as follows (Q.7): "How do you assess the overall English ability of the Japanese English teacher as compared to a native speaker of English? (including understanding, speaking, writing and reading)."
Analysing the data from question seven it can be seen that there were no "excellent" responses assigned to understanding and writing and there were no "poor" responses given to writing and reading. In fact, the data supplied by the AETs almost matches the data obtained from the teachers' self-assessed English language skills (Table 33 discussed p. 195). For instance, 10.9% of AETs judged Japanese English teachers' understanding of English as poor whereas 11.6% of Japanese English teachers were of the same opinion. The response for "fair" was judged by 34.8% AETs vs 32.6% by Japanese English teachers. The grade "good" was given by 45.7% of AETs vs 43.2% by Japanese English teachers. The grade "very good" was assigned by 8.7% of AETs vs 9.5% by Japanese English teachers. While there was no AET who rated the Japanese English teachers' understanding of English as "excellent", 3.2% of Japanese English teachers rated their understanding as excellent. There is no doubt that the skill of reading was judged by both AETs and Japanese English teachers as the best acquired skill by the Japanese teachers of English.

Assistant English teachers were also asked what kind of materials they used in their English classes with the Japanese English teachers. According to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>understand</th>
<th>speak</th>
<th>write</th>
<th>read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poor</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fair</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very good</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excellent</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the results the majority used material prescribed by Mombusho together with games which accounted for 80%.

There was also a question which was phrased 'he same way as the question in the Japanese teachers' questionnaire and read as follows: "Why do you think, after studying for 6 years, Japanese students have difficulty in expressing simple ideas in English?" Their open-ended responses stated the following reasons;

(a) students were not taught practical usage; (b) students were discouraged from expressing themselves; (c) assessment was based on written exams and this always works against language acquisition; (d) teachers do not speak much English while teaching English; (e) emphasis on reading, writing and translation; (f) English is not important in their lives; (g) shyness and the value of silence as cultural characteristic; (h) Textbooks are terrible; (i) afraid of making mistakes because of their belief in Japanese perfectionism; (j) because the education system works on the Pavlov's dogs' type of automatic questions and responses.

One respondent, who identified herself as a trained TESL assistant English teacher with two years experience in Japan claimed that English instruction in Japan was completely off track and did not seem to make any significant headway. The Japanese teachers seemed to be more preoccupied with form and procedure than actual students needs. She also stated that AETs were not really treated as professionals even when they were qualified teachers. Another AET stated that AETs would be far more useful if they were employed in elementary schools.
Most of these responses confirm the statements expressed by Japanese teachers of English (section 5.4.2) and add some extra weight to previously mentioned criticism associated with English education. However, one should be wary about all the complaints expressed by both the Japanese teachers of English and assistant English teachers in view of the time factor involved in English learning (see further section 6.5.2.1).

In order to make effective use of both AETs and Japanese teachers in team teaching situations, it is clear that mutual trust between the parties involved must be established, and in the past this has not always been achieved (Mueller 1991).

5.7 General Survey of English Language Teaching in Japan

The General Survey of English Language Teaching in Japan (Koike et al. 1990) constitutes a summary of four reports published within the span of 11 years and submitted to the Ministry of Education in order to improve EFL teaching at various educational levels in Japan. The report outlines some of the problems encountered in Japan within the field of English education.

5.7.1 Problems of Japanese High School Teachers

According to the report (Koike et al. 1990) 78.8% of junior high school and 66.4% of senior high school teachers claimed that students were reluctant to study English because of the pressure created by the preparation for senior high school and university entrance examinations respectively. 60% of teachers admitted that they needed to improve their own teaching in order to involve students in the active learning process. 45.8% of junior high school
teachers and 66.2% of senior high school teachers also expressed a wish for having the right to choose their own textbooks.

Among other problems expressed by teachers was the number of students involved in language classes (class-size); 43.7% of junior high school and 45.4% of senior high school teachers complained about the situation. The report also states that teachers in junior high schools try to integrate the four skills into their teaching but at the same time 34.1% of teachers in these schools felt that they needed some other teaching methods which would prepare pupils for the entrance examination to senior high schools.

62.6% of junior high school teachers and 58.0% of senior high school teachers claimed that "TEFL in the Japanese education system is not effective" (p. 92).

5.7.2 Data from the Universities

According to the report (Koike et al. 1990) the problem with TEFL at the university level is related to the distinction between various fields of specialisation, these are:

- literature majors which emphasise culture bound subjects and study literature through reading-translation. In fact, 48.9% of university teachers were found to teach such skills as expository reading, appreciation.

- TEFL majors which emphasise communication. 20.8% of teachers in this field taught aspects of the four skills including rapid reading, expository reading, and English for classroom activities.

- Linguistics majors which tend to follow the developments in the TEFL field including research methodology and overseas developments.
5.7.3 Students' Views

The survey found that the higher the grade the more the students were inclined to dislike the study of English. Among junior high school students 56.5% stated that they liked to study English and 22.7% stated that they did not. In senior high school 38.5% of students said that they liked to study English, and 35.0% said that they did not. Among the university students 67.9% claimed that their English lessons were boring and 55.0% were dissatisfied with translation centred teaching. In fact, 43.3% of university students wished they could understand English without translation. 53.2% of students said that materials used for teaching were boring. College graduates said they wished they had more listening and speaking training and these responses were represented by 67.8% and 75.1% respectively. 80% of both university graduates and students stated that they were not able to communicate in English.

Among other respondents were people in society at large (e.g. researchers, company directors, business people) who claimed that 60.5% of them studied English only for entrance examination, 42.7% said the teaching methods were not good and 41.0% said teacher quality was low. The report also discussed English teaching at elementary schools, however, "the committee was unable to reach a final conclusion on the need for English in the primary schools at this time" (Koike et al. 1990, p. 87).

5.8 Conclusion

The results which have been obtained from various sources including my questionnaire in chapter 4 seem to support some of the anecdotal descriptions of English teaching in Japan and the weaknesses of the system
which are often alluded to by both Japanese and foreigners (Canales 1991; Hitotsuyanagi and Briand 1987; Kosuge 1988 quoted in Cutts & Thornbrugh; Moore 1990). However, the reasons for this state of affairs are rarely mentioned.

In this regard, it is necessary to consider cultural factors as a supplement to the data already considered.

Hess and Azuma (1991) claim that

the Japanese method of socialising children typically relies on modelling, while Western methods predominantly use a hedonistically oriented [i.e. reward-based] training strategy (p. 5).

Such modelling relies on attention to and close identification with others. Doi (1973, 1986) claims that this is based on the need for group approval and group acceptance and he has linked this dependency need to the unique Japanese mentality of "amae" which manifests itself in a longing to merge with others. Furthermore, the interpersonal relationships in Japanese society are held together by a hierarchy of social roles, for instance,

...teaching relationships, which tend to utilise explanations and instruction, are rooted in status distinctions. The superior knowledge and position of the teacher form the basis for persuasion (Hess & Azuma 1991, p. 5).

Hess and Azuma (1991) further state that it is often noticed that teaching in Japanese schools is based on drill and repetition or reading in chorus and answering in unison (p. 6). This is generally as transfer from ancient Confucian teaching which was heavily dependent on rote-learning and in the olden days the primary focus of education was to recite the whole paragraphs of Confucian Analects from memory (Kaji 1991).
In order to defend these teaching techniques in the Japanese classroom, teachers in Japan will often quote old proverbs like:

"read it one hundred times and understanding will follow spontaneously"  
"first master the pattern. Then you can outgrow the pattern"  
"practice so it becomes automatic, rather than trying to learn intellectually"  

(quoted in Hess & Azuma 1991 p. 6).

Because of the emphasis on loyalty, hierarchy, and harmony within Japanese society students need to be compliant rather than self-assertive (Hess and Azuma 1991 p. 7). Assertiveness would threaten the harmony and cohesion of the group (De Vos 1985). This "belonging to the group" could be hypothetically represented in the following diagram:

Figure 27

![Diagram showing group cohesion components, high value on group harmony, approval, acceptance, and unassertive behaviour.]

The modelling and the adaptive behaviour of the Japanese student is nurtured from the very early stages of the child's development and education and it probably attains its peak in the junior high school [middle high school] where
decisions have to be made on the selection of students into the senior high schools on the basis of a highly specific entrance examination.

This situation, especially in relation to selection, in the junior high school has been recently described by Shimuzu (1992). He claims that the key word in the junior high school teachers' vocabulary is the word "shido" which derives from the verb "shidosuru" describing overall activities which guide students into the right path by teaching various aspects of the curricula - which seem to have educational value for students (p. 115).

There is a variety of "shidos" emphasising various aspects of educational activities, for instance;

"gyosei-shido" - administrative guidance
"seikatsu-shido"- teaching students how to behave in the community and during vacation
"komon-shido" - observing students at the gates when coming to school
"shido-shuji" - advisory teachers
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{"gakushu-shido"} & \quad \text{relate to the academic/behavioural aspects of the school} \\
\text{"seito-shido"} & \\
\text{"shinro-shido\"} & \quad \text{is an operation relating to the students' future lives on the basis of these two "shidos" (Shimizu 1992 p. 116)}
\end{align*}
\]
The most significant "shido" for our discussion, is gakushushido which basically refers to effective teaching in order to improve students' academic abilities - "gakuryoku". The concept of gakuryoku refers to "carefully selected knowledge to be memorised and well-executed drill" which in turn will not only improve students' academic abilities but at the same time will lead to betterment of their personalities (Shimizu 1992 p. 116). In fact, the concept of gakuryoku is often considered to be the equivalent to "juken-gakuryoku" which means simply receiving high scores in entrance examinations.

Eventually, high scores on the entrance examination will determine which university the student will attend and graduate from. This in turn, will decide the future social status of the Japanese graduate and his/her affiliation with a "respectable" company or government establishment. As university entrance examinations require students to take an English test regardless of the subject (major) they are going to study, the teaching through "yaku-doku" prevails in Japanese high schools because this is what usually is required on the English entrance test. We probably cannot expect the students' passive behaviour to be suddenly changed to become more assertive/communicative because this is not required by the standards laid down either by the cultural/pragmatic aspects of the Japanese or the university entrance examination. Furthermore, language students (especially Japanese students of English - because of the constraints mentioned above) will not easily adapt a pattern of behaviour in the English class which is at variance with the roles they are required to play in their other lessons (Widdowson 1984 p. 24).

We should also note that high school leaving examinations or university entrance examinations are common in both developing and highly
industrialised societies. They share common characteristics, one of which is that they are used for selection of candidates for particular tertiary institutions or for employment. However, the way they are administered can differ from nation to nation or even within the nation.

Students in some countries may be assessed by subjective or objective tests and in others by both. For instance, in countries with large student populations machine-scorable tests are the norm [e.g. the USA, Japan] (Eckstein & Noh 1989). While the machine-scorable tests may be cheap and easy to mark, the information they seek is usually based on recall of learned information by way of multiple-choice tests. In Japan the uniformity of the school curriculum across the nation enables the education officials to examine a large number of students in a very short time (e.g. in 1987 alone 782,000 prospective students were examined in this way of whom 306,000 passed the test to universities [Mombusho]). At present, Mombusho specifies the curriculum content and the sequence of instruction via Mombusho courses of study and Mombusho approved textbooks for high school use. This uniform control of instructional materials also influences the way students are taught by their teachers. There is little opportunity for the students to get involved in any communicative exchange of information through oral/aural skills due to the fact that classroom teaching is characterised by teacher centred approach leaving little opportunity for the students to be involved in the lesson.

Using Simpson and Rosenholts' (1986) terminology, Kamada (1989) describes the Japanese classroom, with regard to English teaching, as unidimensional constructed (Type-U) and multidimensional constructed (Type-M). In her view, students in the U-type classroom follow the
curriculum appropriate for the university entrance examination without emphasising oral/aural skills for communication, while the M-type classroom seems to incorporate oral/aural teaching together with grammar-translation methodology (Kamada 1989, p. 173). On the basis of this distinction, her study seems to support the view that students in the M-type English class develop more integrative orientations towards the study of English while the students in U-type English class exhibit more instrumental orientations.

Furthermore, Kamada (1989) points out that the oral/aural skills of students assessed for M-type classes were higher than for those attending the U-type English classes. The assessment of grammar-translation abilities did not differ between the two types of classes (p. 179).

Because of the increased competitiveness of entrance examinations there is a need for Japanese students to attend extra tutoring classes run by various private "cramming schools" called "juku" and "yobiko" (Blumenthal 1992; Kondo 1974). While the former cram school [juku] can be operated by almost anybody, the latter (yobiko) has legal status and must be registered with the local board of education. The basic specialisation of these cram schools is the preparation of students for either high school or university entrance exams.

While Mombusho officials encourage more communicatively oriented English classes (Wada 1987, 1990), they do not seem to comment on the changes to entrance examinations incorporating communicative teaching. As long as there are entrance examinations based on the information recall procedures, it appears that, there will not be any drastic changes in the system. If the present Japanese educational system is both "culture-driven" (e.g.
Confucian) and examination-driven with the heavy commitment to rote learning) then there seems to be a conflict of interest. On the one hand the Japanese behaviour is governed by the socio-cultural rules appropriate in the Japanese society as reflected in various "shidos" and the group dependency "amae" and on the other hand the tendency to nurture creativity and independent thinking (Daily Yomiuri May 6, 1991) seems to go against firmly established socio-cultural rules which distinguish the Japanese from other nationalities.

However, the question whether the school practices hinder the development of creativity and analytical thinking as some of the critics would like us to believe is debatable. This can be inferred from various international data on educational achievements by Japanese students. In 1964, for instance, a comparison was made between 3200 students in England and 2050 students in Japan with the average age of 13, based on internationally agreed mathematical questions in which the Japanese students obtained much higher average scores than their counterparts in England (31.2 vs 19.3). In 1981 the Japanese also achieved higher scores than the English students [62% of Japanese students attained correct answers vs 47% of English students] (Prais 1986 in Prais 1990; Howarth 1991).

In 1970, in tests given to 10 year old and 14 year old students in 19 countries under the UN sponsorship, the Japanese pupils obtained the highest scores for both age groups (Hane 1986). Furthermore, Hane says, "the tests did not screen for facts and information alone but, required understanding and application of the information the students possessed" (p. 398).
In view of the above discussion it is important for the foreign English language teachers [AET/ALTs] in Japan to observe carefully what is taking place in the Japanese classroom and analyse every aspect of the pedagogical situation such as the interaction between the teacher and a learner as their behaviour is an outcome of socialisation within a particular learning context (Jorden 1980). Jorden further states that it is quite common for the foreign language teachers who are native speakers of the target language not to take into consideration students' native cultures and the implications they may have for the language learning processes (p. 223). She stresses that

Foreign language programs must reflect a concern not only for the target language and culture but also for the base from which students originate. The target determines what the students are to learn, but the base suggests how students acquire knowledge, how best to motivate them, and what is most relevant for them (Jorden 1980, p. 229).

This is a valid point: many foreign AETs/ALTs who came to Japan to teach English lack an understanding of the socio-historical context and cultural aspects in which curriculum decisions have been made (or are being made) and implemented. They are often not aware of the problems involved in the transition from one type of teaching (e.g. methodology employed by Japanese teachers) to a more "relaxed" type of teaching which underlies the teaching in the communicative approach (e.g. group work, open classroom) in the Western oriented context.
Chapter 5

Notes:

1. The concept of "monocultural" school context is reflected in the fact that the teaching of English is carried out in the system which operates within Japanese cultural orientations. These cultural orientations are carried out through the language called Japanese as it fulfills the unifying role among the different people residing in Japan. The unifying power of Japanese can be seen in most isolated areas of Japan (e.g. Ishigaki-jima in Okinawa) where a number of dialects and vernaculars exist among older generations but are hardly known to younger people who have to compete for their social standing through the language called Japanese (Kokugo lit. national language, see Mair 1994).


3. Participants on the JET program between 1987 and 1991 basically were university graduates and had minimal, if any, teacher training, however, this seems to be changing now in that on the new application forms a question is asked as to whether or not a prospective participant has had 100 hours of training in ESL/EFL. Also see Itoi, K. (1989).

4. In regard to this section Mr. Ansho Ikeshiro of Yaeyama Senior High School in Ishigaki, Okinawa was instrumental in explaining the purpose of this Japanese survey and translated some of the questions into English. The discussion of this data is my own and does not draw on any ideas or conclusions which were reached by the Japanese scholars.

5. For the discussion on international education in Kanagawa Prefecture and in teaching conversation classes see: Fleischmann, G. (no date).

Chapter 6

The English Language in Japanese Corporations

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter focuses on English language training within Japanese corporations and attempts to give an overall picture of the importance of foreign language education (especially English) to Japanese corporate employees who often use English as a means for international communication on the overseas markets. The discussion is based on the following data sources:

1. Historical data and the review of literature related to the role of foreign languages in the development of commerce/business in Japan (some of these aspects were already discussed in Chapter 3).

2. Studies on business/language education carried out by other researchers in relation to corporations (e.g. Hashimoto & Lau 1977; Holden 1985; Tung 1982; 1990)

3. The data gathered through questionnaires from educational centres of different Japanese business corporations:
   a) teachers' views working within business enterprises
   b) students'/businesspersons' views from these corporations
   c) views and data obtained from the supervisors of language programs at these corporations
4. TOEIC tests data obtained from the Institute for International Business Communication.

The overall sociolinguistic picture of the use of English within the Japanese corporate body can be represented in the following diagram (see Figure 40).

6.2 Historical Overview

Historically, as was detailed in Chapter 3, in Japanese commercial training English had a dominant role in the curriculum, in the schools which were established in the early Meiji period. Apart from commercial schools, there were also other organisations (e.g. banks) which introduced some commerce/business oriented subjects either through translation of foreign books or through the use of foreign experts.

As early as 1872 the Japanese government established a National Banking System which resembled the American banking system. In the same year the Japanese government had employed a British banking expert, Allan Shand, who was to teach bookkeeping and bank management procedures at the Mercantile Bank in Yokohama. Shand's basic preoccupation in the early stages with the Bank was the compilation of a book on bookkeeping. The manuscript of his book was translated by five Japanese officials and published in 1873 under the title "Ginko Boki Seiho" (Nishikawa 1956).

In 1874 the Ministry of Finance established the Banking Education Bureau where Allan Shand taught till 1877.
With the demand for banking techniques there were a number of books published between 1873 and 1878 all of which were basically translations of western books. The founder of Keio University, Yukichi Fukuzawa, also published a book in 1873 under the title "Choai no Ho" which was a translation of Bryant & Stratton's "Common School Bookkeeping" (New York 1871). Fukuzawa's edition of Bryant & Stratton's book in Japanese had a twofold purpose: firstly, to introduce basic "scientific" accounting into the Japanese commercial institutions; secondly, to destroy the remnants of feudalism which Fukuzawa despised.

In order to spread modern accounting and bookkeeping methods, Fukuzawa employed some of his former students as teachers of arithmetic and accounting. One of them was Heigoro Shoda who first was employed at Keio University's branch in Osaka and later in 1875 joined the staff of the Mitsubishi Company in order to familiarise the Company with modern accounting methods. In fact, Mitsubishi was the first Japanese enterprise at that time employing students of Western learning, especially those from Keio University (Japanese National Commission for UNESCO 1966).

During the early stages of the Meiji period a number of independent centres were established for the teaching of shorthand writing and English typing. These institutions later (in the Taisho Era 1912-1926), became schools with the introduction of typewriters. One of them was established by the Japan Typewriter Incorporation as a vocational school catering for girls and later became the Japan Typist School for Girls (Japanese National Commission for UNESCO 1966, p. 219).
Another example of outside organisations which employed both boys and girls who completed primary schooling was the Mitsukoshi Dry Goods Store. These young employees were trained within the Mitsukoshi company to be junior sales clerks. The training lasted for 3 years and English was taught among the various subjects (Japanese National Commission for UNESCO 1966, p. 220).

In 1910 the Japanese became acquainted with the work of F. W. Taylor who was the "father" of formal scientific management. His works were immediately translated into Japanese (Sasaki 1992; Warner 1992) and his ideas were applied at, for instance, the Mitsubishi Electric Engineering Co., the Japan National Railway and the Navy Dockyard in Kure (Sasaki 1992).

After the Second World War the influence of American ideas was predominant at all levels of Japanese society due to US occupational policies between 1945 and 1952. Two Americans, W.E. Deming and W.N. Juran were influential in furthering the application of Taylorism to Japanese industries (Warner 1992). Both of them also lectured on product quality in the 1950s. As soon as Juran published his book on "Quality Control" in 1951, the Japanese published it in Japanese translation in Japan. Consequently, Juran was invited to Japan in 1954 by both the Japanese Federation of Economic Organisations [Keidanren] and the Union of Scientists and Engineers. Juran himself says that

"[n]ever before my 1954 trip to Japan, and never since, has the industrial leadership of a major power given me so much of its attention" (Juran 1993, p. 43).

Nowadays, the majority of the Japanese business enterprises can do without foreign expertise but they do not ignore the study of English; in fact
they have well developed educational infrastructures within their companies in order to cater for their employees' on-the-job training in various areas of the company's specialisation, including the study of a language (usually English) and some aspects of the culture of a foreign country.

Regardless of graduates' university training background, most of the new recruits start their jobs in various company departments and most of them are trained either "on-the job", "off-job" (schools outside the workplace) or "in-house" (schools within the company). For instance, according to data by the Japanese Ministry of Labour (1988) on vocational training in private firms with regard to (off-job) training for internationalisation a very heavy stress is put on the study of a foreign language as shown in the Table below:

Table 77  Culture & language training in Japanese corporations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of Training</th>
<th>Enforcing</th>
<th>Not Enforcing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>83.4%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Languages</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture of location</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Data adapted from Table 3 (Warner 1992, p. 67)].

Foreign-affiliated companies often employ graduates from leading universities (as the Japanese do) with a good command of English. Nihon Philips Corp., whose parent company is based in the Netherlands and which has 63 other affiliates throughout the world, needs to employ graduates with good English language skills due to the fact that their business correspondence is carried out in English with their overseas offices (T.O. 1992, p. 24 The Japan Times April 15).
6.3 A Review of Current Studies in Relation to Language Education in Business Corporations

As a consequence of the recent interest in Japan's technological and economic achievements there seems to be a preoccupation with teaching about the alleged domineering nature of the Japanese business intrusions into other countries including Australia.

Books and articles have appeared dealing with the "unique" Japanese culture, the Japanese concept of "life-time" employment (Abegglen 1958), the Japanese "mind" (Christopher 1989). These books often criticise the Japanese behaviour and character both at home and overseas. Reading some of them gives an impression of the Japanese as being "vague" in using their language, for instance, in negotiations with others, "uncooperative" and even cunning (see Van Wolferen 1989). They seem to be portrayed as totally different from other human beings. They are hardly ever portrayed as creative and that the knowledge they have attained is seen to stem from their prolonged interest in other civilisations, an interest often supported by their preoccupation with translation of works needed for expansion of their knowledge in order to modernise the country and to catch up with the Western countries. In fact, it is claimed that Japan even nowadays translates some 2000 books from English alone annually (see Section 2.1) and according to Vogel (1979) there were 150,000 books translated into Japanese from the end of World War II until 1979.

There can be no doubt that the Japanese success in penetrating foreign markets is partly due to the fact that they have taken the trouble to learn the languages and customs of other countries and successfully used foreign
teachers and advisers (see Section 3.6). In a sense the last 125 years of the Japanese modernisation and "westernisation" were achieved by means of English as the main language for communication with the outside world.

While the diversification of English in different social contexts and the influence of the English language on other languages (including Japanese) has been widely studied, the use of English in Business Corporations has received little attention, in spite of the fact that it was the big business corporations which enhanced, to a certain degree, the spread of English as the language of international communication.

It is only in the last 25 years that some literature on this topic has appeared. Azumi (1969) gives a description of business recruitment by Japanese enterprises and cites the type of English examination some of the recruits had to take in 1962 in order to secure a place with a bank. Hashimoto and Lau (1977) give a description of their surveys on "In-company English Teaching Programs" within Japanese business enterprises.

A number of articles have subsequently appeared in different scholarly journals including both linguistic journals and business/management journals. Still, the number of articles is not very large and as, Hilton (1992) states, only 7 articles on Japanese cross-cultural communication were published in 11 years by the association of business communication.

Businesses in the Western countries will not be able to deal with their Japanese counterparts successfully unless they study the contact situations on the basis of some knowledge of Japanese language and human relationships.
from the point of view of Japanese business etiquette which, often for the international Japanese businessman means knowledge of socio-cultural rules of the country, including the knowledge of English or some other foreign language.

Some of those who have contributed research to this new field of the spread of English through corporate business enterprises within the Japanese context are concerned with a number of different issues: content of language courses (Heyen 1990; Vaughan 1990); intercultural training (Goldman 1992; Tung 1984); sociolinguistic issues (Hilton 1992; Holden 1985, 1990; Maher 1986); English language proficiency (Saegusa 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989); "the language training and human resource development" (Tung 1982, 1984, 1990). While this is a small group of scholars who publish their findings in English it can only be hoped that their studies will initiate a greater interest in the above mentioned fields.

6.3.1 Language Skills and the Human Resource Development

Historically, most countries which have progressed from less developed to more advanced in a short period of time have required a work-force that possesses new types of skills based on more scientific and technical "know-how". Such know-how, in the case of Japan, has been acquired with the help of the West (e.g. the Dutch, the French the Germans, the British and the Americans) through translation and formal education.

While there are many reasons which account for Japan's high level of economic progress in the last 125 years one of the most important is the utilisation of human resources:
After all, Japan is virtually devoid of raw materials; its primary resources is its people. Japan's success in the world can be attributed to the attention the country devotes to developing its people for operating in a global context (Tung 1990, p. 98).

Furthermore Dr. Tokuyama of Nomura School of Advanced Management states that:

The economic "miracle" of Japan is attributable in part to our eagerness to gather and analyse available information on world markets (Tokuyama quoted in Tung 1990, p. 98).

Human resource development within the corporate framework in Japan is met by three principal types of training. According to Holden (1990) these are:

a) foreign language
b) international management
c) cultural briefings

The above statements are indirectly supported by Maher (1986) who says:

In Japan, where knowledge and information are regarded as natural resources or raw material, English possesses a unique role as vehicle or mediator of such resources (p. 206).

Holden also cites some interesting data on Japanese business people who are either living permanently abroad or travelling throughout the world on business. For instance, in 1980s Toshiba had 600 staff based abroad and some 6000 travelling throughout the world (Holden 1990, p. 262).
According to data obtained by Tung (1984) from her Japanese informants one of the most important criteria for choosing someone for a business assignment abroad was adaptability and this was stated by 52% of the Japanese multinationals (Prof. Tanaka of Chuo University quoted in Tung 1984, p. 9). Adaptability "was closely tied to language ability and personality" in the view of Mr. Mizutani, general manager for planning of Furukawa Electric Co. (Mizutani quoted in Tung 1984, p. 9) and "in the past, language abilities took precedence over technical competence" (Dr. Tokuyama in Tung 1984).

In spite of the above claims Hilton (1992) states that it is believed by some foreigners that "Japanese, in general, have poor production skills despite their efforts" (p. 255). This statement is also supported by Neustupny (1985) who states that

the Japanese are among the least successful communicators in contact situations with native speakers of English. Few ethnic groups active on international scene have experienced problems as grave as the Japanese ..., in communicating through the medium of the English language (p. 48).

While expressing this view, Neustupny acknowledges the fact that

the rate of success has not been much better in the case of Westerners communicating in Japanese " (Neustupny 1985, p. 62).

There are a number of writers who provide a counter view to that of Neustupny on the Japanese use of English. For instance, Holden (1985) provides some interesting data on two groups of engineers - one from England and the other from Japan. The English engineers stated that the Japanese
engineers' English was at a satisfactory level (pp. 20-21). Cramer (1990) says that

*many Americans who meet senior Japanese business people in the USA are pleasantly surprised at their generally high level of English fluency (p. 89)*

Mr. Taresawa of Nomura Securities says that in his opinion "the English language capabilities of most Japanese are not as poor as many believe" (Taresawa quoted in Tung 1984, p. 113).

With regard to the study of English in company settings Holden (1990) mentions three crucial points which should be noted by people studying Japanese enterprises and their use of foreign languages. He distinguishes the following purposes from the point of view of language learning activities: firstly, people studying English within business corporations do not necessarily study it for using it with either native or non-native speakers of English or as "a tool for international communication". In fact, they may study it in order to "collect and analyse written information about worldwide technological and economic developments relevant to their companies' business" and in the case of my own research some of the employees were found to study English for their own general educational improvement. Holden further states that

*Japanese preoccupation with written English materials is..., a major source of competitive advantage, because the Japanese technological and economic effort habitually feeds on the two main languages of science and technology: namely English and Japanese (Holden 1987 cited in Holden 1990).*
Secondly, the study of English may be seen as a means of acquiring cultural awareness and "not just a marketing tool" for "direct selling activity" as some of the researchers in the field would assume. The study of English is also connected with the fact that many of the Japanese staff are in charge of overseas manufacturing firms so they usually need to be proficient in English in order to communicate with local subordinates (Holden 1990, p. 267).

A third point is related to the Japanese foreign language "ability" and their "inability" to use English and according to Holden (1990) this has been the preoccupation of the two "principal English-speaking countries" the UK and the USA and not a recognition by these two of "the strategic role the foreign-language capability holds in Japanese corporations" (Holden 1990, p. 267). Holden further states that the Japanese international business enterprises are determined to speak the language of their overseas operations - such behaviour is hardly recognised in English-speaking countries where most businesses rely on their monolingual English ability.

6.3.2 A Brief Description of the English Training Programs within Companies

The English training programs are very popular with companies which have business connections with overseas countries. Among these companies, are electric, automobile, securities, insurance, paper and oil exploration enterprises.

Some of the companies started their English language programs some 30 years ago. For instance, Matsushita Electric began around 1960 and
Hitachi Ltd. in 1963. At some enterprises the teaching of English may not necessarily be within the company (in-house) - it may be carried out by a language institute on a contractual basis with the business concerned.

Many of the companies view their English language training as part of their internationalisation and some of their subsidiaries produce various English training programs (e.g. Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. and Sony Language Laboratory) for their own use and marketing them to other companies which provide training for their employees (Mitsumori 1989).

6.4 Business Case Studies - English in Japanese Corporations

In this Section, the results obtained through questionnaires sent to various business corporations in Japan will be discussed.

6.4.1 Method

Twenty-five envelopes were sent to business corporations in 1991 selected (at random) from the Japan yellow pages directory (1991). Each envelope contained:

a) a questionnaire for the purpose of obtaining general information about the business corporation e.g. size, number of employees, language education provision and the expenditure on language education.

b) a number of questionnaires for both students and teachers at these corporations

A total of ten envelopes (40%) were received back including:

a) nine replies from the supervisors at the educational centres (one reply was blank as the company did not provide language classes)
b) sixteen replies from students/businesspeople at these corporations
c) five from the teachers working at these corporations

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The teachers' questionnaire asked for information related to the data on company language classes such as: the number of students, the average age of their students, the average size of their classes and the frequency of teaching hours, whether the teachers were trained ESL/EFL teachers and their views on their students'/businesspersons' ability in English and their use of English in Japan.

The students' questionnaire was designed to obtain information on students' age, occupation, the number of years studying English, their self assessment of various English language skills including the form they used English and their purpose in studying English. They were also asked to state which variety of English was most influential in Japan.

6.4.2 General Corporate Characteristics of Companies Responding to Questionnaires

Responses to both teachers' and students'/employees' questionnaires included 10 replies from the "supervisors" who were in charge of language centres or international divisions at these companies.

The responses received came from the following business enterprises which teach English and use the TOEIC test; Matsushita Electric Industrial Co.Ltd.; Daishowa Paper Mfg.Co.Ltd.; The Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance Co.Ltd.; Mitsui Oil Exploration Co.Ltd; and an automobile firm, an electrical firm neither of which wished to be identified; and a security firm which did not use the TOEIC test. There were two replies from business organisations which neither taught English nor used the TOEIC - these were: Nihon Sekki Inc. and PAE International. One reply was from a language service enterprise
which did not provide English classes or use TOEIC test for its employees - it did not want to be identified.

The companies responding reported employing between 73 people and 86 thousand people and having subsidiaries overseas both in English and non-English speaking country. Two of these companies reported that they had subsidiaries, one in a non-English speaking country and the other in an English speaking country. Most companies were heavily "male-staffed" but one had both female and male staff in equal proportion [50/50]. All of them provided English instruction and two also taught Spanish, Chinese, German and French (see Table 78).

Table 78  Data on Business Enterprises supplied by Supervisors/coordinators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>11.000</td>
<td>5.280</td>
<td>86.000</td>
<td>14.000</td>
<td>5.380</td>
<td>29.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes, both</td>
<td>yes, both</td>
<td>yes, both</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes, both Engl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang.Centre</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langs. classes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes - twice a year</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 mths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Langs.</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Pr/Gr/Sp/Chin</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Pr/Gr/Spn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees in Lang. classes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>30-50</td>
<td>~6,020</td>
<td>~2,800</td>
<td>5-6 for overseas program</td>
<td>450 English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with Engl. speakers</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of TOEIC</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>not answered</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>~100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>not answered</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Qualific.</td>
<td>arts/history</td>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td>English Lit</td>
<td>not answered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose *</td>
<td>1-4-6</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>4-5-7 (c1)</td>
<td>1-4-5 (d4)</td>
<td>3-4-5-6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3-4-5-6(g5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cost per year lang. training</td>
<td>~¥ 5,000,000</td>
<td>not answered</td>
<td>~¥ 5,000,000</td>
<td>~¥</td>
<td>~¥</td>
<td>~¥</td>
<td>confidential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend for Table 77**

*Purpose*
1. general educational improvement
2. human resource development
3. improving cultural awareness of your employees about an overseas country
4. posting employees overseas so they could work for the subsidiary
5. posting employees overseas to study at a university there
6. improving your employees performance on the job
7. general staff self-improvement: anyone can attend if they wish to do so
Other information

c1. there were 30 employees posted overseas as of 1991 and 3 were attending university there.
c2. this excludes the expenditure spent on study overseas
d3. the total number of employees for this company worldwide was 210,000 of which 96,000 were non-Japanese
d4. those who obtained 750 points on the TOEIC were eligible for overseas duty/study
g5. there were 450 employees overseas and 30 were studying at the university there as of May 1991.

6.4.3 Discussion

There were 16 questionnaires returned by students at the business enterprises of whom four were female and twelve were male. Their ages varied from as low as 20 years to 54 years, the average being 29 years. They also represented a variety of occupations such as manufacturing, insurance, training, and overseas marketing with five respondents being engaged in engineering.

One of the respondents had studied English for as many as 30 years and some for only 6 years which would equal the number of years one has to spend at a high school. Only three of them had spent time overseas, the periods ranging from one month to two years. When asked how they perceived their overall English ability as compared to that of an educated speaker of English (Q.7) they responded as shown on Table 79:
Table 79 Businesspeople English ability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>fair</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
<th>excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>understanding</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to Questions 8, 9, 10 and 11 are shown in the following Tables (Tables 80 & 81) and can be summarised as follows:

Table 80 Areas designated as important in learning English by Japanese businesspeople

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>skills</th>
<th>most important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>not very important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Areas important in learning English by Japanese businesspeople

Table 81: Areas most difficult in learning English by Japanese businesspeople

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>most difficult</th>
<th>difficult</th>
<th>not very difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Areas most difficult in learning English by Japanese businesspeople
When the answers to questions 8 and 9 are compared it can be seen from Tables 80 & 81 that the skills perceived to be most important in learning English are speaking and listening and the same skills were designated as the most difficult areas in learning English. Reading skill, for instance, was perceived neither very difficult nor important. It is probably fair to say that our businesspeople had had enough training in reading [& translation] during their high school and university days. 71% and 63% respectively of those attending language training claimed that they had improved their speaking and their listening skills (Q. 10). These observations can be confirmed from the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>most improved</th>
<th>improved</th>
<th>not greatly improved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td></td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td></td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 30

![Figure 30](image-url)
When asked why they were studying English [Q.12] 43.75% said for the purpose of communicating with English speaking people and for business. 6.25% claimed they were studying English in order to learn about the British/American culture and for self-study.

Although communication with English speaking people was the main intention for studying English and speaking and listening were regarded as the most important skills to be acquired, most of our respondents used English most often for reading purposes (Q. 11) as shown in Table 83:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>used skill</th>
<th>often</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking face to face</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking on the phone</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translating documents</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listening (radio, films)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests that the respondents had entered further English study with the intention of improving their competence in areas of perceived relative weakness. Reading, though a frequently exercised skill, was not seen to be a priority area for improvement. As Table 82 shows, the courses appeared to achieve the learners' objectives of lifting performance in speaking and listening rather than reading.

Thirteen respondents, which makes 81.25% of the total, designated American English as the most influential variety in Japan and only 3 respondents (18.75%) designated British English. This corresponds with other
data gathered in the course of this investigation showing a general favouring of American over other English varieties (Section 5.4.2).

Among the five teachers who responded to my questionnaire there were three female teachers and two male teachers. Their ages ranged from under 25 to less than 30 years of age.

One male teacher claimed that he was trained in the field of EFL/ESL teaching. Two male teachers claimed that their classes reflected the present trends in educational ESL/EFL theory. The other teachers were graduates but in fields such as International Economics; Management Studies; Japanese and Law. One male teacher did not state what his qualifications were. There is not at this stage a strong recognition within the business sector [and other private language schools] of the need for English language teachers to be professionally qualified. This is borne out by data from advertisements for teaching opportunities published in the Japan Times (Tables 14 & 15; also see Waller 1990).

Three teachers claimed that they had been teaching English in the business setting for one year, one teacher for two years and one teacher for only two months. Two teachers were teaching English for 20 hours a week; one teacher for 16 hours a week and two teachers for only one hour a week. Their class sizes varied from only one student to 5, 10 and 11 students.

Teachers also were asked to express their views about their students' ability as compared to that of an "educated native speaker". Their views are expressed in Table 83:
Table 84  Business people's language skills as assessed by teachers of English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>fair</th>
<th>good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>understanding</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking face to face</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking on the phone</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be inferred from the above Table the greater number of their students had their reading skills, and to lesser extent, their writing skills assessed as good. The responses very good or excellent were not selected by any teacher. Further to these perceptions of their students/businesspeople the teachers when asked "what is the main form in which English is used by businesspeople you teach" indicated, as shown in Table 85, that language skills were not greatly used by their students.

Table 85  \( \leq \) very much \( \leq \) English Use \( \Rightarrow \) not much \( \Rightarrow \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact the reading skill was perceived as the most used type of activity by the Japanese businesspeople and speaking use (and opportunities) were limited. However, access to reading materials was great as shown in Table 86:
Table 86 Access to English outside the classroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a great deal</th>
<th>little</th>
<th>none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspapers/magazines</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technical manuals</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>videos/films</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English speakers to talk to</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It needs to be pointed out that one teacher clearly stated that her classes were purely conversational in nature, basically excluding reading and writing. The same teacher stated that "fresh people and younger employees have a greater English ability than managers and older generation". She went on to say that

most business people are quite capable of everyday conversation but are lacking specific English-business..., engineer's English ability is quite different from overseas sales and marketing people.

In order to get the "picture" of Japanese business people's English language skills a set of data from the Institute of International Business Communication will be examined in the following Sections.

6.5 The Testing of English Language Skills of the Japanese Businesspeople

In Japan a number of organisations (apart from educational institutions e.g. schools, universities) carry out testing procedures for a number of different people in different organisations.
The TOEFL test for those who are interested in studying at universities in English speaking countries; the test of the Society for Testing English Proficiency (generally called STEP test) is a more general proficiency test approved by Mombusho and taken by a large number of students, teachers and other interested people - the same society also administers a test called "BEST"- a business English standard test.

Another English proficiency test, "TOEIC"- a test of English for International Communication, was developed by Educational Testing Services in Princeton, USA. The TOEIC test was first administered in Japan in 1979. Currently it is available in a number of countries and in 1990 it was administered to over 350,000 test-takers throughout the world (Guide for TOEIC users 1990, p. 2).

According to the guide of Educational Testing Services (1990) the difference between TOEFL and TOEIC is that they are measuring different functional abilities of the test-takers; a TOEFL test is designed to tap the candidate's potential ability to study in an English speaking university and relies on materials taken from academic environments; TOEIC on the other hand, tests on-the-job use of English in different contexts e.g. the use of English within a company both in the domestic and international setting. One such example is the Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corporation in Smyrna, Tennessee where out of 3,300 employees only 23 are Japanese who transfer the technology by means of English as stated by one of the Japanese managers

In Smyrna, our vehicles are manufactured using the same method as in Japan. The transfer of technology occurs :: English., Nissan advisers work closely with local staff and communicate in English 100% of the time., the TOEIC test at the Smyrna site provides motivation for the Japanese advisers to improve in English while in

In Japan, for instance, the TOEIC test can be administered on the intake of the new company recruits and during their career with the company.

6.5.1 Characteristic Features of the TOEIC test

An interesting feature of the TOEIC test is that it has three types of testing programs:

a) secure program [SP]

b) institutional program [IP]

c) international corporate service [ICS]

The secure program testing is available 3 times a year and it is administered under strict conditions. The test-takers may or may not be connected with a business enterprise. The institutionalised program testing basically serves business enterprises or government agencies which need to test their employees' proficiency in English.

Saegusa (1989) claims that there seems to be a major difference between the examinees who take the two types of test programs; those who take the SP test are probably interested in learning English because they sit for the test voluntarily; whereas those taking the IP test usually are required by their employer to take the test as a part of on-going English language training. Saegusa further claims that the majority of those undertaking IP testing are probably not interested in English study – he comes to this conclusion by comparing the test results from the two testing programs (Saegusa 1989, p. 2).
The total testing result (listening & reading) for IP was 134 points lower than for the SP testing.

The TOEIC is measured on the scale of 010 to 990 with steps of 5 points (Guide for TOEIC users 1990; Saegusa 1985). An examinee who obtained a score of over 875 points (TOEFL 600) would be rated as triple A (AAA); a result between TOEIC score of 730 and 870 would be rated as double A (AA); the TOEIC score of 590 would mean approximately a TOEFL score of 500 which would rate the examinee as A. Grade B would be assigned to candidates who get a score between 500 and 585 on the TOEIC test (see Table 87).

Table 87 shows the relationship between score levels and task requirements (i.e. what scores would be required of an employee of a business corporation in order to be able to carry out certain tasks):
Table 87 TOEIC scores and their value in relation to required tasks*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 750 or above</td>
<td>To qualify for study program overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 700-745</td>
<td>Able to negotiate with foreigners, e.g. business transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 630-655</td>
<td>Can go overseas and be able to perform certain tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 550-625</td>
<td>Intermediate level and should be able to do business overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 450-545</td>
<td>Lower intermediate level - can communicate with foreigners at a basic level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 350-445</td>
<td>Elementary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 250-345</td>
<td>Beginning level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(on score allocation and ranking see TOEIC Newsletter 33, November 1990).

6.5.1.1. The Evaluation of the TOEIC Scores and its Relation to Language Teaching Methods and to Oral Proficiency

As has been mentioned in Chapter 5, high school and university entrance examinations are often blamed for the inadequate oral skills of Japanese students both at the high school and the university level. In addition, the traditional "yaku-doku" philosophy still dominates the classroom setting. Despite these impediments, business enterprises in Japan are very much involved in improving the English language proficiency of their employees and the TOEIC test seems to be the "standard measurement" tool in assessing their employees' English language skills. In this regard it must be pointed out that basically there is hardly any literature in English (apart from various
manuals and descriptions of the test: Educational Testing Services, NJ.) on the practical results of such a test for various tasks e.g. the oral communication interview.

As of 31 January, 1991 there were 885 corporate users of the TOEIC test in Japan. According to the Institute for International Business Communication in Tokyo they came from the enterprises shown in Table 87.

Table 88  Selected Enterprises Using TOEIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Field</th>
<th>No. of Users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks/Securities</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric/Communic Equipment</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang. Institutes</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobiles/Shipbuilding</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Institutes</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precision Machinery</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber/Glass/Cement</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to these there were transport, broadcasting, oil, textiles, electric/gas, real estate, steel, paper, fishing, mining and advertising enterprises which used TOEIC.

In the last decade the issues of the reliability and validity of the TOEIC test and the conversion of listening and reading scores into some "meaningful" representation of the Japanese businesspeople English language proficiency has been receiving attention among Japanese scholars who are concerned with foreign language teaching and learning.

These and further issues will be discussed in the following Sections.

### 6.5.2.1. Foreign Service Institute Data and the TOEIC Scores

In order to assess the time spent on attaining a certain degree of proficiency in various foreign languages and how this was related to the learning of English by Japanese, Saegusa (1983), using some of the research data of the Foreign Service Institute (USA) reported that Americans who wanted to acquire certain skills in some European languages (e.g. German, French, Spanish, Italian and Swedish) needed 720 hrs of study in order to attain level 2 + on the scale devised by the Foreign Service Institute. However, to achieve a similar level in languages such as Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Arabic the Americans needed 1950 hours of training (p. 83). In order to reach level 3 on the Institute's proficiency scale the American student needed 1200 hours of study in the previously mentioned European languages and 4375 hours in order to achieve level 3 in Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Arabic (these being supposedly the most difficult languages for English speakers).
On the basis of this description Saegusa (1983) pondered whether the Japanese are poor foreign language learners - his answer is that they are not (p. 82). He bases this conclusion on the data which we have discussed above and one of the factors which he takes into account is the dissimilarity between the two languages. He further states that the 1100 hours of training received by the Japanese college graduates (for the same reason 600-700 hrs by high school students - Chapter 4 p. 201) are almost negligible in terms of allowing time for acquisition of oral skills (e.g. communicative competence). Saegusa states that if we accept the data for language acquisition from the Foreign Service Institute (e.g. exposure to the target language) then the Japanese college graduate needs another 1000 hours just to attain level 2 + and another 3500 hrs in order to reach level 3 on the foreign language institute scale.

In considering Saegusa's claims one should keep two things in mind: firstly no language lessons in schools with limited exposure to native or fluent English speakers [if any] will produce "full" communicative skills though they may provide bases for such competence; secondly, language learning is a cumulative process constantly building upon prior learned language skills in both native and non-native contexts for a variety of purposes.

Saegusa also states that the data he refers to are obtained from intensive language courses which are supposed to be 30% – 40% more effective than regular classes (p. 84). Saegusa, in order to support some of his research findings as discussed above has analysed class hours and the TOEIC scores which were obtained before the class started and after the class finished.

293
He analysed the TOEIC scores from both the regular teaching (6 to 8 months teaching) and intensive language instruction (10 weeks). When the TOEIC scores were compared after 120 hrs instruction (6 months) with the scores achieved on completion of the class, the improvement rate for listening and reading was very small 8.6% and 9.1% respectively. The TOEIC scores after 200 hrs (8 months) for the listening and reading improved by 36.4% and 16.7% respectively. After 250 hrs (8 month) the TOEIC scores improved 26.1% for listening and 19.2% for reading. However, when the class lasted for 10 weeks (250 hrs) the listening score improved 51.2% and the reading score only 19.6%.

On the basis of his data Saegusa (1983) claims that in order to raise the TOEIC scores significantly 200-250 hrs of extra instruction is needed. The longer the instruction, the better the listening score. Taking all his observations and data into account he states that the number of class hours or exposure to the target language is more important for assessing the rate of progress than the teaching method.

However, re-analysing Saegusa's data (p. 84) of pre-class scores and post-class (Table 89) it is possible to see a disparity in the scores, for instance between the scores for listening before class and after class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 89 Pre- &amp; Post- class Listening scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 hrs [6 mth]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 hrs [8 mth]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 hrs [8 mth]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 hrs [10 weeks]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[modified from Saegusa 1983, p. 84]
It is clear that the classes which had lower listening scores did much better in the final score than the classes which had higher pre-class listening scores. There are at least two problems associated with these scores; firstly, it is possible that people with lower initial listening scores have greater scope for improvement than those who already possess better listening skills; secondly, an end examination in intensive courses (e.g. 10 weeks) may yield better results because students may remember the content of instruction better than the students who were in 6 or 8 month classes. In fact, it would be interesting to verify this claim, if this was possible, by re-examining the intensive class students 6 or 8 months later to see how they fare in their examination in comparison to both their previous intensive class score and those of students in regular classes. Some demographic data about the test-takers would also be helpful (e.g. age, years of learning English) in order for the data to be more reliable.

In another study Saegusa (1984) compared the TOEIC scores to language proficiency interview (LPI) scales. On the basis of his analysis he suggested an approach to predicting oral proficiency on the basis of the TOEIC scores. His 1985 study relates the TOEIC scores to the scores on the LPI scales. This adapted in the following figure below:
The above data would indicate that Japanese students would need at least about 2000 hours of English language instruction in order to get to LPI level of, 2+ which would be the equivalent of 730 points on the TOEIC score and 550 on TOEFL scale, that is if we accept the assumption that the Japanese language belongs to the "so called difficult" languages to learn (p. 249) for an English speaking person then the reverse should also be true that the English language belongs to "difficult" languages for the Japanese people.

6.6 Discussion of Japanese Company Employees' English Proficiency on the Basis of Accumulated TOEIC Scores from 1979 to 1991

The TOEIC data which will be discussed in this Section represent a total of 34 TOEIC tests which were administered between 1979 and 1991 in Japan to the employees of various business enterprises and also to some members of educational institutions (e.g. college students).

While sitting for the TOEIC tests the examinees had to provide some demographic data such as their age, sex, education, type of employment and the position they occupy within the business enterprise. In addition they were asked whether they used English at the work place and whether they had
resided overseas for at least up to 6 months. In the following analysis the TOEIC scores are related the demographic and other background criteria which were supplied by examinees.

6.6.1 The TOEIC Scores According to Age and the Use of English

The data represented in Tables 90 and 91 include the age of the test-takers within the range from less than 20 to over 60 years of age and represent both female and male employees.

Table 90  TOEIC Results of Users of English at Work in Relation to their Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age / both M/F</th>
<th>less than 20</th>
<th>20 - 29</th>
<th>30 - 39</th>
<th>40 - 49</th>
<th>50 - 59</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>No age stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total score</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of test takers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
<td>62.3%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32

TOEIC Results Of Users of English at Work in Relation to their Age

- Listening
- Reading
- Total score

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Those examinees who said that they had used English at work had higher scores than those who said they did not use it. It can also be inferred from the Table that the highest total score was attained by people whose age was within the range of 50 to over 60 years of age. This finding clearly contradicts the perception of the teacher quoted on p. 286 who considered that younger employees demonstrated greater English ability.
On the TOEIC scores, if represented on the "Saegusa Scale" (p. 294) for assessing oral proficiency skills, the test takers who used English at work would fall between 1 and 2 and those who did not use English at work would fall between 1 and 1+. Among all the examinees the biggest group tested was the age group bracketed between 20 and 29 and accounted for 165,253 people. The age groups bracketed 50 - 59 and over 60 were represented by 8,355 and 1,573 test-takers respectively (see Data & Analysis: 1st - 34th administration accumulated: 1979 - 1991 [scores]; TOEIC [no date]; The Institute for International Business Communication, Tokyo).

6.6.2 TOEIC Scores According to Age and Residence Overseas Using English

These data are shown in Tables 92 and 93. According to the TOEIC scores in these Tables all of the examinees who stated that they had resided overseas and used English had much higher scores than those who had not resided overseas. The most noticeable group was the one in the age group below 20, in which those who had resided overseas had their TOEIC score 282 points higher than those who had not lived overseas. In the same age group those who lived overseas had the highest listening score of all the examinees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 92</th>
<th>TOEIC Results of English Users with residence Overseas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age/both M/F</td>
<td>less than 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total score</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of test takers</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 34

Toeic Results - Users of English with Residence Overseas

Table 93

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age / both</th>
<th>less than 20</th>
<th>20 - 29</th>
<th>30 - 39</th>
<th>40 - 49</th>
<th>50 - 59</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>No age stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Total score</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total score</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of test takers</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>88.3%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>83.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When we compare the scores for all the age groups for those who lived overseas as against those who did not, the difference in scores gets progressively smaller the greater the age of the examinees.

If the TOEIC scores are translated into the oral proficiency scale devised by Saegusa, those who had lived overseas would fall between 2 and 2+ and those who had not lived overseas would fall between 1 and 1+.

6.6.3 TOEIC Scores According to Educational Background, Use of English at Work and Residence Overseas

Tables 94 and 95 show that the highest scores were attained by graduates from graduate schools and universities who had resided overseas, followed by people of the same level of education who had to use English at work. There was a somewhat higher score attained by people who had only had primary schooling and I have no reasonable explanation for this result.
except that the number of examinees was very small in that group (39 people) as compared, for instance to university graduates who were represented by 158,641 people. This ratio might have influenced the average score. The highest scores of 696 and 736 would fall somewhere between 2 and 2 + for the oral proficiency skills on the LPI scale (p. 296).

Table 94 TOEIC listening/reading scores by educational background and residence abroad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Second School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Vocational H.S.</th>
<th>Junior College</th>
<th>Univ</th>
<th>Grad School</th>
<th>Lang Inst.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>94a</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>94b</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 95  TOEIC listening/reading scores by educational background and use of English at work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Second School</th>
<th>High Sch</th>
<th>Vocati H.S.</th>
<th>Junior College</th>
<th>Univ</th>
<th>Grad School</th>
<th>Lang. Inst.</th>
<th>Not stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Using English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listn</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not using English at work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listn</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6.4 TOEIC Scores According to Current Level of Education

These data refer to TOEIC results which were taken by people attending different educational institutions at the time of taking the test. Tables 95 and 96 show that the highest results were obtained by those who had lived overseas followed by those who had to use English.

Table 96  TOEIC Data by Current Level of Education (students)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listn</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Users of English who had not lived abroad</th>
<th>Listn</th>
<th>Read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>217</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>222</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data refer to TOEIC results which were taken by people attending different educational institutions at the time of taking the test. Tables 95 and 96 show that the highest results were obtained by those who had lived overseas followed by those who had to use English.
Table 97: TOEIC Data - Current Level Of Education (students)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Second School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Voc. H. S.</th>
<th>Junior College</th>
<th>Univ</th>
<th>Grad Sch</th>
<th>Lang Inst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97a Listening</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97a Reading</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97b Listening</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97b Reading</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
University graduates had better scores than those from graduate schools - however, secondary school students also attained high scores - there were 138 secondary students who took the test and their overseas experience obviously contributed to their receiving a total score of 724 points with the highest listening score of 424 of all the scores analysed in the previous Sections.

6.6.5 TOEIC Scores by Occupation

The following data are TOEIC test scores according to occupations of the test-takers. 22 occupations were chosen out of 45 (basically taking into account the highest assigned scores) which have been listed on the score-sheet. The occupations are listed in Table 98.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil/Rubber</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceut</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Legend:  \( L \) = listening;  \( R \) = reading;  \( T \) = total score
Table 98 shows that those examinees who used English at work had higher scores than those who did not use English at work. The examinees who stated that they had lived overseas and used English had the highest of all the scores for the corresponding occupations. Members of the language institutions had the highest total score of 774 followed by high school employees (most of the 1432 respondents were high school teachers of English) whose score was 768 and followed by personnel involved in jobs designated as "international" who had a score of 735. Other occupations which had high scores for those who lived overseas were represented by employees of junior high schools (734); National Govt. (726); Mass Media (714) and Securities (711). A score of 700 was also attained by the members of the language institutes who did not reside overseas.

Translating the scores representing various occupational categories for those who had lived overseas and used English into the oral proficiency scale by Saegusa (1985), all of them would fall between 2 and over 2+ on that scale. For those who used English at work only one score would be assigned the value of 2+. Most of the scores would carry the value of 2 for that group. For those groups who did not use English and did not live overseas only four and seven scores would be assigned the value 2 respectively.

6.7 Conclusion

A number of observations can be made on the basis of the above discussion. It can be safely concluded that from the very initial stages of the Meiji Era the Japanese prepared their people for commercial activities either at Commercial Schools (see Section 3.5.3) or at Business Enterprises employing
university graduates (e.g. Mitsubishi) or training their own staff (in-house) with English being often included in their curricula.

The preoccupation with and emphasis on language training in Japan has existed since the early contacts with Chinese civilisation. This was followed with emphasis on Western languages when such need arose. Since the Meiji Era English has been used almost exclusively for pragmatic rather than "sentimental" reasons. Recently stress on oral English skills has been given attention by various groups and the Japanese educational system as a means of Japanese internationalisation. However, as has been stated by some scholars, the Japanese desire to acquire English language skills has not necessarily been aimed towards internationalisation – in fact, this may serve strategic purposes in order to compensate for the lack of natural resources. By studying languages (e.g. English), the Japanese have been able to analyse and adapt developments from around the world and export their "know-how" (e.g. description of new products in manuals) to various English and non-English speaking countries.

Apart from some "impressionistic" or "anecdotal" assessment of Japanese people's English ability which is often expressed by both foreigners and the Japanese, there seems to be a "movement" by large corporate bodies to assess Japanese employees' English according to the scheme devised by Educational Testing Service in Princeton, USA in the form of Test of English for International Communication [TOEIC].

According to the data obtained from the TOEIC accumulated scores for 34 testings (1979-1991) of 296,841 people we can clearly see that the scores of
people who had resided overseas for at least 6 months are higher than those of any others followed by those who used English at work (it should also be stated that if the scores were divided into Female/Male category - female test-takers would have higher scores than their male colleagues in most age categories).

Despite the claims that the test is reliable (Saegusa 1983) and that the scores can be compared to US Language Proficiency Interview [LPI] the TOEIC test only assesses the listening and reading skills. Whether or not listening and reading proficiency provides a reliable measure of overall linguistic competence is a matter for debate.

While some testing authorities support the so called Divisible Competence Hypothesis [DCH] claiming that the language proficiency is built up of separate parts (e.g. listening, speaking, writing and reading or active vs passive) there is another group of educationists who support the Unitary Competence Hypothesis [UCH] (Oller 1979) and do not distinguish between the various separate language components mentioned above. Another group of researchers in the field of language testing claims that it is impossible to draw firm conclusions regarding either hypothesis (Farhady 1979, 1983; Vollmer & Sang 1983).

The fact of the matter is that there is no viable mechanism available at present to assess oral proficiency of Japanese business people. The only recourse is to compare the TOEIC scores with the US Language Proficiency Interview which in a sense is much better than any impressionistic descriptions given by various "authorities".
According to the small-scale case study reported in this Chapter speaking was perceived as the most important skill to acquire, so it would obviously be advisable for the Japanese language authorities to develop some testing techniques in this regard.

Due to the expansion of the use of TOEIC tests world-wide, many of the enterprises set their own standards with regard to the TOEIC scores attained by their employees. For instance, THAI International has been using the TOEIC test since 1987. Those who want to work for the airlines must score 500 on the TOEIC test in order to qualify for the interview (The Reporter: TOEIC News International No. 2, Fall 1989). Samsung Human Resources Development (Korea) has been using the TOEIC since 1982 and on average 6000 of its employees are evaluated by this test - this organisation also has established "cut-off" points which correspond to the various types of employment offered (The Reporter No. 3, Winter 1990). A Spanish organisation claims that "communication needs vary according to job position" so a target score has to be attained by an employee in order to perform a specific job (The Reporter No. 6, Winter 1991). The Seoul Olympic Organising Committee also used the TOEIC scores in order to employ people with language skills during the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. Those candidates who scored 600 or over were eligible for further language training at foreign language institutes (The Reporter No. 1, Spring 1989). Even the Swiss French speaking Chamber of Commerce and Industry uses the TOEIC test and for those who would score 730 or over a diploma will be awarded (The Reporter No. 1, Spring 1989).
In Japan, as has been mentioned before, some educational institutions use the TOEIC tests and for instance, according to Professor Yutaka Uto at the Bunkyo Women's College, the TOEIC is a mandatory part of the curriculum and all first and second year students must sit for the test (The Reporter No. 6, Winter 1991).

In view of the popularity of the TOEIC test it would be interesting to see how the employees of different overseas organisations compare with, for instance, those in Japan. I did not have access to such data.

There is no doubt that the English language plays a very important role among the different corporate organisations. The use of the TOEIC and the study of English within these corporations both in Japan and other countries supports the spread of English for international communication. Often this training is used not just to improve the employee's language proficiency but to "improve the company's business performance, and promote it internationally" (Deamer of Kobe Steel quoted in Mitumori 1989, The Daily Yomiuri Dec 7, p. 7).

The following diagram (Figure 40) is an attempt to represent, according to the above discussion, the use/users of English in the international context within the growing Japanese corporate body:
CHAPTER 7

Re-Examination of the National and International Dimensions of English

7.1 Introduction

There are a number of issues which arise from the discussion in the previous Chapters on the spread, use and evolution of English in various countries. It was proposed in Chapter 2 that the introduction of English in colonial countries followed a very similar pattern but the history of English in non-colonised countries such as Japan displays different patterns. In Japan foreign language planning policies were on some occasions incorporated into both explicit and implicit governmental policies on the grounds of the practicality and suitability of English for gathering scientific/technical information from various countries.

7.2 Social Implications of the Use of English in Colonised Countries

For the elite members of a colonised country English took on both pragmatic and integrative/sentimental associations. The pragmatic motive for learning English was that it constituted an important qualification for entering the administrative/bureaucratic structures introduced by the colonisers. The integrative motive resulted from the view that the British (European) oriented culture was supposed to be more refined than the local one and as such was more sophisticated (this was also the view of the colonisers, see Cooper 1989, p. 111).

In most colonised countries the expansion of various services was based on the development of a bureaucracy (basic type of local modernisation) in
order to move from the least complex decision making processes (e.g. at the clan/caste level) to the more complex type of decision making processes based on foreign ideology. This usually was attained through British administrators or other colonial masters using an exoglossic language (e.g. English) and indirectly involving local populations to perform various administrative tasks as required by the colonial administration. While the country in question might have developed some levels of literacy through schooling among the local populace, it was usually the elites who benefited most from the use of an exoglossic language. It was the elites who served the colonial masters and helped them build bureaucratic structures. Paradoxically this contributed to further underdevelopment of the country at the grass-roots level where the gaps in education through an exoglossic language created a more complicated hierarchy of social differentiation (status and roles) (see Chapter 2). In recent sociolinguistic literature such unequal allocation of power and resources through the use of an exoglossic language (e.g. English) is seen as one of the aspects of linguistic imperialism and referred to as *linguicism* (Phillipson 1992, p. 55).

The imposition of the English language on some sectors of the colonised population was the first step of the *institutionalisation* of English by the British in overseas territories leaving a large number of the country's populace in a *linguistic void*: that is, they faced a dilemma with regard to the choice of a language to be used for a range of purposes and interactions among the various strata of the society. As a result of the increased use of the English language in local situations at the various stages of colonisation, the complexity of the government, legal system, economy, and religion was further increased and in addition influenced the status of local languages.
In India, for instance, it is claimed that the introduction of English created an *elite* who have been characterised by some writers as being of the opinion that "all that is rural is bad, all that is urban is better and all that is foreign is best" (Reddy 1978, cited in Varghese 1986, p. 119). It has also been said that this elite was in "attitudes and behaviour, perhaps, more English than the English themselves. In this sense education became a source of cultural imperialism" (Carnov 1974 cited in Varghese 1986, p. 118).

An important finding to emerge from a diachronic account of the use of English in colonised countries is that there was a conflict of interests between those who supported the use of English and those who opposed its use on the grounds of its imperialistic influences. Such influences were spread through educational and other colonial policies which were designed to help the modernisation of the country. Certain social changes at various strata of the colonial society also resulted from the conflict. Because the British educational policies were carried out through English as the language of instruction, the English language indirectly became a means of modernisation of most colonial countries. However, the application of imperial educational policies to local colonial situations was rather *low-key* due to financial restrictions for educational expenditure overseas (Butts 1973, pp. 530-531) and to the unwillingness of some administrators to teach English to the local population (see Section 2.4.1).

In post-colonial situations there was a general rejection of English in order to break up with the former colonial power. However, at the same time the Western educated elite used English for defending indigenous traditions.
and culture and attacked the worldwide British imperial system (see Section 2.4.1 & 2.7) which after World War II started to disintegrate creating a number of independent nations.

However, the rejection and removal of some colonial linguistic policies with regard to English in former colonised countries seems to have been overridden by the fact that citizens of most countries of today's world (whether formerly colonised or not) engage in the study of English for international communication in the fields of commerce, science, diplomacy and pop culture (e.g. music, films), creating a variety of distinct ways of speaking and a variety of unique usages among its users.

A recent example of the unofficial reversal of official policies with regard to the use of English, is Malaysia: according to Professor Azmah Omar there are more Malays speaking English today than during the colonial period (Vatikiotis 1991); furthermore English has been unofficially reintroduced into the Malay universities as a medium of instruction. In fact, the promotion of English is also supported by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir who is being reported to describe English "as a tool to develop the nation" (Vatikiotis 1991, p. 28; Ozóg 1993).

7.3 Social Implications of the Use of English in Japan

The relative readiness of the Japanese people to select various ideas from other civilisations had originated through the contacts with the Chinese and Korean civilisations which involved a differentiation in religion and ideology (see section 3.2). The initial contacts involved Japanese
preoccupation with the Chinese language and various ideologies which lasted for centuries.

Japanese success in obtaining knowledge from other countries was often followed by 'Japanisation' of foreign imports whether language or religion. Contacts were always maintained with countries which represented a more advanced society than the Japan of that time. When there was a need for military technology (e.g. firearms), contact with the culture of 'Southern Barbarians' (the Portuguese) was welcome. However, when the intrusion became more ideologically (religiously) oriented, the Japanese officials would abruptly put a stop to such contacts. Other contacts which clashed with the Japanese value system were also dismissed; this was often followed by a period of the country being closed off; and Japan turned to another 'foreign power' which could be more useful to Japan. Such trends were evidenced in Japanese attempts to learn about various western ideas through, for instance, western learning (Yogaku) which was initiated by the Dutch Study (Rangaku) (see Section 3.3.2). All of these contacts were conducted according to the well defined principle of restricted cultural selection such as Wakon-Kansai or Wakon-Yosai.

However, with the opening of Japan to the wider world and the rapid involvement with Anglo-saxon countries during the Meiji period and the acceptance of English as one of the most important subjects in Japan's educational system the slogan *leave Asia, join Europe* (Datsua nyuo) became fashionable (see Section 3.8; Kitahara 1983).

The Japanese preoccupation with the study of English initiated indirectly the process of language modernisation from both status and corpus
aspects (preoccupation with corpus modernisation had already been tried during the first contacts with the Chinese language) due to the fact that the Japanese language itself did not serve all the members of the Japanese society, especially the written forms which were totally based on the Chinese classical influence. Furthermore the Japanese could not express scientific and educational ideas when Japan wanted to catch up with Western technological achievements. In order to precipitate various changes within Japanese society a number of steps were taken in order to modernise the country. These were:

(a) intensive borrowing and learning from technologically advanced countries by sending various delegations to Europe and America;

(b) seeking advice from distinguished scholars and statesmen both in Europe and America;

(c) inviting a large number of experts (e.g. teachers, engineers) to establish in Japan institutions similar to those in Europe and America (e.g. universities);

(d) devising various educational schemes involving large number of Meiji individuals studying through English as the means of borrowing educational and scientific ideas from the West and

(e) establishing compulsory primary education in August, 1872

As a result of such steps Japan was able to respond to the contacts it had maintained with the Western countries, especially Great Britain and the USA. It built its modern educational system through the establishment of universities and the powerful bureaucratic structure of the education system which was centrally controlled by Mombusho (Ministry of Education). With the failure of efforts at substituting Japanese with English as the national language (see Section 3.5.1), the Japanese became engaged in the modernisation of the Japanese language based on the Tokyo dialect (see also Smith 1986) which
was spread through the centrally controlled educational system, and with the introduction of the radio, the National Broadcasting Corporation (NHK).

The modernisation of the Japanese language and its spread through the education system increased the literacy rate among the Japanese people. Increased literacy rates throughout the country, in turn strengthened the socio-cultural identity of the Japanese and helped the modernisation of the country on Western oriented models. It is difficult to establish how much the improved literacy rate enhanced the process of modernisation, however, as mentioned earlier some authorities claimed that a literacy rate of 40% was needed for the sustained economic growth of a country (see Section 2.7).

Some researchers, however, question the relation between the improved literacy rates and the development and modernisation of the country (Graff 1987). In fact, they argue that

More important than high rates or threshold levels of literacy, such as those postulated by Anderson and Bowman, have been the educational levels ..., and power relations of key persons, rather than the many; ..., cultural capital, technological innovations and the ability to put them into practice; or the consumer demands and distribution-marketing-transportation-communication linkages (Graff 1987, p. 31).

There are a number of problems in Graff's objections. In order for the key persons (in Japan the elites) to function smoothly one needs a class of people who understand demands made on them by a complex bureaucratic structure which is controlling the country. Cultural capital is created by both accumulating and preserving ideas based upon the past and that basically had been done in the past by recording them in a written form. Written records facilitate our knowledge of the past developments and can help in building up
intellectual resources based on the well-developed channels of communication (Barnett 1953). In turn, the material for the development of intellectual life will most probably be increased by intensive and extensive explorations. The accumulation of ideas by the Japanese through different periods of history from different civilizations by means of the study of languages enabled them through the method of translation to re-examine the conceptualization processes which were encoded in various cultures.

However, as Passin (1971) states "we probably will never be able to explore fully the ramifications of literacy in Japanese life, though, at the very least, literacy made it possible for people to be aware of things outside their own immediate experience" (p. 419).

7.4 Sociolinguistic Implications of the Cultivation of and the Use of an Exoglossic Language from the Language Planning Point of View

Language problems differ from country to country depending on whether the country's officials pursue sociocultural unification in order to preserve common nationalistic manifestations or whether they try to establish common politico-geographical boundaries for various populations in order to strengthen the socio-cultural unity among the newly established nations. The socio-cultural unification (or integration) in sociolinguistic literature is referred to as 'nationalism' (as governed by nationalistic tendencies) whereas political integration is referred to as 'nationism' (Fishman 1968, pp. 43-44).

Among the many countries of the world we may distinguish endoglossic countries where a large number of people speak an indigenous language which functions both as a national/official language; an exoglossic
country which uses an imported language and countries which can be designated as part-exoglossic fusing both an imported language and one or more indigenous languages (Kloss 1968). Fishman (1969, 1979) further classifies some of the countries into three different groups according to a type of language they use for various purposes. His language planning typology groups them into type-A; type-B; type-C (or A-modal nations; Uni-modal and Multi-modal nations). This division is based on whether a country chooses to rely on an exoglossic or an endoglossic language for the implementation of various policies with regard to cultivation of nationalism or nationism.

If a country in question does not have a suitable language among its indigenous languages (because of the lack of the written script) it will probably choose an exoglossic language (e.g. English) as the language of wider communication and at the same time fulfil the political geographical integration leading to the issue related to nationism. This is a type-A country, fitting Kloss' (1968) description of an all-exoglossic country (p. 71). A type-C country (multi-modal nation) is a country with a multiplicity of languages with several great traditions (Fishman 1969, p. 112) which may have their own great languages (e.g. India - Sanskrit, Hindi, Punjabi) but have also decided to use an exoglossic language as the language of wider communication. In Kloss' terminology this is a part-exoglossic country where one or several indigenous languages have been designated as national/official together with the exoglossic language (p. 71). A type-B country (or Uni-modal) is characterised by the use of an endoglossic language by a major segment of the nation's population (Kloss 1968, p. 71). This type of country usually has great traditions at the national level and an exoglossic language usually is assigned limited functions till it is replaced totally by a national language. This
situation had not only prevailed in some formerly colonised countries but it has also been seen in countries which were not colonised, such as Japan. It has been shown in previous chapters how the Japanese manipulated exoglossic languages in order to fulfil "transitional goals" (Fishman 1969, p. 118) in relation to such needs as education, medicine or science and technology. According to Fishman (1969) language planning in the context of uni-modal nations usually concentrated on the following:

(1) immediate instruction in the Language of Wider Communication [and in the Japanese case (and also in colonized countries) learning of various languages by a small number of elites in order to establish contacts with the outside world in the spheres of arts, science, higher education and modern high culture] and;

(2) the modernization of that variety of the national language which is (ultimately) to displace the Language of Wider Communication from public national functions (Fishman 1969, p. 119).

While Japan fits well into the uni-modal type of nation, languages the Japanese used during various centuries were not really Languages of Wider Communication in the same sense as Languages of Wider Communication in developing countries. In fact, it would be more appropriate to classify these languages (e.g. Chinese, Dutch and English) as "languages of immediate needs" that is, they were not used by a great number of Japanese subjects - but were cultivated by those who saw the need for Japan to catch up with more advanced civilisations. The exception, could be English in the case when at the very first decade of the Meiji Period quite a number of people started to study various subjects through English (the use of English for Special Purposes). The use of English also enhanced the modernisation of the Japanese language as the written and spoken forms of Japanese greatly differed; the former being the H-variety and the latter being the L-variety of
the language. By modernising the Japanese language the Japanese were able to use the language at both the sentimental (nationalist issues) and instrumental (the use in education, for instance) levels in order to build up new channels of communication across various strata of the society which in turn facilitated the unity of the country and sped up the modernisation for national purposes.

By the end of the 19th and the very beginnings of the 20th centuries Japan was self-reliant technologically and had developed some institutions which functioned as well as or better than those in Europe and America (Inkster 1991; see Chapter 3, commercial schools).

As has been mentioned before, knowledge of the languages of wider communication (or languages for immediate needs) had usually been the privilege of restricted groups of people (elites) and very often in multilingual settings reflected social inequality between various language groups who were and were not able to use the language of wider communication. According to Fishman (1968) reporting on the study by Russett & Alker (1964) there always seems to be a contrast between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous states, that is, there is a high correlation between linguistic homogeneity and the enrolment of students at all sectors of education (e.g. primary, secondary and tertiary). The literacy rate and newspaper circulation seem to be higher in homogeneous states than in linguistically heterogeneous states: (Fishman 1968, p. 57). This seems to have been the case in Japan for a very long time. Such aspects would also fit the description of "modernity" as stated in the study by Inkels and Smith (1974) (see Section 2.7).
7.5 Linguistic Implications of the Institutionalisation of English in Relation to the Development of New English Norm Providing Varieties

Despite the distance of the British Isles from colonised countries, the British were successful in transplanting their culture and language to these as in the case in Australasia and North America. According to Williams (1975), the variety of the English language used in America till at least 1776 was dominated by the speech of London and south eastern England (Williams cited in Smith and Lance 1979, p. 128). In 1789 Webster called for the recognition of Federal English that would unify other independent states under one constitution. He was of the opinion that

As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain... should no longer be our standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted, and her language on the decline (Thurston 1906, p. 608).

Indeed, despite the number of settlers coming from various parts of Britain representing various socio-regional dialects, as early as the 18th century American English varieties exhibited more common linguistic features than did the English varieties of the British Isles (Smith and Lance 1979).

Australia, settled by the British under different circumstances, also, in time modified the language it had transported, acquiring pronunciation and vocabulary distinctive from any British model (Ramson 1966).

The widespread, though not uniform, dissemination of English created native English speaking contexts with their own accepted norms and standards that deviated from the original source (BrEng) in the use of vowels,
semivowels and intonation patterns. Syntactic differences also exist between American English, British English and other norm-derived varieties. Some influences on the norm-derived varieties - in particular deriving from America - are discernible in terms of new idiom and pronunciation coming via pop culture transmitted through various media. The American accent performs a significant function in the international marketing of objects of youth culture.

At present, the-norm derived Englishes whether in the USA or Australia exhibit less socio-regional variation than there is in the original mother tongue country (UK) itself. Furthermore, the so called norm derived native varieties of English of the various countries foster a sense of cultural identification for the speakers of these varieties where the relationship between the former mother-tongue country (UK vs Australia) as a linguistic and cultural model has been slowly diminishing. The new norm derived English varieties (e.g. Australian English) also seem to serve sentimental purposes by being linked to a new national identity. This has been acknowledged by the publication of a national language policy in Australia (Lo Bianco 1987) and by the active support for an English only movement in the USA (Adams & Brink 1990).

While in these cases the English language may be viewed as a linguistic heritage marker for some of the former Anglo-Saxon "nation-colonies" (e.g. Australia), this is not the case for other former colonies of the British Empire which after achieving independence decided to use, alongside other vernaculars, English for both wider and international communication (i.e. "outer circle" countries, Kachru 1992).
In many colonial and post-colonial contexts the English language still retained an important function as it was *institutionalised* by colonial and local administrators in order to train local elites for the jobs which usually were required because of the interdependence of the colonial (post-colonial) country and the (former) coloniser. At the very initial stages of *institutionalisation* of English, there might have been conscious codification of British norms taking place in order to preserve the features of English of that time. However, in due course, with the expansion of English language learning in the colonies and the involvement of the local populace in teaching it - varieties of English began to develop. Under influence from local languages some "*anomalies*" have developed in relation to the former exoglossic (model) English.

This development of linguistic *anomalies* in the new varieties of English (*Englishes*) to a certain extent is due to *imperfect institutionalisation* of English by the proponents of the mother-tongue (BrEngl) model into the new territories (Awonusi 1986). One important aspect of institutionalisation is the establishment of bodies (e.g. educational or publishing houses) to codify particular elements of the language in accordance with agreed rules which would accept these elements as accepted norms (*institutionalisation* seen as a conscious process [explicit]). However, we know from various diachronic and synchronic studies that there appear to be great differences in the manner in which the English language was/is cultivated. For instance, one may note that there are a great variety of pronunciations within the United Kingdom and the USA. However, while in the UK there have been some steps being made towards the popularisation of Received Pronunciation via the public (private) education system or through the British Broadcasting Corporation since 1926 (Koscielecki 1990a), in the USA there were no such attempts made and...
various regional standards exist in corresponding situations (except for efforts by Noah Webster; see Baron 1981, p. 245). The features accepted by American English were often criticised by those Americans and Britons who did not want to part with traditions of the mother-tongue country. In fact, the common British view was that Americans would become unintelligible to the rest of the English-speaking world (Baron 1981).

7.6 Issues Arising from the Institutionalisation of Norm-Providing English Varieties as Linguistic Models (and Standards) for New Englishes

There seems to be unnecessary confusion as to what is regarded in the sociolinguistic literature as a linguistic norm and this is due to the term "institutionalisation" itself. It can be assumed the term is used to instil the view that we are dealing with some kind of linguistic model which exerts a linguistic influence on the wider society within a given context. However, as has been mentioned before this is not the case either in the United Kingdom (socio-regional varieties of English, or the USA (socio-ethnic varieties of English) even though educational systems of both countries are designed to cultivate educated English among their people.

First of all we must remember that all institutionalisation may be a "matter of degree" (Loomis 1967, p. 36) and is expressed in the process through which certain organisations/institutions (e.g., Departments of Education) are given power to regulate and accept various social practices sometimes (e.g. in the case of linguistic practices) through the establishment of "academies" which in turn cultivate the language in accordance with agreed rules (norms) [conscious planning]. Basically, there are various
establishments associated with norm-providing varieties of English (e.g. Publishing Houses; dictionaries, manuals, Mass Media; radio/TV and newspapers) which appear to cultivate English in the manner appropriate to their social contexts. Absence of conformity among various norm-providing English varieties creates models of English "relatively institutionalised" in their own right. For instance, "norms" of usage (e.g. idioms, grammar) within ABC in the USA are not the yardstick for the usage within BBC in the United Kingdom and vice versa (see Japan Times 1993, July 7).

As has been said before, British administrators might, in the initial stages of the institutionalisation of English in colonial contexts, have attempted to introduce British linguistic norms. However, the absence of continuity in recruiting overseas teaching staff and the lack of regular financial backing probably created conditions for the "imperfect institutionalisation" of English in these non-native contexts from the very beginning. This would, later, have been reinforced by local teachers of English bringing in turn an array of accents from their local contexts (this would also be true in the case of native speakers of English coming there from various parts of England).

In India, as stated before, English was institutionalised by an official act of the Indian parliament in addition to 14 Indian languages. An Indian variety of English has been codified by Nihalani et al. (1979) and accepted by the Indian Literary Academy (Seidhar 1986, p. 55) and this is reflected in the number of books published in English; or according to Butalia (1993)

[t]here are more users of English books in the entire country than there are in any single Indian language, and the language seems to have an almost homogeneous, pan-Indian readership (p. 219).
The type of institutionalisation required by the "expanding circle" is different from the requirements of both the "outer circle" and the "inner circle". This is due to the fact that not all of the domains of English use are required in that context in the same way as they are required in countries of the inner or outer circle. For the same reason, language competence may vary according to domain of language use, and, in addition to that, not all domains of English found in the first language context are equally important in either second or foreign language contexts (Leitner 1992, p. 45). For example, domains relating primarily to intra-national communication are not as important in Japan as in the UK, the USA or even Singapore. There is no official status attached to English in Japan and this is why English there is often regarded as non-institutionalised.

Although the education providers, whether schools, universities, business groups or mass media operators, target an exoglossic normative variety, the accepted output of their endeavour is, overwhelmingly, a Japanese English performance variety. Insofar as this prevails - and it inevitably does - the Japanese performance variety of English is already institutionalised at an input level of the education system, business establishments and mass media organisations.

Similar situations are reported about English as it is maintained in the educational domain in France and Germany. Nickel (1985) has noted that the level of tolerance of the performance varieties of English in these contexts is, perhaps unjustifiably, lower than that of second language (outer circle) varieties. He thinks that these varieties should at least be considered institutionalised on the phonological level (p. 16). Apparently any
institutionalised variety always has its beginnings as a *performance variety* (Kachru 1983, p. 152). According to Kachru (1983) some of the important characteristics of an institutionalised variety are:

1. the length of time in use;
2. the extension of use;
3. the emotional attachment of L2 users with the variety;
4. functional importance and
5. sociolinguistic status.

In addition to Kachru's claims Moag (1982) states that in some second language settings, institutionalisation is a gradual process and, for instance local literary activity (e.g. books written in English by local writers) becomes institutionalised when it becomes regenerative (p. 278).

However, according to some scholars, such as Quirk (1991), even some native varieties of English are not institutionalised (also see Algeo in Leitner 1992, p. 37). The existence of institutionalised varieties of English among the non-native norms in new social contexts that are the outcomes of indigenisation (e.g. Indianisation or various types of nativisation) is open to doubt. While Quirk (1991) cites a number of norm-derived varieties such as New Zealand English, American English, Australian English, British English, South African English, New England English, Yorkshire English, he claims that there are basically 3 or 4 varieties among the native Englishes which are institutionalised. These are British and American English and probably Australian English whose standards are rather informally established (p. 168).

In Quirk's view only the institutionalised norms of English can serve as proper models for language learners both in native and non-native contexts.
because they are fully described and have defined standards observed by the institutions of state [conscious planning] (Quirk 1991, p. 168; also see Prator 1968). Furthermore he supports his view by referring to the Kingman report (1988) which advocates the teaching of standard English because this kind of language would "increase the freedom of the individual" (Kingman 1988 quoted in Quirk 1991, p. 170). However, neither Quirk nor the Kingman report correctly define what kind of standard of English is meant. In fact, with reference to the written standard, the report defines it as "a written form used by all writers of English, no matter which dialect area they come from" (Kingman 1988, p. 14 quoted in Bex 1993, p. 254). However such views, according to Bex (1993), can be easily contested - clearly not all people in the United Kingdom are writers. While Quirk does not specify the type of standard English required in the educational system we may assume that he thinks of the variety which is used in public schools in the United Kingdom. If this is the case, then obviously not all members of British society have access to it. Moreover the implementation of such policies on a global scale would be undesirable and not affordable.

Some scholars also talk about the spoken variety of standard English. According to Strevens (1983) spoken standard English "may be spoken with an unrestricted choice of accent" which is also a kind of dialect of English "of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English" (p. 88). For Strevens standard English is one particular dialect among many. Furthermore, he seems to support the view that standard spoken English is "geographically coherent" (p. 89) that is dialects (or accents) appearing in one geographical area are not encountered in another geographical area. In addition to that he rejects the
view that standard English might be defined as "BBC English", "Oxford English", "literary English" or a kind spoken by the "upper class" (i.e. as to mark the belonging to a particular social class). However, he states that the use of the "standard variety" by an individual may be an outcome of a long process of education (p. 87). This of course is a different view to that of Bex (1993) who in his critique of the Kingman report claims that the standard spoken English is "selected for use in very limited number of situations ... used in national broadcasting... [and by] those in authority where power relations are asymmetrical" (p. 254); and Trudgill (1979) for whom "standard English is a dialect which is associated with a particular social group in British society and is therefore symbolic of it" (p. 22).

In fact, such descriptions of standard English are exactly what concerns some social scientists (e.g. sociologists or linguists) who have tried, to discredit the field of sociolinguistics and its acceptance of the use of standard English worldwide [i.e. exoglossic standard norm] (Tollefson 1991; Phillipson 1992; Williams 1992;). Their criticism alleges inadequate explanations of political ramifications (Williams 1992, p. 140) related to processes of institutionalisation of "standard forms" [or exoglossic norms] of English. In this regard Williams (1992) reviewed a number of definitions given in the sociolinguistic literature and came to the conclusion that

"oral standard [of English] relies largely upon accent ... that it is also accompanied by the lexis and grammar of the written standard...that is, the oral standard assumes the existence of the written standard as the prerequisite of its existence... [and according to Trudgill (1984) ] it is restricted to a limited number of speakers, the majority of whom occupy upper-class places" (p. 140).
Having such an array of conflicting views with regard to standard English it would be quite correct to acknowledge the fact that the definition of standard English is "at best vague...and ...is open to considerable dispute" (Bex 1993, p. 261). Furthermore, some linguists and educationists seem to view the institutionalisation of English [and its various standards] as equal to institutionalisation of inequality and exploitation in today's world (Tollefson 1991). Such concern may be based on the foundation that standard language may "promote the formation of central political power because linguistic unity makes people more easily controllable and available for mobilization, be it industrial, political, or military" (Bartsch 1987, p. 249).

From the historical point of view the issue of the standardisation of English and its "domineering" influence in various countries, including the United Kingdom, are the outcome of the interaction of various economic, political and cultural forces specific to a particular historical period and social context (Fairclough 1989). The beginnings of the standard speech in England date back to the emergence of "capitalism" out of the feudal society at the end of the medieval period (Fairclough 1989, p. 56). This is further described by Fairclough as an ontological process between the development of standard English and the growing power of the merchants of that time who in a sense were the first "capitalists" (p. 56). Over time standard English, has become a "class dialect" which has been codified (institutionalised in one sense) in various publications influencing written language (e.g. Edward VI Book of Common Prayer - the first attempt to impose standard; see Stubbs 1989; Williams 1992). Later, through public education, the spoken variety of English, was maintained under the influence of Johnson's dictionary that
"served his nation and others usefully for at least a hundred years"
(DeMaria 1986, p. xi).

It thus seems difficult to implement all the standardisation procedures for English in order for it to be fully institutionalised even within native speaking contexts because it is impossible to coordinate all the required aspects of standardisation at all linguistic levels; especially those related to spoken language. Standardisation must be an even more daunting task in societies where English belongs to either "outer-" or "expanding" circle countries due to influences of various social, political and geographical "forces" including the advice and criticism from native English speaking English specialists (see Quirk 1991). However, in order to understand various issues regarding standardisation of a language (e.g. English) we must acknowledge the fact that

the emergence of a variety as the standard language of a particular community is by evolution, rather than by conscious planning. Conscious planning is applicable when it comes to the standardisation of a particular aspects of the language, such as its orthography and lexicon (Omar 1991, p. 8).

Furthermore the emergence of the standard may not only be due to individual factors, but to a multiplicity of factors which influence each other (Bex 1993; Omar 1991). This obviously must have some implications both for countries where English has been indigenised and countries in the expanding circle.
7.7 Issues Arising from the Use of English in Intra- and International Contexts

As has been noted in the previous discussion, national organisations such as education departments or broadcasting corporations (see Henningsen 1989, p. 34) have not been able to set up domestic standards of English unilaterally. Accordingly, many standards of English coexist in intranational contexts including those of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa.

While the standard Englishes in, say New Zealand and Australia, are based on a pre-existing model (Joseph 1991); that is an exo-glossic British norm, they have developed distinctive vocabulary (in some domains), pronunciation and patterns of speech use. Kaldor (1991) has argued that Australian speakers of English are "less linguistically conservative.. and are often ready to flout the norm" (p. 74); this may be seen, for example, in the fact they may, in some cases, speak with a broad Australian accent and still use formal grammar and vocabulary (p. 71) as opposed to the "cultivated" speakers who seem to align themselves with British English received pronunciation (p. 70).

What we see here is that the English language, with exoglossic derived norms, seems, in intra-national contexts, to exhibit its own standards which have evolved in new social contexts and resulted in a disassociation from the exoglossic norm providing variety (e.g. British English). A similar pattern of linguistic change may be observed among various languages which over the centuries have occupied the position of norm provider (e.g. French).
While the notion of an agreed standard form in the norm-providing countries (e.g. UK or the USA) will always be subject to dispute and change, a number of scholars would support the claim that "standard English, in its British or its American variety has become recognized as the language of international communication ... an over-riding goal, however, must be to achieve a local standard [this is in relation to other English speaking countries e.g. outer- and expanding circle] which is close enough in intelligibility to the international standard" (Honey 1991, p. 28 & p. 30).

Among others who refer to a standard international variety of English are, for instance, Kaldor (1991, p. 80); Pakir (1991, p. 122); Wong (1991, p. 103); and Newbrook 1993).

The "standard variety of international English" is loosely defined by several of the above scholars who tend to take a norm-providing English (e.g. BrEng or AmEng) as representative of international English (also see Ashworth 1985). This, however, is misleading because standard international English has not been established through some "conscious" planning (i.e. by explicit codifying bodies).

Some attempts have been made by various linguists to identify linguistic features that should be considered when using English for international communication and defining it as an international language (see Quirk 1982; Smith 1983; Wong 1982). Furthermore there is some agreement among linguists as to what constitutes the standard written variety of English amongst English speaking countries whether they are inner-; outer-; or expanding circle representatives. In fact, O'Donnell and Todd (1980) state that
"standard English is basically a written form of the language, neutral with regard to accent" (p. 36 & 143; also see Stubbs 1976, p. 26; Strevens 1983).

In fact, we may take it for granted that the norm-providing varieties of written English determine the "international" standard of written English in various technical, scientific, medical and mass media publications if they are intended for international use. This is due to the fact that such fields may require detailed scientific descriptions for expressing various scientific or technical ideas which must be comprehensible across various linguistic contexts. This also reflects the fact that the English language which has been "internationalised" by scientific writings in various social contexts is derived from an international scientific community. It is this community which determines areas of research focus and monitors the developments of scholars in their respective fields (see Crane 1972). For that reason, the English of science may be viewed as a powerful "manipulating" tool by some cultures because most of the available written scientific data originate in the most powerful economies such as the USA or the United Kingdom.

The status of English as an international English of science is further strengthened by other powerful economies such as those of Japan, Germany and France which in a sense must compete with the norm-providing countries in similar fields. In order to compete successfully they need to publish in English. They need to transmit their scientific/technical accomplishments across different social settings. Their discoveries are, in turn, used by countries whose scientific or technological infrastructures are less developed and rely on English for information gathering.
It should also be noted that where local cultural relevance is particularly salient (e.g. in the use of English in works of local cultural or literary reference), the approximation to exoglossic norms may not be strong (see Anand 1992). This is why in some countries of the outer circle the need for intra-national communication may require a different set of linguistic norms, from those in inner circle, to be used in a written English variety (see also Asworth 1985 for the view on the use of local varieties of English).

The differences in the written form may be evident not because of the writer's lack of proficiency in the standard English but because the writing style may be influenced by code-mixing related to a particular genre of writing. In this regard some writing in Indian English may be strongly Indian dominated in such fields as religion and philosophy but on the other hand, in scientific and technical fields it may exhibit none of the linguistic features which would be related to "Indianness" of English (Shastri 1992, p. 265).

Scientific and medical publications which originate in Japan, for instance, will also follow the established formal scientific writing conventions based on exoglossic English norms whether they are intended for intra- or inter-national dissemination of Japanese knowledge (e.g. electronics, medicine etc.). This appears to apply to International Scholarly English (Kaldor 1970). According to Kaldor it is important for people who use International Scholarly English to maintain the standards of the norm-providing English variety — especially for writing and study purposes at the university level. She states that those involved in such contexts must adhere to at least two linguistic systems and one sociolinguistic system. In one linguistic system their scholarly international English must resemble the English of textbooks, examination papers, assignments and theses. The second linguistic system
requires the users of scholarly international English to decode an English norm-providing variety (e.g. to recognise its phonological features) and be able to adopt some of these features in their spoken repertoire but not necessarily abandoning completely the features of their own linguistic "speechways" of their home community (p. 87). The sociolinguistic aspect of their use of scholarly international English must include knowledge of all the social situations where speech and writing is required.

As mentioned before there may be some "unofficial" agreement among the users of written English world-wide as to what constitutes the acrolectal variety of international English because "syntax is probably the part of English grammar that is most homogeneous throughout the world" because it relies on exoglossic norms (Görlach 1991, p. 25). There is no such straightforward agreement when it comes to speaking English in international settings (though some linguists would like us to believe that British or American English constitute such a norm (Quirk 1982; Ashworth 1985). In fact there is a need for the acceptance of a wide range of speaking styles by both native and non-native speakers of English. This is due to the fact that the so called spoken "standard" varieties of English do not seem to exert influence on the wider society, especially the younger generation, with regard to maintaining the cultivated speech of some Sections of British society. In fact, such maintainance would, often, bring ridicule from other members of the society who do not identify themselves with the kind of speech acts performed by "cultivated" speakers.

According to Quirk (1991) people may "sound phony" if they try to switch between varieties [e.g. Americans trying to speak British English and
vice versa] (p. 167). In fact, Gimson (1978) claims that it is necessary to consider the background of English in the world in order to formulate a coherent statement about standard pronunciation in English. He further states that this is due to the fact that so called "prestige norm"; that is the British received pronunciation (RP) has been gradually influenced by regional varieties leading to the weakening of the traditional standard itself (p. 787). He also is of the opinion that there are "clear signs" in changing attitudes among members of the younger British generation who do not seem to have as much respect for the RP model as the older generation.

This view has recently been supported by the editor of the *Oxford Companion to the English Language* (and *English Today*), Tom McArthur, with reference to the development of a new London accent. He claims that a new strain of English is being used regardless of speaker's social background or education. The new spoken variety is a mixture of Queen's English, Cockney and an east London accent - he calls it a new London voice (*Japan Times* 1993, April 22).

7.8 Description of Intelligibility of English in Inner- Outer- and Expanding Circles Respectively

Various descriptions of intelligibility with regard to spoken English especially in outer and expanding circles have been proposed by sociolinguists. In particular, the intelligibility range has been described in terms of its basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal components (see Section 2.9.1). These distinctions are useful in order to make some general comments on the use of spoken English in both intra- and inter- national settings.
Spoken English in various contexts may be described with respect to spans on "the post creole continuum scale", originally developed by Stewart (1965) and Bickerton (1971) but used by several other linguists for defining spoken comprehensibility of English (see Chapter 2) in relation to "standard" exoglossic norm-providing varieties in various English speaking contexts (e.g. Singapore). Varieties of English in different social contexts are termed (1) "acrolect" when they exhibit features approximating to one of the norm-providing varieties; (2) "basilect" when they are most removed from the norm-providing variety in spoken comprehensibility because of different phonological patterns accepted by their speakers; and (3) "mesolect" if they fall somewhere in between the two descriptions (Honey 1985; Platt 1975; Platt & Weber 1980). In addition a "hyperlect" may be spoken when a speaker of an English variety which already has its norm established imitates the speech patterns of another variety which may be viewed as having more "social prestige" [e.g. an Australian trying to fit his accent to the British RP norm] (Honey 1987). While these descriptions can only be established by observing spoken varieties of English in various social contexts, there also exist written forms of English literatures encoded in basilectal varieties of English (see Choo 1986).

However, it needs to be stressed that we cannot describe written varieties in "hyperlectal" terms except in the case of literature which is representing colloquial speech because of the relative standardisation of the various written forms across different cultural settings. Thus the written "international standard" somehow is easier to establish or to implement than oral international standard because many learning materials and published
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books in the outer and expanding circle countries already use exoglossic institutionalised forms of English whether British or American.

When it comes to spoken varieties of English in either inner or outer circles, speakers may retain some of their *lectal* features which may be socially determined in order to express certain "*acts of identity*" [e.g. national identity in Singapore] (see LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In such cases speakers of English may be able to manipulate the diglossic situation according to required circumstances and use the High or Low variety of English as needs arise. For instance, a speaker at an international conference may strive for comprehensibility by trying to imitate an exoglossic standard norm whereas in a local context he/she may switch to the less acrolectal features in order to identify with his/her compatriots. In an international conference "*comprehensibility*" of the speaker's English may assume priority over the expression of identity whereas in a domestic (local) setting the identity of the speaker may assume priority over comprehensibility. The balance will be maintained by the speaker him/herself in his/her maintaining of the use of mesolectal or basilectal norms.

In countries of the expanding circle such as Japan the differentiation between the acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal ranges would be difficult to draw because English in Japan is not used for intra-national communication. For this reason the Japanese performance variety cannot be placed on a post-creole continuum since there is no native variety of English developed within Japan and no history of creolization (see Sridhar 1985). However, the written variety of established English language newspapers and scientific journals (e.g. medicine) can be seen as being based on an exoglossic norm-providing variety (e.g. either BrEng or AmEng) and thus constituting an acrolectal type of English. A similar type of English may be used in international conferences.
and diplomatic exchanges with various countries. In addition to this, Japanese speakers of English may exhibit a learner's variety of English which may vary from very low proficiency to very high proficiency. This type of English also may be used in international contexts with either native or non-native speakers of English. According to Davies (1989)

"the range for international English is so wide that it has to be thought of as a continuum, from very fluent written and spoken English of (educated) L1 users to the pidgins and creoles of West Africa and elsewhere and the specially reduced codes for air traffic control (Airsp) and ship handling (Seaspeak)... [a]ll of these are examples of English used for international purposes, from which teachers and learners of English have to make choices" (p. 456 & 457).

A similar view is expressed by Smith (1976) who also sees International English as being spoken with various levels of fluency by people of different nations for communication and exchange of information. However, each of the participants in international communication through English must be prepared for random breakdowns in communication and be prepared to deal with them (Smith 1983, p. 9).

Further to the above discussion with reference to English as a world language, Nadkarni (1992) states that we should not expect every speaker of English in various social contexts (e.g. India) to be intelligible to all speakers of English. He makes an analogy with the Chinese language whose varieties are mutually incomprehensible in their spoken form but sufficiently intelligible to most literate Chinese speakers in their written form. This observation is supported by the statement expressed by Gimson (1978) who says that while there seems to be general understanding between various native varieties of
English there still may be accents within the norm-providing varieties which are largely impenetrable to speakers of other varieties in the USA or Great Britain (p. 788).

On the other hand there are those who believe that "intercomprehensibility of the different varieties of English used for international communication has to be ensured and maintained" (Johnson 1990, p. 301). For Johnson international English needs to be free of colloquial and idiomatic expressions in order to maintain formal linguistic style so the meaning can be derived from these elements rather than from culture specific knowledge (p. 309).

Regarding intelligibility of spoken international English Nihalani (1991) while discussing various accents of English states that non-native speakers of English usually rely on their native language syllable-timed rhythm. He further states, that if this is the case, then from the pedagogical point of view we should pay attention to suprasegmental features of stress and rhythm in order to achieve intelligibility of spoken international English across various social settings without losing national identity (p. 292).

There are also a number of linguists and educationists who separate such established designations as ESL and EFL from International English (IE) as if this was a variety of English in its own right. However, such a view is fraught with problems.

As stated in Chapter 2, EIL constitutes of a number of separate designata, each of which originates either in native or non-native contexts. In non-native contexts, whether ESL (ESL also originates in native contexts) or
EFL, people who learn English contribute to the participation rate of learning English in these contexts. The use of English in *international settings* or for *international communication* by individuals from ESL/EFL contexts is probably the most desired objective in their linguistic endeavour; that is using English in various situations with various people for various purposes regardless of whether their interlocutors are native or non-native speakers of English.

Speakers of English in international settings may exhibit various speaking styles and accents originating either in ESL or EFL contexts whereas the written syntax of educated speakers of English from various parts of the world may be almost identical to that of Englishes across various social settings resembling the norm providing varieties (acrolectal norm). Differences, however, may occur in some contexts, even in written English including those of the norm providing varieties (see Newbrook 1993). According to Leitner (1992) the differences which exist in the written syntax of new Englishes (e.g. remote and recent past) should not be treated as errors but as evidence of a semantic distinction not available in Anglo-American English (p. 35).

While there have been a number of theoretical proposals for a model of EIL (Quirk et al. 1985, p. 755 cited in Mair 1992, p. 83; Wong 1991) there are no concrete plans by educational officials in various countries to implement any of the recommendations set by linguists and language educators regarding the "variety" of English called international English. Even in countries, like Singapore, where a local variety of English has evolved it is still a custom to rely on an exoglossic norm providing variety of English for teaching at the
high school level (though the linguistic claims by Singaporean sociolinguists state otherwise). This supports the view that there has not been any International English variety yet established by some kind of agreement between various authorities in outer or expanding circle countries. From the language planning point of view there have been no "conscious" steps taken by an authoritative scholarly body in order to establish such a variety which would be accepted across various social settings as the EIL norm. For this reason, apart from the distinctions made in Chapter 2 concerning EIL and its various designata, it can be agreed that English used for international communication has the following characteristics:

1. it is spoken with a range of accents;

2. it may rely on exoglossic norms either in written or spoken form;

3. it may rely on endoglossic norms which have evolved in new social contexts such as India or Singapore;

4. it may do away with socio-cultural contexts related to exoglossic English norms;

5. its general intelligibility either in written or spoken form is dependent for its maintenance on educational systems in countries which use English as the language of education or teach as a foreign language;

6. the written varieties of scientific, scholarly, or diplomatic English exhibit uniformity when used for/in international contexts, basically reflecting the "acrolectal" type of English.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion a claim can be made that English as an International Language (EIL) is not a variety but a status designation of various Englishes when used for the purpose of international
communication. Such Englishes would include both native and non-native varieties. According to Lubega (1987), "instead of creating a pan-cultural [artificial] language to function as EIL in order to guarantee mutual intelligibility among all users of English, we should regard the educated versions of the various varieties of English as the desired forms to function jointly as EIL" (quoted in Schmied 1991, p. 45 n. 8). In Suzuki's (1985) view, however, the true international language should occupy the centre of the circle with all the other countries [including those of Kachru's inner-, outer- and expanding circles] positioned along the circumference (p. 82). It is the view of the present writer that the concept of EIL must allow for the fact that speakers using English in international settings may be influenced by their own cultural context.

7.9 Linguistic Behaviour in Low and High Contexts Cultures

It was said in Chapter 2 that speakers of various languages (either as a mother tongue or as a foreign language) exhibit linguistic feature in their speech which can best be described as idiolectal. Non-native speakers of English may come from societies which are monolingual or multilingual. If English is one of the languages spoken in their society, then the speakers will have knowledge of some sociolinguistic rules for social interaction in English specific to their relevant multilingual context (Kaldor 1970, p. 87). When such speakers use English in international contexts they may exhibit a range of communicative behaviours such as "fluent", "poor", or "shy" English speech. Speakers who do not come from contexts where English is used for intranational purposes also may experience problems in using English in international settings. Furthermore non-native English speakers addressing native speakers may be lacking in certain sociolinguistic skills considered
appropriate in communicating with native speakers of English. Some of the problems may be related to culturally conditioned behaviour on the part of both the non-native and the native speaker. That is, non-native speakers of English may come from cultures which are not as 'linguistically' explicit as for instance cultures represented by the norm-providing varieties of English (e.g. UK, USA and Australia).

With respect to this feature, two kinds of culture can be broadly distinguished: high-context and low-context cultures. In high-context cultures members of the society avoid situations which may bring confrontation and try to build up their relationships by seeking consensus through using relatively ambiguous language (Midooka 1990; Shane 1988). These societies also discourage individualism but will encourage the concept of group dependency (i.e. "amae" see Section 5.8). In these cultures one has to rely on the group in order to know how to respond to certain situations or tasks. In low-context cultures individualism and assertive behaviour is viewed positively and messages are more directly spelled out in a supposedly straightforward ["logical"] way (Hall 1959, 1977; Hall & Hall 1987). In these cultures a considerable amount of information is provided in order to enable a person to know how to respond to various situations.

Japanese linguistic 'behaviour' falls into the classification of high-context culture whereas the American and Australian linguistic 'behaviour' falls within the low-context classification. From the point of view of conversational techniques

Americans may provide cues for the conversation and behaviour whereas Japanese expect others to sense the context and act in an expected manner (Dodd 1987, p. 90).
Furthermore, the cultural norms which are associated with a given English variety will not be equally shared by speakers of that variety whether native or non-native. This is due to the fact that cultural elements in various social settings will be differently assented to by members of these societies. They will be shared only to the extent that the members of the society adhere to the same standards and norms. This fact throws into question the assumption of a native speaker model which has underlain much of the practice associated with communicative language teaching. There is no single native speaker linguistic model just as there is no one pattern of cultural identification within English speaking societies. Quite often people with very good language fluency do not exhibit cultural fluency with respect to the norm providing English variety (Beamer 1992).

It has been argued with respect to the superseded structuralist approaches to language teaching that the learning of structures failed to enable learners to communicate in social contexts. A similar objection can, in turn, be made to the learning of "communicative" language with due regard to the sociolinguistic context of the learner (e.g. expanding circle). Swiderski (1993) has aptly pointed out that

*Ability to speak a language well is often mistaken for ability to function in a speech community, but speaking ability can be a mechanical skill devoid of cultural competence* (p. 22).

It is indeed possible for a person to learn a foreign language without assuming the foreign cultural setting which operates according to cultural norms and standards that do not apply in that setting. Furthermore when several languages are learned during maturation, culture is not uniformly transmitted with language as has been demonstrated by ethnographic studies.
This adds a further dimension to the pursuit of communicative language teaching objectives. According to Swiderski (1993)

[il]n acquiring a second language, a student is not acquiring a second culture. While culture clearly has some role in the language classroom – the classroom has a cultural setting and its participants arrive with cultural backgrounds – it is not the subject language is (p. 23).

Such theoretical assumptions must acknowledge the inadequacy of the communicative approach as commonly practised in the teaching of English for international communication where the native speaker's norms provide a mono-cultural model as the only one appropriate when learning English.

7.9.1 English in International Contexts and the Communicative Competence Approach

The communicative competence approach generally takes a native English speaker and his/her social context as the basis for attaining a model English norm as a goal/outcome of foreign language teaching. This approach views the language program as incorporating a number of components which have been defined by Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983). They claim that to deal successfully with language teaching, teachers need to develop in the learners

- grammatical competence
- sociolinguistic competence
- discourse competence
- strategic competence

The above aspects of language learning may be definable and desirable in some second language settings (ie. migrants or students living and studying in the USA or the UK), however they are less so in settings where English is used
as a performance variety – usually learned for scholastic purposes and for possible communication in international settings. In fact the classroom setting of English in most countries, especially Japan undermines the authenticity of its use in spite of its being often presupposed by the communicative model where the native speaker and native cultural norms are assumed to be at the centre of attention in the process of language instruction. Foreign classroom settings cannot provide situations where English is used as an authentic tool for interaction between the learners and native speakers, that is, the kind of interactions seen in most English as a second language contexts where newly arrived migrants or students can use English and monitor their communicative abilities beyond their classrooms. Some language educators even suggest that communicative competence is not relevant to foreign language classrooms because students achieve such competence "once and for all" in their native language. For that reason according to Melenk (1977)

\[
\text{f}o\text{r}e\text{i}g\text{n}-\text{l}a\text{n}g\text{u}\text{a}\text{s}e\text{e} \text{t}e\text{a}c\text{h}i\text{n}g \text{s}h\text{o}\text{u}\text{l}d \text{b}e \text{c}o\text{n}\text{c}e\text{r}e\text{n} 'm\text{e}r\text{e}\text{l}y' \text{w}i\text{t}h \text{lingu}i\text{stic} \text{c}o\text{n}pe\text{n}t\text{e}n\text{c}e, \text{t}hi\text{s} \text{i}n \text{i}t\text{s}e\text{l}f \text{b}e\text{i}\text{n}g \text{e}n\text{o}u\text{f} \text{of} \text{a} \text{c}h\text{a}l\text{l}e" (Melenk 1977 cited in Beneke 1981, p. 75).
\]

In international contexts the goal of using the language is not "\text{a}c\text{c}u\text{l}t\text{u}\text{r}\text{a}t\text{i}\text{o}n" (Beneke 1981, p. 81) but getting the message across in an "\text{a}d \text{h}o\text{c}" (Beneke 1981) speech community which is established by interlocutors using English for international communication. Therefore the use of English as an international language does not necessarily mean that it is used for understanding underlying cultural differences of different social settings. Indeed, Beneke admits that "\text{t}h\text{e}r\text{e} \text{i}s \text{n}\text{o} \text{r}\text{e}\text{a}\text{s}o\text{n} \text{w}\text{h}y \text{a}n\text{y}\text{o}\text{n}e... \text{w}h\text{o} \text{s}\text{p}\text{e}\text{a}\text{k} \text{E}n\text{g}l\text{i}\text{s}h] \text{sh}\text{o}\text{u}\text{l}d \text{n}\text{o}t \text{f}\text{o}\text{l}\text{l}\text{o}\text{w} \text{h}i\text{s} \text{o}w\text{n} \text{c}u\text{l}u\text{t}u\text{r}a\text{l} \text{t}r\text{a}d\text{i}\text{t}i\text{o}n\text{s}" (p. 89). And there is also no reason why people who have been trained in the English language in non-authentic contexts (i.e. classrooms operating within non-native contexts)
should not inform themselves (or be informed) in their own native language about different cultural aspects of their interlocutors and their social contexts (or English depending on the level of understanding of vocabulary related to such aspects as culture and communication).

In addition to the above comments support is given for one's cultural traditions by Barbara Herrnstein Smith (1990) in her critique of Hirsch's (1987) book 'Cultural Literacy'. She disagrees with Hirsch's postulate that "effective communications require shared culture". Herrnstein Smith points out that "Japanese suppliers... can communicate with European and African buyers without sharing the latter's cultures in the anthropological sense" (p. 73). She further states that "common" knowledge, "shared" culture, "standardised" associations — "are, in fact, always ad hoc, context specific, pragmatically adjusted negotiations of (and through) difference. We never have sameness; we cannot produce sameness; we do not need sameness" (p. 73).

Since communicative competence may not be an adequate model for language instruction in "artificial" contexts (ie. classrooms) and, as Beneke (1981) has said, "mere" linguistic competence may not be sufficient, intercultural competence is a more appropriate objective in the process of improving communication through English in various social settings. It can, then, be expected that in the use of English for international communication cultural differences will operate in interactions involving "native" vs "non-native"; "non-native" vs "non-native" and even between "native vs native" (an American with a New Zealander) speakers of English. These differences can be explicit (e.g. outspoken type), implicit (e.g. guessing, silence) and "context-
culture" dependent. Communicators with intercultural competence will be able to negotiate effective communication across these differences.

7.9.2 International Communication and some Aspects of Intercultural Interactions

A basic problem for most people in the process of intercultural interaction, which may take place in both intra- and inter- national settings, is the recognition of differences among people who belong to different cultural contexts or adhere to different social norms. Overcoming this problem involves respecting (and learning about) the different behaviour of speakers whose English "deviates" from the norms of the norm-providing English variety. Accepting the locally oriented cultural values inherent in the latter, can contribute to development of mutual understanding between the speakers of Englishes in international contexts.

Both intranational and international communication involve some "vagueness" or ambiguities, that is, "hearers do not know exactly what they should understand" (Channell 1994, p. 35) and these are both language and context (linguistically & culturally) dependent. The context dependent ambiguities may include such aspects of interactions as greetings, rules of address and ways of introducing people. The language dependent ambiguities may occur in the use of tone of voice, stress and rhythm. Expressions of levels of politeness and the use of various conversational routines (e.g. turn taking, opening and closing gambits) may be both language and context dependent (Beneke 1981).

Misunderstandings may occur between interlocutors as "outer circle" people come with some kind of "endo-norm" English variety and long cultural
conditioning in their own local contexts whereas speakers from expanding circles may exhibit accents which are not really related to any norm-providing English varieties and which are conditioned by their own cultural values.

Some aspects of cultural behaviour such as greeting people, or rules of address may be easily taught either through the learner's own language or English. Some linguistic features such as those associated with rhythm, intonation and stress may be difficult to teach, especially to those English speakers who come from outer circle contexts or to those fluent English speakers who come from expanding circles as their speech patterns may exhibit their own non-segmental features of English. Examples of problems of communication when such people are in inner circle contexts are cited by Gumperz (1982).

Malcolm (1994) provides, in his recent research, an example of interaction between an Australian public service officer of Indian origin and an English couple. The couple became disappointed at the end of the interaction because the public servant had used his locally (outer circle) acquired conversational routines characterised by an "unusually flat and unemotional" way of speaking when dealing with them. Malcolm (1994) suggests that, in analysing such examples of intercultural communication, especially those between native and non-native English speakers, the concept of the "lacuna" (Ertelt-Vieth 1991) may "provide a useful perspective from which linguistic and cultural factors in interactions can be recognized and distinguished" (p. 27). However, he admits that further research needs to be carried out in order to understand the interactions between people of non-English speaking backgrounds and people of English speaking backgrounds in various settings.
(e.g. workplace) especially with regard to the level of tolerance by native speakers of the non-native speech.

Because there exist a vast variety of English linguistic and cultural norms in global communicative networks, more research has to be carried out taking into account not just "individual" native speaker communicative competence but group intercultural communicative competences as exhibited by speakers of English in inner-, outer-, and expanding circles when using English for international communication.

7.10 Effectiveness of Communication in Japanese Social Contexts

As we have observed, Japanese culture has been classified as a high context culture. Japanese people are heavily group dependent in their social interactions. Strict socio-cultural rules operate in various contexts with reference to the use of Japanese language, for instance:

(a) master – subject relationships (e.g. differentiation by social status)
(b) senior – junior (e.g. age)
(c) indirect communication which often is intended to imply "unclear intentions" on the part of the speaker (e.g. in reaching consensus of the group a special person [nemawashi] is used to establish the views of the group before the discussion takes place).

In Japanese society socio-cultural rules determine the sociolinguistic rules; that is depending on the situation various styles of language will be used. In some interactions Japanese may even appear not sociable to someone who is not familiar with Japanese socio-cultural behaviour which governs the linguistic
behaviour of the Japanese, for instance a prolonged silence may occur in various interactions (Nakano 1989). Such socio-cultural "constraints" contribute to the limited interpersonal interactions among the Japanese themselves (one can see that when going by train or bus in Japan; basically nobody talks to anyone) and in fact, inhibit the development of conversational skills (or use of them) in foreign language education in Japanese educational contexts.

Within an educational setting the situation is the same. Teachers usually perform their tasks in the form of a lecture without students interacting or participating in the class discussion. However, it has been this writer's experience that Japanese students participate best in English language classes when seated in groups of 4 to 6. The restructuring of the Japanese classroom into an "open learning" situation "created" human beings interacting with each other for the purpose of solving a problem (e.g. strip story or analysing the weather charts from the Daily Yomiuri). The students were even prepared to call on the teacher to explain again or help to understand the rules of the task. It has also been my experience to observe Japanese students (and tourists) both in domestic and overseas situations who did not hesitate to try their English on foreigners.

That Japanese learners are somehow "inherently" incapable of learning English well as often portrayed by the native English speakers is questionable. I have met a number of Okinawans (and other Japanese) who spoke rather good English and on some occasions I was told (by some including teachers) that they liked to talk to me because I was a non-native speaker of English (I understood that more or less as "not being judgemental about their English
Such comments led me to observations of native speakers in Japan long before I decided on research for this thesis. The discussion in the following Section is partially based on my personal observations.

7.10.1 The Native Speaker and his Linguistic Ethnocentrism in International Context

This observation of the native speaker in Japan brings this research to the issue of ethnocentrism on the part of native speaker in the background of the Japanese social context.

Ethnocentrism is the valuing of one group over another or establishment of an attitude of superiority of one culture over another (see Dodd 1987). Such attitudes are prevalent in most societies and they invisibly affect most of us in one way or another. Some of the previously discussed issues touched upon the aspect of ethnocentrism with regard to the rejection of non-native Englishes as models for the teaching of English (e.g. Quirk 1991; Honey 1987).

In his paper "Language varieties and Standard Language" Quirk (1989, 1991) points out that one can come across people involved in teaching English in Japan with "only minimal teacher training...[and] they're employed because, through accident of birth in Leeds or Los Angeles... [n]ot merely may their own English be far from standard but they have may little respect for it" (p. 173). It is true that in Japan one can come across English speakers from English speaking countries who exhibit an array of local accents and standards. Indeed, MacMillan (1971) has observed the "language
loyalty" which he describes as "parochial attitudes" exhibited by native English speakers who continuously criticise each others' varieties of English in the columns of British newspapers (p. 140). Their criticism is usually levelled at North American or Antipodean varieties of English either in an antagonistic or amusing terms; as something which would interfere with their own linguistic identity. Macmillan aptly points out that "[s]uch users and such attitudes do a disservice to the cause of international communication" (p. 140).

Groups of native speakers, such as those described by MacMillan, also exist in Japan exhibiting their parochial and ethnocentric attitudes. These are aimed at standards of norm providing English varieties which are represented by their speakers in Japan. In order to demonstrate these views a number of letters to the editor from the Japan Times and the Daily Yomiuri is discussed (see Appendix 14). These views are of a sociolinguistic interest as they are a "naturalistic" gauge of native speakers' attitudes towards their varieties of English.

Such comments as those appearing in Japanese daily English newspapers do not contribute to any logical discussion as to how to improve English education in Japan. Their significance lies in that they throw into question the "validity" of norm-providing varieties as teaching models in Japan.

Other native speakers of English criticise the "absurdity" of English words in the Japanese language. And according to one teacher and a linguist such linguistic malapropism is the realisation of "linguistic protectionism"
(DeWolf 1981, p. 57). He also attacks the Japanese educational system whose most outstanding characteristic is not "its excellence but its deliberately fostered ethnocentrism" (p. 57).

However one has to admit that there are some native speakers who applaud the influence of the English language on the Japanese language as an indication of English being an international language and a means of internationalisation (Appendix 19; letters to the Editor, Japan Times 19/20 April, 1992 p.20).

It must be acknowledged that Japanese are not alone in creating out of context meanings with regard to the use of English in various texts or public places. In fact, there are a great number of places in the world where the use of EIL is associated with faux pas. The Far Eastern Economic Review under the heading of "travellers' tales" provides some examples out of context meanings from various countries. These faux pas may matter to some native speakers of English but basically they contribute to the spread of English world wide and the internationalisation of societies. These faux pas are no more incongruous than some native speaker usages for instance, on American television.

While the Japanese may not be able to use English in all domains as do native speakers of English, they are able to translate most of the important books which originate in English speaking countries and inform their populace as to various trends and global events through their own language, Japanese. Americans [as well as Britons and Australians] hardly have comparable resources for informing themselves about new events in Japan through translations of books which originated in Japan (see Chapter 2; see Befu & Manabe 1991). Anglo-Saxon countries, do not show a recognition that
knowledge coming out of Japan could contribute to their knowledge by translating books from Japanese. Such ethnocentrism sees faults in other cultures but hardly ever admits to having one's own shortcomings (see Befu & Manabe 1991). Letters written to the editors of the Japanese English dailies are no doubt closely followed and analysed by the Japanese themselves in order to tap into the ethnocentric views which may be held by the foreigners living in Japan. Such views may be a learning resource for the Japanese themselves, however, they usually do disservice to the foreign community as a whole which tries to contribute to internationalisation through the English language regardless of accent, social status or variety being used. The less ethnocentric the foreign community becomes the better it understands the culture it lives in and at the same time promotes the English language in the way it can be best absorbed in Japan. Japan cannot become little America or Australia. However, Japanese will have to make the choice whether the investment it puts into the foreign community in order to teach English is a wise one. The ethnocentric views of English speaking people may create a sense of disillusionment. This can be enhanced by those members of the foreign community who deride other members of the English speaking countries with regard to their sociolinguistic backgrounds: that is the English language variety they speak. The damage is made by derogatory comments occasionally made about those who accept them as guests and teachers.

7.11 Interpretation of EIL in Japan

It was observed earlier that foreign language study in Japan is an important part of Japanese culture. This mainly involves reliance on one major foreign language and passing interest in another. In the process of historical developments in Japan (see Section 3.2) it was noted that, in the first
instance of Japanese "internationalisation", Chinese was the first language which brought various philosophical ideas of Buddhist and Confucian thought. The long association with Chinese philosophical thinking brought new institutions, new religion and ideology which in the 16th century was interrupted by the introduction of Christianity. Portuguese was the first European language to come in contact with the Japanese. Then followed the introduction of Dutch and eventually the dominance of English from the mid-19th century, with minor influence of German and French.

The Japanese experience tends to support the view that language planning policy in Japanese society has been determined more by a pragmatic than an ideological framework.

In the first two decades of the Meiji era the position of English was exemplified by the Japanese will to modernise through the translation of English/American texts for the use in the educational system, especially within higher education. It was, further strengthened by the employment of foreign experts. Already during that period English was recognised by Japanese as a lingua franca of commerce in the east. It was through this lingua franca that the Japanese informed themselves about other European literatures and other Western and to some extent also Eastern people (Nitobe 1923). Nitobe further states that though foreign languages might not have untied Japanese people's tongues, they had opened their eyes. Furthermore, he said, modern European languages in Japan played the same role as classical languages in Europe. However, Nitobe stressed that the languages Japanese had studied were not dead yet (Nitobe 1923, p. 338).
It was also noted that during some stages of growing Japanese nationalism, especially in prewar years (2nd World War) adherence to imperial principles and Japanese culture were emphasised and Anglo-American ideas were subordinated. Regardless of intensified Japanese nationalism and militarism of that time the teaching of English was however not abandoned.

In 1942 one of Japan's influential scholars Ryuzaburo Shikiba acknowledged that English was already an international language and for that reason he considered it a good strategy to make use of English as a weapon [for propaganda purposes] in order show Japan's strength to the Anglo-Americans (cited in Hino 1988b).

Japanese defeat in the 2nd World War and the domination of Americans as the occupying force of Japan created unprecedented changes to the Japanese political and social context paving the way for the increased study of English and training of some Japanese in the United States. In my view this was the extension of the policies similar to those initiated in the Meiji Era. Japan was "opened" for the second time by Americans but at this time by outside force.

The successful educational and economic policies which have been carried out from the end of the second world war till the present time have often been based on the advice and the ideas of various western advisers who participated in various committees and organisations (e.g. UNESCO). Many of the advisers also contributed to various language planning policies at the macro level (e.g. the UNESCO statement see Section 4.3.2) informing the Japanese government as to how to go about teaching foreign languages, especially English. There were, however, not any drastic steps taken with regard to improvement of
oral/aural language skills as advocated by various committees and organisations.

In the late 1980s a drive towards a more globally oriented Japanese society proposed various aspects of Japan's further internationalisation. The English language was seen as the driving mechanism for this purpose. The call for more communicative language skills, especially at the high school level, was followed by the introduction of the Japanese Exchange Teaching Program(me) in 1987. The program has brought a large number of English "native" speakers from various English speaking countries. The number of participants on the program from other countries is almost negligible.

The role of assistant language teachers (previously known as assistant English teachers, AETs) may vary according to the type of school and the nature of the learning activity on a particular day. Some of the assistant language teachers visit between 3 to 20 schools according to the schedule devised by the local boards of education. This makes the organisation and the teaching task difficult. This is why, in team teaching situations the Japanese English teacher should be ultimately responsible for the lesson planning. However, it should be kept in mind that what happens in the Japanese English classroom depends very much on the AET's relationships with the Japanese teacher of English. Personalities play a large part both inside and outside the classroom so does the teacher's age, especially in the Japanese context. Assistant language teachers need not to be experts in inter-cultural communication but they may well try to pick up some cultural hints from teachers or Japanese friends with whom they get on well. In addition to the above, both the Japanese teacher of English and the assistant language teacher
must be well organised but at the same time flexible, not necessarily following the lesson plans step by step (I have seen such lessons plans and seminar presentations where everything had to be covered in intervals of so many and so many minutes) giving the opportunity for the student to be involved in some English interactions between themselves and with the teachers involved. Students who have had access to different ideas, different voices and accents, seeing different faces and trying their English on the foreign assistant teacher, will be thrilled and probably encouraged to spend more time studying English. Of course, there will be some students who will not be interested in English and there will be Japanese English teachers who will not be interested in teaching English with assistant language teachers.

The attitude towards internationalisation as expressed at the macro level by various government agencies seems to be ambiguous. On the one hand it is supported by bringing in the English language native speakers and some specialists and letting in other western professionals to work in Japan; on the other hand it is suppressed by lack of involvement of the Japanese government in support of Japanese teachers of English in courses and advanced training overseas. The process of internationalisation is also inhibited by excluding other nationals from outer circle countries from the Japanese teaching program(me) who could contribute to internationalisation of Japan. This approach to internationalisation involves little understanding and acceptance of other cultures which do not belong to the powerful English speaking inner circle.

Such a state of affairs creates a problem at the sociolinguistic micro level (schools, teachers & students) where teachers and students face a
dilemma. On the one hand the macro sociolinguistic approach (e.g. government agencies - Mombusho) initiated by the Ministry of Education expects the Japanese teachers to use a more communicative orientation in the teaching of English using assistant language teachers from exoglossic norm providing English contexts, on the other hand the system of higher education requires prospective students for university to sit for an English examination which has little to do with the acquisition of communicative skills (see Section 4.4.2). Because of the two opposing aspects of communicative versus examination skills (e.g. reading comprehension) either the teacher, student or the newly devised language syllabus may not be open to change and a routine approach to teaching in the form of yaku-doku will persist.

7.11.1 English as International Language and the Monopoly of Norm Providing Varieties in Japan

It was acknowledged in the foregoing discussion (and various other Chapters) that English in Japan played a major role in educational circles from the very early stages of the Meiji era. It was also considered at that time to be a lingua franca of the East and the language of commerce. During the war years it had already been regarded by some Japanese as the international language.

From a language planning perspective it may be envisaged that the language choice in Japan for international communication for quite some years will be English. This view was embraced during the training seminar for diplomats in the Foreign Ministry's motto "English, first, last, and always" (Komiyama 1974 quoted in Kunihiro 1976, p. 268). This further strengthens
the view that internationalisation in Japan is seen through the use of English as an international language. Furthermore this is re-inforced by the "wholesale" adoption of native English speakers from norm providing varieties of English (e.g. Japanese Exchange Teaching Programme). It is these varieties which are basically adopted by the educational system of Japan. In this regard the British English variety, historically speaking, was more popular before the second world war whereas the American variety took over as an influential model in Japan after the second World War.

The decisions at the macro level with regard to language teaching policies in Japan are not only made in the Ministry of Education – which seems to try to accept various models of norm providing varieties of English – but they are also influenced by such outside organisations as the British Council and various English language specialists and book publishers.

It has been claimed by some American English language specialists that due to the influence of the USA in Japan, the American English model should be the norm for junior high school students learning English (Berns 1990). Berns further cites work by Savignon and Berns (1983) who have designed teaching materials for that purpose, using the interactive model, which in her view are

a) aimed to develop a communicative competence consistent with the reality of English in Japan, where learners have limited contact with native speakers and few opportunities to use English;

and in accordance with the terminology of functional linguistics the materials

b) take the ideational function into account by giving learners opportunities to use it as a means of exploring English language
settings outside of Japan and

c) introduce the interpersonal function by giving attention to situations in which English is used for communication between and among nonnative speakers as well as native speakers (p. 133).

Their teaching concept is based on the idea that the learners "learn not only about Americans their own age but also how to use English to express themselves on familiar topics" such as, for instance, "an American Neighborhood".

The question arises as to whether the American neighborhood is a familiar topic to Japanese students. It certainly is not familiar to the advocates of the course design. The materials appear to convey the impression that social stratification does not exist in American society. It is almost "utopian" concept of a foreign culture. An English language course based on Japanese society, could prove to be more appropriate as this is the context the students are familiar with. Such materials would enable students to conceptualise in English various situations in which they live. This would be a worthwhile project as students might then be able to say something about their own society in English. They might then use such skills (communicatively) when meeting other English speaking people. The proposed course materials as set out by Savignon and Berns (1983) do not represent the reality of English in Japan but the reality outside Japan which is the native context of the USA. Whether a course in English designed on the principles of communicative standards of a norm providing variety can develop effective communicative strategies in Japanese students is doubtful as in typical interactive situations in Japan (e.g. between native & nonnative speakers) more than one set of sociocultural rules will be in operation (Nakayama 1982).
A number of Japanese scholars have posed the question as to what advantages Japanese English learners receive from relying on exoglossic models of English in international contexts. For example, as we have noted (see Section 2.8) Tohyama (1979) has questioned cultural assimilation into the native English speaking contexts while at the same time stressing the need to remain intelligible without necessarily exhibiting the features of American or British norms.

Suzuki (1985) has claimed that due to the fact that English became a de facto lingua franca or an international language "the proprietorship of this English is automatically transferred to all nations of the world. To claim something to be international is, by definition, to admit that it belongs to all people of the world" (pp. 87-88). He argues that Japanese teachers and learners of English should not strive to achieve command of a norm-providing variety whether American or British. In fact, Nakayama (1982) claims that because of the continuous reliance on an exoglossic English norm "an idealized American and British culture" has not prepared Japanese adequately for interactions in other non-native contexts (Nakayama 1982, p. 66). Nakayama further exemplifies the situation and cites examples where university English courses "do not regard any specific native English as model, do not limit the reading material to any specific nation [and] make the students aware of the 'external functions of the language" (Nakamura 1981 quoted in Nakayama 1982, p. 67). Nakayama also cites how the diversity of speakers of various Englishes is utilised at an overseas training institution of Matsushita electric where a number of non-native speakers are employed in addition to native speakers. In this regard some attempts have been made to produce texts (materials) where various non-native speakers are

In order to obtain better results on the Japanese English language scene Yukawa (1989) states that the Japanese should abandon the concept of "perfectionism" (p. 23) which is not productive because this is related to the Japanese obsession with how perfect their pronunciation and grammar should be in regard to norm-providing English models. Furthermore this obsession with speaking "properly" is exhibited in their apologetic behaviour when trying to use their English skills with foreigners. She cites a 1983 interview with Mrs. Thatcher when the interviewer (who was supposed to be one of the best English speakers in the country) asked Mrs. Thatcher what she thought of Professor Reischauer's comment that he could converse easily only with two or three Japanese leaders. Mrs. Thatcher being somewhat irritated by the question said that she did not find that at all. The interviewer not being really satisfied with the answer commented that "our English is not perfect..." Mrs. Thatcher bluntly stated that hers wasn't either.

Yukawa states that putting an end to futile and unrewarding efforts to eliminate 'Japoneseness' completely from their use of English will help Japanese speakers to attain the goal of communicability in international communication. But they need to be supported in this effort by getting used to different world Englishes and this needs to be paralleled by developing intercultural skills for different social settings (p. 27).
Some Japanese scholars, however, are worried about such proposals by linguists/educators who see the "movement away" from teaching exoglossic norms as a positive sign. For instance, Yashiro (1988) claims that

1) the teaching of EIL in Japan should not lead to the premature replacement of native English with Japanese English as a model or goal in English education;
2) the change should be in the direction of nurturing communicative competence, the ability to express oneself in English in international situations;...
3) in order to cultivate ...appreciation of new Englishes which comprise the main bulk of EIL, advanced students of English should be introduced to these varieties through reading and listening

The views expressed by Yashiro have some limitations. First of all she speaks of EIL almost as if it was a variety ("the teaching of EIL in Japan") then acknowledges the fact that "new Englishes comprise the main bulk of EIL", which makes EIL a status designation of all varieties of English as used throughout the world. She further refers to "the premature replacement of native English with Japanese English". As far as I know there is no such variety ("wasei eigo=English made in Japan=gairaigo) which would come under the same label as the nativized varieties of English of the outer circle. In addition to this the only Japanese attempt to establish "Japanese English" was that of Mori Arinori during the Meiji era who intended to substitute Japanese with English (Chapter 3). She also talks about the exoglossic model as if it was prevailing in all classroom situations, which of course it is not. At the high school level only a small fraction of students can get any interaction with
native speakers of English; that is with the assistant language teachers on the JET programme. At the same time, the textbooks and other language materials are totally based on the exoglossic model with the American spelling prevailing in the texts.

Yashiro would appear to give some support to the teaching of English for international communication through courses on international subjects, and she states that the purpose of EIL is to improve communication among the peoples of the world. She does not propose inviting to Japan speakers of new Englishes, which, I think, would be "an eye opener" to Japanese who use English in various contexts. Obviously, such an attempt would undermine the monopoly and hegemony of norm-providing varieties of English in Japan. However, this hegemony is slowly being undermined by some business corporations which recognise the value of speakers of English from outer and expanding circle contexts. Japanese business corporations have long recognised the benefits they can obtain through the use of human resources with language skills; (Chapter 6). This undoubtedly has been supported by a large participation rate of students studying English (Chapter 4). This participation rate limits the shortcomings of choice so that business corporations can tap into the best human resources which are available among the graduates of colleges and universities. The local participation rate has recently been strongly supported by study overseas where Japanese students can polish their communicative skills in English speaking contexts. Their scores on entrance examination they take into TOEFL courses support the view that while the oral English skills are still low, their reading comprehension skills have increased dramatically. For instance, between 1978 and 1980 Japanese students' reading comprehension skills in TOEFL placed
Japan on the 90th place out of 143 countries (Maher 1984, p. 47) while in 1987 it has been reported that Japan was ranked in the top 5% of nations in reading comprehension in the world whereas the conversational ability was in the bottom 10% (Enloe & Lewin 1987, p. 243). Enloe and Lewin make an interesting assumption on the basis of these results. They say that the traditional Japanese concept of wakon-yosai (Chapter 3) which enabled Japanese to modernise without losing much of their Japanese-ness has been maintained till the present day. They claim that being able to read a foreign language enables them to get foreign knowledge and concepts whereas not being able to communicate prevents them "becoming 'corrupted' through too much intercourse with 'outsiders' " (p. 243). It could be further inferred that this lack of use of English in real social contexts where English is spoken contributes to expansion of the Japanese lexicon in the form of "gairaigo" (section 3.8.1). The Japanese English based lexicon makes a fascinating contribution to internationality of the English language which for some native English speakers may convey incongruity or even malapropism. However, it is this malapropism that supports the view that English is a living language and that at the present moment its spread is accelerated by the infusion of English vocabulary into various social contexts where English is not the mother tongue.

7.11.2. Interpretation of EIL in the Global Context

It has been acknowledged in Chapter 2 and in some sections of this Chapter that the British and then American imperialistic endeavour established colonial power in a number of countries throughout the world. The establishment of religious denominations usually preceded the establishment
of various educational institutions which eventually catered for the needs of
the local elites through English. English became a powerful tool for
controlling and influencing the local populace. The influencing of local
people was basically carried out at these levels

- a) religious level
- b) commercial level
- c) bureaucratic level

In the post-independence contexts many of the former colonies tried to
abandon the ties they had with the colonising powers and showed strong
resistance towards the colonial language. However, in most post-colonial
situations a choice was made to maintain the use of English either at semi-
governmental or educational level. Furthermore this dependency on English
confirmed the power the English language had when it came for the post-
colonial states to control their own affairs. Often the problem revolved around
two issues; that is that the states in question were multilingual and that there
was no infrastructure, whether educational or economic, built on local
principles and knowledge.

Multilingualism in some countries created problems as to what kind of
vernacular should be adopted as the language of the country to achieve a
unifying role. Some of these countries had to rely again on expertise from
outside, thereby adopting neo-colonialism. Prior to this point the linguistic
power of English, and to some extent the ideology it had brought with it, had
created a view of the English language as a tool of exploitation and
imperialistic aspirations. However, the situation became more complicated
when some of the countries in question moved towards the ideologies of the
then Soviet bloc. Such alliances often created social stratification among the various countries as some of them inclined towards socialism whilst others maintained their ties with the western oriented "democracies".

It is arguable that by this point the role of English as an instrument of imperialism had declined slowly and been supplemented by other forms of exploitation. In attempting to argue the relation of "linguicism" to human inequalities, mainly associated with the use of English, some writers tend to ignore non-linguistic issues which made the so called division between the North and the South. The so called inequalities between the North and the South were created by the post-war ideological and economic power struggle between the Western and the Eastern bloc countries. These economic and ideological stances prevented most of the countries from being self reliant. Some of the economies might have been subsidised by other powers. On the other hand some of the countries relied on ill-advised economic and agricultural policies which were not necessarily communicated through English. We see the effects of such policies for instance, in the fact that raw commodities make up about 94% of Africa's exports and since 1973 their prices have dropped by about 40% while coffee prices alone have fallen by 46%. Since 1960 Africa's population has doubled while the food production has fallen sharply (Brittain 1994, New Statesman & Society p. 21). Brittain suggests that the fall in food production can be blamed on the northern experts who advised the local people to produce crops for export (e.g. coffee) and hardly made any real investment in technologies in order to improve the level of development. It is not linguistic policies which have driven most of developing countries to the brink of ruin and great disparity of the local populace. The core of the problem is economic (Brittain 1994). According to
one "commentator" the result of "bad loans" by some commercial banks "to their favourite dictators" is being now repaid by the poor who had nothing to do with the process (Chomsky 1994, New Statesman & Society, June, p. 23).

It is, then contrary to the facts, to make a simple connection between the widening use of English and the furthering of global imperialism. This argument does not hold as the Japanese experience shows that it is possible for a country to protect itself from such influences especially those taking place at the very turn of this century. It has been clearly shown that the Japanese involvement with the English language and its cultivation through translation helped them to be independent of Western experts at the various stages of their historical contact when such need arose. And with regard to technological development Japan is said to have "borrowed" the technology from the West, while the developing countries went into "a relationship of permanent dependence..." (Saha 1994, p. 227).

Such state of affairs would indirectly support the teaching of English through translation as this was the Japanese preoccupation during the last 125 years of their contact with the English speaking countries. According to Newmark (1983) "literary, cultural and technical translations are equally important... technology [ical translations] in introducing inventions and innovations that improve health and living conditions" (p. 14).

Now, that English has become the most widely used international language around the world it is being claimed by some linguists that it brings inequality (Phillipson 1992; Tollefson 1991; Tsuda 1986). Admittedly in some societies that is the case as the social stratification is widening, for
instance, as mentioned before in Papua New Guinea. But this again can also be blamed on the economic and educational planning based on views of various Western experts. At the same time, in some countries such as Malaysia the introduction of English was seen to be the best legacy of the post-colonial situation and this also seems to be the case for the post-apartheid South Africa (Chapter 2; Chick 1992).

In fact, the call to abandon or to slow the spread of English would go against language planning policies of states which already heavily rely on its use because of past colonial associations. This would be a naive policy especially when developments of world technologies related to communication (e.g. faxes, computers) are slowly narrowing the world's distances so that people will be able increasingly to communicate with one another from all parts of the world.

Resisting the encroachment of English on the domains of vernacular languages is a completely different issue from that of the role of English as an international language. Vernacular languages can only be used in the local situation whereas English can help people to communicate with the rest of the world. Once modernisation has taken place through the English language it is difficult to reverse the process on the global scene. Attempts to oppose the use of English in the developing world may not be based on trying to protect the developing countries — other interests may be involved. Some such hidden agendas have been involved at various times in the past with respect to English language use in contexts where it is a norm-providing variety. For instance, English education during 19th century England has been seen by some as "a social regulation device to mark out social groups; classics for the
wealthy, English literature for the middle classes, clear expression for the poor" (Rose 1984 cited in Bourne 1988).

Those who would limit the use of English among different people, who wish to promote it as an international language and at the same time improve their upward mobility, would appear to consent to the view of the former president of the United States who was quoted as saying in the 1992 State of the Union Address that

"...It is therefore essential for the state to protect the upper classes' material and symbolic capital by limiting access to ownership and some forms of education, including English" (quoted in Deneire 1993, p. 171).

Paradoxically, one problem we can envisage with the spread of English as an international language is the disservice it does in the long run to speakers of the norm providing varieties: that is, the use of English as the global lingua franca inhibits Anglo-American intentions of learning other languages some of which also fulfil limited international functions. While English dominates the modern global interactions to Anglo-American advantage, "its utility will be deceptive ... English-speaking people will be led to assume that they have a greater degree of understanding than will be the case" (Fisher 1987, p. 161).

Whilst at one stage of the history of the English language spread, English might have been considered "[a] key to the castle" (Howell 1991) at the moment it must be acknowledged that it is the "key to the world" for people who come from various social contexts and use it for international communication.
Notes

1. It was reported by Freedland (1992) that in "World News Tonight" (which seems to be a very "sensible" title for the news program) only three minutes were devoted out of 22-minute show to events outside America. In another broadcast on CBS, a roundup of stories "from around the world", the program covered mainly such exotic datelines as: Portland, Dallas, Miami, and the San Fernando Valley (Freedland, J. Japan Times December 5, 1992). From the above examples we can see that even correctly used English can confuse the receiver as to whether the world is in one place called the United States of America.
8.1 Concluding Remarks

It is hoped that the present thesis gives a balanced consideration of several broad subject areas related to the socio-historical and sociolinguistic description of teaching/study and the use of foreign languages, in particular English in Japan. This study is original in that it represents an attempt by a non-Japanese to compile socio-historical and sociolinguistic facts and relate them systematically to various social and economic changes which have occurred in Japan since the first contacts with Europeans.

It has been suggested that the early contacts Japan established with Chinese scholarly institutions, and religious 'ideologies', created a consciousness echoed in the slogans "Japanese spirit and Western learning" and "morality of the East and technology of the West".

While the Japanese socio-historical facts point to continuous Japanese preoccupation with "things foreign" both Eastern and Western, Japanese interactions with the members of these societies seemed, for quite some time, to be restricted to the upper echelons of the Japanese society. These interactions were often followed by the closure of the country to outsiders in order to preserve the Japanese identity and most of all withstand the threat of colonisation by European powers. However, constant arrival of various European dignitaries (e.g. missionaries) bringing with them both religious 'ideology' and new technological ideas, made the Japanese eager to acquire
some of the new scientific and technological knowledge in order to catch up with European powers and avoid the threat of technological domination by them.

An interesting outcome of these limited contacts with various Europeans resulted in the association of foreign language study with the study of science/technology rather than the humanities. This fact has been overlooked in many Anglo-Saxon countries where foreign languages are usually of secondary importance and traditionally have been associated with the humanities.

In comparison to developing countries, the Japanese have never entered into a dependency cycle and often their reliance on Western experts was for very specific undertakings lasting only till the Japanese acquired the needed skills themselves. This was supported by their preoccupation with the study of foreign languages, and from the time of the Meiji era English was basically the sole language for obtaining foreign technology and other scholarly knowledge. However, the choice of the foreign language used was often dependent on the political situation and national aspirations of the Japanese at that time.

The establishment of a national educational system in 1872 and the creation of Tokyo University resulted in a need for Western experts and the training of Japanese nationals overseas. During the early period of the opening of Japan there was an influx of foreign experts and the teaching was often done through English (and German or French) in the universities. The 1880s saw a move away from Western languages as the medium of instruction at the universities.
levels. This is supported by various organisations and the Ministry of Education. However, the impetus given by various government officials and educationists has not been matched by changes in the methods of training teachers and re-training [old] 'conservative' teachers or by changes in the way examinations are carried out at both senior high school and university entrance levels.

The purported Japanese inability in acquiring foreign languages and the shortcomings of their methodology in teaching them have often been criticised by both foreigners and Japanese alike. However, as has been pointed out, historically Japanese preoccupation with the study of languages was based on the old methods for acquiring the Chinese language and later this was supported by "cultivation" of translation culture through which Japanese were obtaining their Western knowledge and technology. During the Meiji era this was seen in the establishment of various schools, of both science and commerce, where the study of English was given preeminence, among the subjects.

It has also to be stated that access to the study of English, in the early Meiji era was basically limited to those members of the Japanese society who had already some contact with some other type of Western learning (e.g. Dutch). But the fact of establishing a compulsory educational system, beginning at the elementary level, contributed in a very short time, to improved literacy rates. This in turn led to the need to establish more high schools and universities which introduced "Western-like" examination systems in order to select those members of the society who fitted that system best. In this regard the Japanese had ceased to rely only on the privileged (samurai)
classes and slowly other able individuals were filling various bureaucratic posts.

While the study of English in Japan might have improved one's social standing, it did not however, segregate others into various social class standings as it did in many developing countries where the use of English might have created inequalities among the populace.

The Japanese sociolinguistic experience points to a Japanese awareness of the importance of cultivating their own language when they came into contact with either Eastern or Western civilisations (e.g. Chinese or English/Americans). In the Meiji period they became aware of the shortcomings of their language either for the dissemination of scholarly knowledge or as a medium of communication among the various social strata which existed in the country at that time. While they were concerned with corpus and status planning of their language, English seemed to have been a good 'supplement' for acquiring their specialised technological knowledge. Most developing countries have failed to utilise varieties of their own languages to spread knowledge across the populace in the various social classes and various caste systems. This was not necessarily because of the intrusion of colonisers, but where it occurred was often supported by local elites seeking favour with the colonies.

As Japan modified its language through status and corpus planning, translation of books became even more important in order to provide textbooks for various educational institutions. While they had a number of foreign English language scholars and instructors they seemed to retain their "Eastern-type" of learning English through the method of translation and rote learning.
In fact, this method was very similar to the European 19th century learning of modern languages through grammar—translation.

While the Japanese at some stages of their history might have dispensed with direct contacts with Westerners and their technological "know-how", they never abandoned the study and the use of English. This has been seen even during the most controversial and critical stages of their relationship with the West, in particular, the USA. In fact, some Japanese scholars, along with their war—Prime Minister, Tojo, emphasised the need for use of English and accepted it as "the" international language of the world.

After the capitulation of Japan in 1945, the American occupation of the country created conditions for even more increased use the English language. Various schemes were established in order to enable the Japanese to study in the United States. At the same time, the Japanese language itself was exposed for the "n^{th}" time in its history to influences of English. This was in effect a repetition of the Meiji period were great changes occurred with regard to the influence of English on Japanese vocabulary and syntax. This influence of English seems to continue to the present day and is paralleled in other countries which maintain the use of English for international communication.

Educational reports of the 1970s and 1980s, on a number of different scholastic international achievements, always put Japan in the group of top achievers. However, there always seemed to be criticism by various groups both in Japan and overseas levelled at the Japanese in the way they had acquired their scholastic knowledge, both linguistic and scientific. Due to this criticism, on the recommendation of the former Japanese Prime Minister,
Nakasone, an educational reform council was established in the 1980s which was supposed to deal with several inadequacies in educational system.

The council recommended a number of changes one of which required the Japanese to become more internationalised. The most viable way to carry out the "idea" of internationalisation was through changes to the curricula at schools including the study of foreign languages which would require the Japanese to acquire more communicative (oral) English language skills.

In order to implement appropriate pedagogical methodology in communicative language training in English, the Japanese Ministry of Education together with the Ministries of Foreign and Home Affairs established an exchange teaching program in 1987. Basically, the program was intended to bring native English speakers into the country in order to help Japanese English teachers with the use of "living" English in classroom situations. The native English speakers in order to participate in this scheme needed to be graduates of universities in English speaking countries and they may be compared with the well-trained and educated people (o-yatoi) who were brought to Japan in the early Meiji era in order to speed up the process of modernisation.

While the "o-yatoi" of the Meiji era were basically professionals and were engaged as such, the present-day "o-yatois" are well-trained but basically most of them are not trained as teachers. While the Meiji professionals were often branded as "living machines" the present-day professionals could be branded as "living-tape-recorders" having very little teaching knowledge and for that reason contributing little to the pedagogical language teaching.
methodology. Their handicap, can also be attributed to scanty knowledge of "Eastern" (Asian) educational experience. Very often their individualistic type of behaviour may create barriers between the Japanese teachers of English and themselves. While some Western-type individualistic knowledge may be valuable, the foreign teachers need to relate their individualistic abilities to the Japanese group oriented approach in order to help the Japanese learners in appropriate social interactions through English. The foreign teacher needs to accept the fact that some of his/her cultural knowledge and approach becomes redundant in the Japanese social setting, especially in the classroom learning situation where learning is oriented towards the senior high school or the university entrance examination. In fact, this is the major area of concern in regard to the teaching of English. Monbusho officials while, on one hand, supporting the changes towards the communicatively oriented syllabuses, on the other hand, they do not explicitly discuss the issue related to changes which might have to occur in relation to university entrance examinations.

There is another dilemma which is related to the use of English by the Japanese. While they see the need for the study of English, they also seem to rely on an exoglossic variety for teaching English, that is, American English or British, Australian or another kind of norm providing variety as a model for the acquisition. At the same time the English language seems to be the vehicle for their internationalisation but by limiting themselves to only norm-providing varieties they seem to limit their English–accessed "weltanschaung" to that of Anglo–Saxon countries, and this is what they have done for the greater part of this century. Some of the data provided in this thesis support the inclusion in the Japanese English teaching program of members of countries belonging to the outer circle (e.g. Singapore or India).
The inclusion of members from other than the "non-norm-providing" varieties would also help other native English speakers to get accustomed to other Englishes which bring culture and customs which are probably more similar to the Japanese context than the Anglo-Saxon cultural context which is on the other end of cultural spectrum. In fact, by incorporating the various groups of people from different places where the English language is used as a norm-providing variety or a non-norm-providing variety the value of English as the lingua franca of the world probably be more appreciated by both the Japanese and the "native" speakers of English.

The inclusion of these people would definitely help to promote understanding of the issues involved in the spread of English as world language by some native speakers and both Japanese teachers and learners. By teaching present-day learners about different kinds of Englishes (and this does not necessarily mean learning through these varieties) teachers all over the world would realise that on the one end of the spectrum we have ESL/EFL either related to a certain social setting (ESL) or classroom situation (EFL) and on the other end we have these varieties including norm-providing varieties in settings which are culturally different and do not necessarily rely on cultural knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon world.

Because of the diversity of the English language world-wide there are some pedagogical implications arising from the above description on the English language use in Japan. Our syllabuses, should (a) emphasised information about different cultural settings where English may be used for international communication; (b) critically look at the culture of the learners and how it could be comprehensible to others while using English for
international communication; (c) show how to combine home experience with the new experiences encountered through international communication via English. In one sense, the Japanese have been able to achieve this through the principle of "wakon-yosai", however they need to realise that there are other important cultures which rely on English as the international language.

Much of the concentration on the shortcomings of English learning by Japanese speakers has been misplaced. Rather we should acknowledge what has been achieved through study of English in the Japanese context and the Japanese teachers should be encouraged to take pride in what has been accomplished in promoting the internationalisation of the Japanese society. English is being effectively learned for international communication in Japan and the fruits of this are seen, for example, in Japanese business corporations which are capitalising on their English language use in international contexts.

8.2 Implications for Teaching English as a Foreign Language

Because the teaching of English in the world originates in contexts which are sometimes designated as "ESL", "EFL" or "native" it is impossible to divorce the sociolinguistic concept of "EIL" from the established teaching networks. It is these networks which will indirectly contribute to further study and the use of English world-wide. At the same time they will maintain some kind of linguistic intelligibility across different cultural contexts where English will exhibit cultural values in settings where it is used as native, second or foreign language. All of these contexts contribute to the sociolinguistic concept of EIL in the world. From the Japanese sociolinguistic experience and from the comparative description of the spread of English world-wide it can be
inferred that the use of English will vary from one social context/domain to another according to the role the English language plays in those contexts.

While some questions of intelligibility, standards and "nativitization" have been discussed and English in Japan classified as a "performance variety" it has not been the object of this study to examine the quality of English teaching by Japanese teachers. However, a number of features within the Japanese educational context have been identified which seem most to affect and influence foreign language teaching and learning in Japan. Among these features are:

(1) teacher centred lessons;
(2) externally imposed courses of study;
(3) examination procedures (e.g. entrance examinations);
(4) Japanese socio-cultural constraints.

Due to factors such as these, students' interactional contribution in English classes is very low in terms of language activities and learning takes place in the context of "yaku-doku". Furthermore, the collaboration between assistant (native) English language teachers and Japanese teachers may create misunderstanding of their roles in team-teaching situations.

In order to improve the "quality" of teaching and interactions among the various participants in the English classroom (e.g. Japanese teachers, ALTs/AETs and students) in the Japanese context it is recommended that parties involved investigate factors leading to the
(a) development of linguistic and cultural tolerance and understanding of classroom procedures by both Japanese teachers of English and AETs in order to reduce conflicts associated with differing cultural norms;

(b) establishment of criteria for the design of language education programmes culturally and linguistically appropriate in order to enhance the understanding of English as an international language for communication purposes among the different nations of the world without necessarily emphasising one particular exoglossic norm—providing variety of English.

8.3 Implications for Language Planning

As has been noted in the foregoing discussion language contact may not necessarily contribute to wiping out vernacular languages. In fact, the Japanese experience proves that language contact may contribute both to status and corpus planning in order to accelerate both linguistic and technological modernisation.

Apart from Japan, some multilingual nations are also examples of "successful" language maintenance regardless of their reliance on English, whether for educational/technological or international use (e.g. Singapore).

In other multilingual states, regardless of the impact of English on the vernacular languages, local language planners could profitably concentrate on how to decide on the status and corpus planning of particular vernaculars in order to serve the functions assigned to them. They may well try to understand the Japanese sociolinguistic experience of English "cultivation" towards the development of culturally neutral, non-elitist and learner oriented programs.
appropriate to local and international circumstances (see Alptekin & Alptekin 1990).

Foreign language experts and language planners, on the other hand, should explore the potential of EIL as here defined for the purpose of providing a sociolinguistic conceptual basis for societies concerned for internationalisation without imperialistic overtones.

8.4 Implications for Further Research

Due to the wide spread of English in the world and the continuing preoccupation of the Japanese people with the study of English both at home and overseas further research could be directed towards the growing phenomenon of Japanese bilingualism and how it is achieved within various domains (e.g. fields of study) in Japan. From the sociolinguistic point of view it would be interesting to find out the extent to which bilingual achievement among Japanese professionals is limited to the register of the field of interest (e.g. medicine, electronics) rather than representing a more or less "global" knowledge of English.

It has been observed (Tables 34 & 96 & 98) that TOEIC scores for those who had lived overseas were much higher than for other Japanese examinees. In view of this it would be of interest to find out whether such skills were achieved by studying English within Japan ("home grown bilingualism") or whether they were the outcome of studies undertaken by students, businesspeople and Japanese researchers at overseas institutions in English speaking countries ("outside grown bilingualism") (e.g. ELICOS & TOEFL courses).
Some research could also be directed towards the use of a range of norm-providing varieties (through AETs/ALTs) into classroom situations with a view of finding out how different varieties affect English language skill development among the Japanese school population.

Research is also needed to establish the respective roles of foreign languages other than English in contributing to internationalisation through the Japanese educational system and the revival of minority/community languages (e.g. Uchinaguchi in Okinawa or Ainu in Hokkaido) and how they are being perceived by the mainstream Japanese population in a larger socio-cultural and political context.
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The “Expanding Circle”

China 1,086,200,000
Egypt 50,273,000
Indonesia 175,904,000
Israel 4,512,300
Japan 122,677,000
Korea 42,587,000
Nepal 18,004,000
Saudi Arabia 12,972,000
Taiwan 19,813,000
USSR 285,796,000
Zimbabwe 8,878,000

The “Outer Circle”

Bangladesh 107,756,000
Ghana 13,754,000
India 810,806,000
Kenya 22,919,000
Malaysia 16,985,000
Nigeria 112,258,000
Pakistan 109,434,000
Philippines 58,723,000
Singapore 2,641,000
Sri Lanka 16,606,000
Tanzania 23,996,000
Zambia 7,384,000

The “Inner Circle”

USA 245,800,000
UK 57,006,000
Canada 25,880,000
Australia 16,470,000
New Zealand 3,366,000

From Kachru (1990).
Curriculam for schools during the Meiji period

1873

### Curriculum for the lower middle school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>1st year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National language</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>National and classical lang</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calligraphy letters &amp; composition drawing</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>calligraphy drawing bookkeeping</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maths</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geometry</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>algebra</strong></td>
<td><strong>algebra</strong></td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Curriculum for the upper middle school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>1st year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; classical language</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calligraphy &amp; drawing &amp; bookkeeping</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>calligraphy drawing</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geometry</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algebra</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

July, 1881

### Curriculum for ordinary middle school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; Chinese language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calligraphy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX III**

**July, 1881  Curriculum for the advanced middle school**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>1st semester</th>
<th>2nd semester</th>
<th>1st semester</th>
<th>2nd semester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; Chinese language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**April, 1866  Curriculum for the Middle School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; Chinese learning</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligraphy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st foreign language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd foreign language or agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**March, 1894: The revised curriculum of 1886 with emphasis on National Language**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; Chinese language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligraphy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**February 1902: The revised curriculum of 1902**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National &amp; Chinese language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(adapted from Noji 1969).
Appendix IV

Some of the examples of English loanwords which were popular at certain periods in the history of Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Loanwords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-war</td>
<td>antcena; apato[flat]: erebta[elevator]. nekutai[necktie]; rajo[radio] Watsuda 1986, p.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 12, Business Japan, February 1990.

mini-kon = mini-computer
poke-kon = pocket-computer
paso-kon = personal computer
mai-kon = micro-computer
ohu-kon = office computer
oo-ee (OA) = office automation
sohuto-uea = software
haado-uea = hardware
puroguramu = program (computer)


Paatii ni wa shusseki-dekimasen kara …, (I can't attend the party so…)


konna taipuraitaa (this sort of typewriter)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Japanese Katakana</th>
<th>Roman Script</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 1</td>
<td>グラニュー糖</td>
<td>guranu-to</td>
<td>'to' is kanji for sugar when read without katakana script is sato : granule sugar 1kg ¥198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ブルーダイヤ</td>
<td>buru daiya</td>
<td>short for diamond : blue diamond - brand name ¥798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ポータブルクーラー</td>
<td>potaburu kura</td>
<td>¥1,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>キッチンレンジ台</td>
<td>kittchin renji-dai</td>
<td>kitchen stand 'shelves' ¥12,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>トップペール</td>
<td>toppuperu</td>
<td>kind of a bucket 'rubbish bin' ¥750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ホームラック</td>
<td>homu rakku</td>
<td>home-rack something of with shelves ¥3,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>ランミール</td>
<td>ran-miru</td>
<td>'run-meal dog' food ¥1,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ハイター</td>
<td>haita</td>
<td>brand name ¥358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Start with Katakana 'Reja' (leisure) next to it is a mixture of signs in kanji, hiragana and katakana.

(Why not enjoy outdoor life in summer... Let's enjoy outdoor life.)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>バーベキュートン板</td>
<td>babekyu teppan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>バーベキューコンロ</td>
<td>babekyu konro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>スキュアーセット</td>
<td>sukyua setto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ミックグリル</td>
<td>mikkuguiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>バーベキューブラシ</td>
<td>babekyu burashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>パラソルソリッド</td>
<td>parasorusoriddo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ファミリーテント</td>
<td>famiry tento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>ホールディングテーブル</td>
<td>horudingu teburu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ウーロン茶</td>
<td>u-ron-cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>アタック</td>
<td>atakku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Katakana 'Reja' (leisure) next to it is a mixture of signs in kanji, hiragana and katakana.

2. 夏のアウトドアライフを楽しませませんか (Why not enjoy outdoor life in summer... Let's enjoy outdoor life.)
### Start with mats under exciting and interior both written in katakana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>脇竹マット</td>
<td>aotake matto</td>
<td>blue bamboo (written in kanji) plus matto (mat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>脇竹センタークラグ</td>
<td>aotake-senta-ragu</td>
<td>blue bamboo (written in kanji) plus senta ragu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>竹皮マット</td>
<td>takekawa matto</td>
<td>bamboo skin (kanji) plus matto (mat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>折畳式脇竹カーペット</td>
<td>oritamishiki aotake-kappeto</td>
<td>oritamari (kanji) plus kapetto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>ゴロ寝マットレス</td>
<td>gorone mattoresu</td>
<td>gorone (kanji 'sleeping') plus mattoresu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>TVマットレス</td>
<td>terebi mattoresu</td>
<td>TV (romaji) plus mattoresu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>クッションフロア</td>
<td>kusshon furoa</td>
<td>(lit. 'floor cushion' but in reality means carpet?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>アコーディオンカーテン</td>
<td>akodion katen</td>
<td>accordion curtain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ドーム型テント</td>
<td>domugata tento</td>
<td>domu plus gata (kannji means shape) tento ¥7,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>スタックチェアー</td>
<td>stakku chea</td>
<td>'plastic' chair you can stack one onto another ¥1,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ガーデンチェアー</td>
<td>giden chea</td>
<td>garden chair ¥1,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>パイブレジャーイス</td>
<td>paipu reja isu</td>
<td>('isu' in katakana meaning chair) folding chairs made out of aluminium frames like 'piles' --- 'pipes leisure chair' ¥1,580 &amp; ¥680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>キャンピングマット</td>
<td>kyanpingu matto</td>
<td>camping mat ¥2,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>レジャーデカバッグ</td>
<td>reja deka baggu</td>
<td>reja (leisure) plus deka (big) plus baggu (bag) --- 'big leisure bag' ¥1,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>サマーベッド</td>
<td>sama beddo</td>
<td>summer bed ¥4,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>ハンモック</td>
<td>hanmokku</td>
<td>¥1,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>ウォッシュスタンド</td>
<td>wosshu sutando</td>
<td>washing stand-moveable sink ¥4,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>シングルマントルランタン</td>
<td>singuru mantoru rantan</td>
<td>¥7,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>商品名</td>
<td>日文</td>
<td>英文</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ピーコッククーラー</td>
<td>pikokku kura bokkusu</td>
<td>coorer box ¥3,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ホワイトガソリン</td>
<td>howaito gasorin</td>
<td>white gasoline for lamps? 3.7L ¥2,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>コンパクトスパーナー</td>
<td>konpakuto tsubana</td>
<td>compact grill for shishkebab ¥11,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>クーラーバッグ</td>
<td>kurabakku</td>
<td>cooler bag ¥2,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Start with food items (drinks bottles and cans)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>オーバイロイヤルバンチ</td>
<td>opai royaru panchi - opai (katakana company name) plus royaru panchi Royal Punch written in romaji and katakana ￥85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ビタミン牛乳</td>
<td>bitamin gyunyu - milk with 'extra vitamins' ￥85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ヨーグリーナ</td>
<td>yogurina - both in romaji and katakana ￥78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>カルピスウォーター</td>
<td>karupisu wota - Calpis water in romaji on the can advert in katakana ￥80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>V8ドリンク</td>
<td>V8 dorink - eight vege's drink ￥68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>グアバジュース</td>
<td>guaba jusu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>キリンレモン</td>
<td>kirin remon - romaji on the can (kirin lemon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>リプトンティー</td>
<td>riputon ti - lipton tea in romaji on the can ￥85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>レモンティー</td>
<td>remon ti - lemon tea on the can in romaji: it's powder ￥898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ネスルミロ</td>
<td>nessuru miro - nestle milo - miro in romaji on the pack ￥398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ホットケーキミックス</td>
<td>hotto kekki mikkusu ready made flour with flavour for backing 'pancakes'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>スキムミルク</td>
<td>sukimu miruku skim milk ￥550</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ネスルブライト</td>
<td>nessuru buraito milk powder for coffee by Nestle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>ディコイ</td>
<td>dikoi a box with ducks decoys ￥3,480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Start with a number of swimming items titled:
Reja plus kaisuiyoku (in kanji for swimming in English 'leisure swimming')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2メンポートセット</td>
<td>2-men boto setto</td>
<td>set boat for two people ¥3,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3メンポートセット</td>
<td>3-men boto setto</td>
<td>set boat for three people ¥5,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>bichi boru</td>
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<td>taiya ukiwa</td>
<td>ukiwa - hiragana for swimming tyre shaped inflatable wheel</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>fantaji matto</td>
<td>fantasy air matress for water</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>ブルーホエールズ</td>
<td>buru hoeruzu</td>
<td>blue whale - in this case child's plastic toy for water</td>
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<td>品名</td>
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<td>冷蔵庫</td>
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夏季工作シリーズ

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<td>レジャー用品</td>
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ホームセンターきだ

営業時間/休息 9:00〜7:00

売り出し期間

7/26金 〜 28日

大駐車場完備

☎ 2-3535
### General Education Subjects in Upper Secondary Schools and the Number of Credits for Each Subject

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<td></td>
<td>English II</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oral Aural Communication A</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oral Aural Communication B</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Writing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>French</td>
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<td>General Home Economics</td>
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</table>

(Note) Thirty-five school hours of lessons per school year are counted as one credit. One school hour lasts 50 minutes.

Monbusho (1989); p. 25, Publication MESC-4-8901
# APPENDIX VIII

## NHK NETWORKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Kantsi</th>
<th>Kansai</th>
<th>Kanto</th>
<th>Nagoya</th>
<th>Tokai</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>General</strong></td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>KANTO TV PROGRAMS</strong></td>
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<td><strong>APR 36, 1973</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MBS</strong></td>
<td><strong>ABC</strong></td>
<td><strong>ITV</strong></td>
<td><strong>TV OSSAKA</strong></td>
<td><strong>CBC</strong></td>
<td><strong>TKE</strong></td>
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## KANSEI TELEVISION PROGRAMS

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<thead>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Channel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>**20:**00</td>
<td>Evening News</td>
<td>ABC, CNN, TV OSSAKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**20:**30</td>
<td>Evening News</td>
<td>ABC, CNN, TV OSSAKA</td>
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<tr>
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## NAGOYA TV PROGRAMS

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## RADIO PROGRAMS

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### APPENDIX VIII (cont.)

#### UHF TELEVISION

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<td>8:00 Cooking, 15 Shadows, Mythology, 32 Cinema Hits, 42 Safari, 26 Brazilian Park, 30 Fencing, 24 Preparatory Program</td>
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<td>9:00 To Kill the World, 30 Drama</td>
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<td>11:00 Hot Lunch Box, 54 Banana, 57 Psychology</td>
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APPENDIX IX (continued):

Table 17  The Japanese Journal of Experimental Medicine The University of Tokyo

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April 1984, Vol. 54 - Dec 1986, Vol. 56 (total 17 issues)


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Figure 42  Foreign language publications by Kwansei Gakuin between 1953 - 1991

- English
- German
- French
- Polish
### Table 19a Kwansei Gakuin University Annual Studies 1953 - 1991

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APPENDIX IX (continue):

Table 19b  Kwansei Gakuin University Annual Studies 1953 - 1991

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473
### Table 19e: Kwansei Gakuin University Annual Studies 1953 - 1991

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APPENDIX IX (continued):


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Figure 43


Table 21

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KEIO ECONOMIC STUDIES

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(b) The first page of the paper should include:
(i) the title of the paper
(ii) an abstract with less than 100 words
(iii) the name and institutional affiliation of the author

(c) Footnotes, especially those with complicated mathematical expressions, should be avoided if at all possible.

(d) References should be indicated by a reference number in square brackets. They should be listed together at the end of the paper.

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APPENDIX XI

The Faculty of Economics (Keizai-Gakubu),
Kobe University

The Faculty of Economics of Kobe University has its origin in Kobe Higher Commercial School, founded in 1903 by the Japanese Government. This school developed into Kobe University of Commerce in 1929 and changed its name to Kobe University of Economics in 1944. After the educational reforms of 1949, Kobe University of Economics became the nucleus of the present Kobe University; and the Faculty of Economics, together with its sister faculties, started a new life inheriting the legacies and traditions of its predecessors.

Fields of Study Offered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles of Economics</th>
<th>Economic Philosophy</th>
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<td>Mathematical Economics</td>
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<tr>
<td>History of Economics</td>
<td>Economic History of Europe and America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic History of Japan</td>
<td>Principles of Economic Policy</td>
</tr>
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<td>Agricultural Economics</td>
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<td>Social Policy</td>
<td>Public Finance</td>
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<td>Monetary Economics</td>
<td>Banking and International Finance</td>
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<td>International Economics</td>
<td>Foreign Trade Policy</td>
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<td>Foreign Economics</td>
<td>Economic Geography</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principles of Statistics</td>
<td>Econometrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Economics</td>
<td>Public Economics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Degrees Granted

Bachelor of Economics (Keizai-Gakushi)
Master of Economics (Keizai-Shushi)
Doctor of Economics (Keizai-gaku-Hakushi)

Publications

Kobe University Economic Review (in English and European) (published annually)
The Annals of Economic Studies (Keizai-gaku-byo-byu Nempo) (published annually)

The Journal of Economics and Business Administration (Kokumin-Keizai-Zasshi), founded in 1906, edited and published monthly by the Society of the Study of Economics and Business Administration (Keizai-Keiei Gakkai) of Kobe University, is one of the legacies of Kobe Higher Commercial School and contains many articles contributed by the Faculty members.

Office

The Faculty of Economics, Kobe University.
Rokko, Kobe, Japan
APPENDIX XII

PROFILE / ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE.

I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions and return the questionnaire to me either during the conference or send it to: Mr. Marek Kosciesza,

Yasuma Senior High School,
275 Tomonhiro, Ishigaki-shi,
Okinawa 907.

Instruction: Please mark one of the answers in the spaces provided (boxes) with either \( \square \) or \( \bigcirc \) (up to you).

1. Are you a) Female \( \square \), b) Male \( \bigcirc \), c) Age: under 30 \( \square \), 31-45 \( \square \), 46-59 \( \square \), 56-60 \( \square \).

2. In which region of Japan do you teach now? a) Rural \( \square \), Post-code \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \) b) Urban \( \bigcirc \), Post-code \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

3. Where do you teach now? a) Junior H.S. \( \square \), b) Senior H.S. \( \bigcirc \), c) Other \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), specify \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

4. How many years have you been teaching English? \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

5. How many classes/periods do you teach in a week? \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

6. What's the average size of your English classes? \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

7. Have you ever studied English in an English speaking country? a) Yes \( \bigcirc \), No \( \square \).

8. How do you assess your overall ability as compared to a native speaker of English in the following areas:
   a) Understanding \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), b) Speaking \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), c) Writing \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), d) Reading \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), e) Poor, Fair, Good, Very good, Excellent.

9. In your English classes which area of teaching do you emphasise most?
   a) Grammar \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), b) Translation \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), c) Speaking \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), d) Writing \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), e) Reading \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), f) Western culture \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), g) Communication \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), h) Other \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), specify \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

10. What kind of materials do you use in your English classroom for teaching English?
    a) Hombreho prescribed textbook \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), b) Newspapers & magazines \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    c) Videos \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), d) Materials with games \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), e) a & b combined \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    f) a & c combined \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), g) a & d combined \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), h) Other \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \), specify \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).

11. Do you ever use English outside your school/classroom? If so, please specify:
    a) When \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    b) Where \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    c) With/to whom \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    d) For what purposes \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \),
    e) How often \( \underline{\underline{\cdots}} \).
### Post-codes which were stated by some of the respondents

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Note: 29 respondents did not specify the post-code (zip code).
Letter 1.

"Why internationalization should mean Americanization"

"I want to thank Paul Diss-Holland (Nov 2, 1988) for giving the word internationalization a sensible meaning - the equivalent of Americanization ... [t]hat is why we seek a single international monetary unit, a single open market, and an international language. Yes, a single language, not a tongue fractured by regional variations of English themes. And that single language can only be American English. I don't mean to hurt the British by not opting for their obscolescent dialect" (Japan Times November 16, 1988).

Letter 2.

"Pure English must be protected"

"America's language heritage is from England, lest he forget. Unfortunately, there appears to have been very little effort spent in teaching it properly" (Japan Times November 26, 1988).

Letter 3.

"That hideous American English"

"...It is a well known fact that most intelligent Japanese adults want to learn the queen's English, rather than the bastardized form of English spoken in America and other former British colonies, yet the Japanese Ministry of Education stubbornly insists that all school children must learn American English [news to me]. Almost every day I hear one of my students utter some hideous
American word such as 'sidewalk, cookie, elevator, restroom' etc. and they are always shocked to hear that these are not real English words. As long as Japanese school-children are taught only watered-down American English, and are never exposed to the great classics of English literature, the English of the Japanese will continue to be the laughing stock of the world" (Japan Times December 13, 1988).

Letter 4.

"Get off your high horses"

"A recent letter suggesting that only American English is the most authentic form, merits commenting on. ...As things stand today, Americans have screwed up the language enough. We don't need future shocks like our-English is the-only-correct-form-of-English. A BIG NO. Hey, come on, get off your high horses, ye blokes" (Japan Times December 13, 1988).

Letter 5.

"Americans barely Manage to survive"

"A letter written in the Queen's English never fails to attract American readers. They can no more to resist it than a dog can stop its tail wagging at the sight of its master" (The Daily Yomiyuri November 26, 1988).
APPENDIX XIV (continued):

Letter 6.

"England's English is best"

"If the English really do speak better English, it's because they care about the language, and Americans don't...American English is full of cheery, meaningless, democratic phrases like 'have a nice day', 'take care', which are used by everyone from the president on down.

The English on the other hand, use language as a weapon. They do not want you to have a nice day. They want you to pay attention. An English television broadcast is more like a college lecture than a variety show...So the English have a big cultural advantage when it comes to speech. They are language snobs, and the snob can always sound superior to the democratic man..." (Special to Nwesday, US, reprinted in the Daily Yomiyuri March 29, 1990).

Commentary:

"Down Under, reality is in the eye of the beholder"

"When the Japanese go to Australia they have certain expectations (E) of what they will experience (R)" and goes on giving the following example: "Expectation: Australians speak English. Reality: half yer luck, mate, if yer kin get a clue to one word in ten" (Les Jones (1990) Japan Times Weekly January 13).
PROFILE/ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE (AET on JET programme)

I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions and return the questionnaire to me either during the conference or send it to:
Mr. Marek M. Koscielecki,
Yaezama Senior High School,
275 Tonoshiro, Ishigaki-shi,
Okinawa 907.

Instruction: Please tick off one of the answers in the spaces provided.

1. Are you a a) Female , b) Male , c) age: under 25 , 25-30 , 30-35 , above 35

2. Are you a trained teacher? a) yes , b) no , if no, go to question 4.

3. Are you a teacher of? a) English , b) ESL/EFL , c) other (specify):

4. In which region of Japan do you teach now? a) rural , Post-code

   b) Urban , Post-code

5. Where do you teach now? a) Junior H.S. , Senior H.S. , c) other:

6. How many schools do you visit? Please specify: 15

7. How do you assess the overall English ability of the Japanese English teacher as compared to a native speaker of English?
   a) understanding
   b) speaking
   c) writing
   d) reading

   poor , fair , good , very good , excellent

8. What kind of materials do you use in your English classes when teaching with JET?
   a) Honbusho textbooks
   b) newspapers/magazines
   c) Videos
   d) materials with games
   e) a & b combined
   f) a & c combined
   g) a & d combined
   h) other specify:

Please turn over.
9. In each of these areas what is the main form in which English is used (tick one or more)?

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<th>Listening</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Writing</th>
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</thead>
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<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
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<td>□</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) when travelling</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) in recreation</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) at university</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
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</table>

10. How much does the average educated Japanese person actually use English?

<table>
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<th>Area</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) at school</td>
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<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) at home</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) in business</td>
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<td>e) in recreation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) at university</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Please comment: Why do you think, after studying for 6 years, Japanese students have a difficulty in expressing simple ideas in English?

Comment: a neglected role, not given at the above command either.

---

Thank you for your cooperation.

Marek K.
APPENDIX XVI

Teachers at Language Schools affiliated to a Business Enterprise

Profile/Attitude Questionnaire

Instruction:
Please tick off (cross) one or more answers if needed.

1. Are you a
   a) Female [ ]
   b) Male [ ]
   c) a native speaker [ ]
   d) a non-native speaker of English [ ]

2. What’s your age?
   a) under 25 [ ]
   b) 25–30 [ ]
   c) 31–35 [ ]
   d) 36–40 [ ]
   e) 41–45 [ ]
   f) above 45 [ ]

3. Are you a trained teacher of ESL/EFL or have you got a degree/diploma in applied linguistics with TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages)?
   a) Yes [ ]
   b) No [ ]
   If the answer is NO what is your major?

4. In which region of Japan do you teach now?
   a) rural [ ]
   b) urban [ ]

5. How long have you been teaching English at this company/school? [ ] years
   [ ] months

6. How many classes/hours do you teach in a week? [ ] classes for [ ] hour.

7. What is the average size of your English classes? [ ] people.

8. What is the average age of your students? [ ] years.

9. If you are a trained ESL/EFL teacher, do you think the teaching of EFL or ESP (English for special purposes) at this organization/school reflects the present trends in education or linguistics in regard to ESL/EFL theory?
   a) Yes [ ]
   b) No [ ]
   If the answer is NO, please state why?

497
### APPENDIX XVI (continued):

10. How do you assess the overall English ability of the Japanese businessperson as compared to an educated native speaker of English?

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<th>Fair</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Very Good</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>c) Reading</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please comment on this if you wish:

11. In your opinion how much does the average educated Japanese person actually use English?

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>b) At home</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) When travelling</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) In recreation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) In business</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please comment on this if you wish:

12. In your opinion what is the main form in which English is used by businesspeople you teach? (Please circle an appropriate number.)

<table>
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<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>None</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) Listening</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>d) Writing</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. How much access do your students have to English outside the classroom?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Great Deal</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Books</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Newspapers/newspapers</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Technical journals</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Videos/tapes</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) English speakers to talk to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Students/Businessmen at Japanese corporations

1. Are you a
   a) Female ☐
   b) Male ☐

2. What is your age? .......

3. In which of the following areas do you work?
   a) manufacturing ☐
   b) trading ☐
   c) finance ☐
   d) research ☐
   e) engineering ☐
   d) others: ______________________

4. How many years have you been studying English including your junior/senior high school?

5. How many years have you been studying English in your present courses?

6. Have you ever studied English in an English speaking country?
   a) Yes ☐
   b) No ☐
   if YES, how many years? .......

7. How do you assess your overall English ability as compared to an educated native speaker of English in the following areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>fair</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
<th>excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) understanding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLEASE NOTE: 499

Special Instruction for questions 8, 9, and 10.

When answering the following questions please use the numbers from 1 to 5: one(1) being the first most important and five(5) being the least important.
8. Which areas in the learning of English do you find most important?
   a) reading    b) speaking    c) writing
   d) listening   c) grammar

9. Which areas do you find most difficult in learning English?
   a) reading    b) speaking    c) writing
   d) listening   c) grammar

10. Which areas of English have you improved in most while studying at the language school/institute?
    a) reading    b) speaking    c) writing
    d) listening   c) grammar

11. Please state in what form you use English?

   a) reading
   b) writing
   c) speaking (face to face)
   d) speaking (on the phone)
   e) translating (documents, letters)
   f) listening (films, radio/TV news)

12. What is your purpose in studying English?
   a) self study
   b) to communicate with English speaking people
   c) for business
   d) to learn English (British/American) culture

13. Which do you think is the most influential variety of English in Japan?
   (cross or tick off just one box)
   a) American English
   b) British English
   c) other (please specify): ..........................
Business Corporation in Japan

Company name: ___________________________ Date: ________

I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions for the purpose of collecting sociolinguistic data about the use of English in Japan.

Please state whether you agree to the acknowledgment of your participation in this survey in the bibliographical table of this research - if you do not agree the name of your organization will be kept confidential.

1. Yes, I do [ ]
2. No, I do not [ ]

Instruction: Please mark (tick off) one or more of the answers in the spaces provided with either [x] or [v]
Questions

APPENDIX XVIII (continued)

I. Does your corporation/organization have branches overseas?

1. No

2. Yes

   a) in an English speaking country

   b) in a non-English speaking country

II. How many employees are working for your corporation in Japan?

1. Number of employees: __________

   a) number (or %) of male employees: __________

   b) number (or %) of female employees: __________

III. Does your organization provide language classes for its employees?

1. No If the answer is NO you do not have to finish the rest of this questionnaire. If the answer is YES,

2. Yes please go ahead.
IV. Do you have a permanent language training centre/school?

1. YES 

2. NO 

a) If yes, please specify the languages taught: 

b) If no, please specify how you go about providing language classes:

APPENDIX XVIII (continu

V. What is the percentage (or number) of your employees engaged in language classes?

1. In English classes: 

2. In other languages: 

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IV. Do you have a permanent language training centre/school?

1. YES

2. NO

a) if yes, please specify the languages taught:

b) If no, please specify how you go about providing language classes:

APPENDIX XVIII (continued):

V. What is the percentage (or number) of your employees engaged in language classes?

1. In English classes: 

2. In other languages: 

503
VI. How often do your employees encounter English speakers at the work-place in Japan?

1. Often □
2. Rarely □
3. Never □

VII. Will your employees receive better remuneration after successfully completing the language course?

1. No □
2. Yes □

VIII. What is the average age of your students?

1. Female: _____
2. Male: _____

IX. What is the percentage of either sexes attending language classes?

1. Female: _____ %  
2. Male: _____ %
X. What is the basic purpose of the language instruction you offer?

1. General educational improvement: 

2. Human resource development: 

3. Improving cultural awareness of your employees about an overseas country: 

4. Posting employees overseas so they could work for your subsidiary there: 

5. Posting employees overseas in order to study at a university there: 

6. Improving your employees performance on the job: 

7. General staff self-improvement - anyone can attend if they wish to do so: 

If you have answered 4, 5, 6, and 7 as the possible alternatives, could you please state the number of your language students to be posted to (in a yearly basis):

a) A company overseas: ____________________________

b) A university: ____________________________

c) Attending classes of their own choice: ____________________________
XI. Who are your English teachers?

1. Japanese teachers of English (number or percentage): 

2. Native speakers of English (number or percentage): 

From USA 

UK 

CAN 

AUST 

NZ 

other, please specify: 

XII. What are the qualifications of your English teachers (please state in number or percentage)?

1. University graduates in subjects other than language teaching: 

2. University graduates with a major in English literature: 

3. University graduates with a major in foreign lang./or Japanese: 

4. Univ. graduates with TESOL/TEFL (teaching English to speakers of other languages/teaching English as a foreign language): 

5. PhD holders: 

6. Others, please specify: 

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XIII. Could you please specify what type of courses your language centre provides (e.g. elementary, ESP, etc)?

XIV. Does your language centre use language instructors in team-teaching situations?
1. Yes □
2. No □

XV. Does your organization use the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) in order to assess English skills of your employees?
1. Yes □
2. No □

XVI. What is the overall expenditure of your organization on language training?

¥ ____________

XVII. Please feel free to make any comments you wish:
Reader B. Wendehall puts forth the argument that the Japanese are butchering English by their playful disregard of form, function and tradition ... Happily, the Japanese can now be counted among the creative contributors to English. Not only have the Japanese mastered a second language to the extent of being able to manipulate it artistically, but they also have enriched the language, thereby continuing the spirit of internationalization.

3. T. Baines

Japanese Use English as Decoration. Japan Times April 19, 1992 (p. 20)

"If English is an international language as so often claimed, then it does not 'belong' to any country... Wendehall might enjoy his Japanese experience more if he learns to stop worrying and appreciate the Japanese use of English as a decorative art form ... The form, as usual in Japan, should not be confused with the function. The purpose is not communicative, it's decorative. So here's my message to Wendehall 'we fluffy bears like cute English writing all over everything, smile Wendehall and don't spoil the picnic'.

John Bougill