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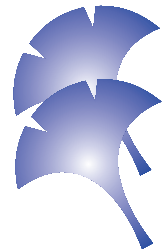
Patrick Heinrich and Yuko Sugita (eds.)

Japanese as Foreign Language in the Age of Globalization



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Preface

Patrick Heinrich and Yuko Sugita (University of Duisburg-Essen)

Despite the oft-pronounced view that the twenty-first century constitutes the "Asian century", Asian languages remain marginally treated throughout Europe. Language learning and exchange programmes in the European Community, for instance, continue to neglect non-Western languages, despite the fact that demand for East Asian languages such as Japanese, Chinese and Korean is growing across Europe. As it stands, the current language education policies in Europe do not fully reflect the changes brought about by the forces of globalisation.

This book originates in a symposium on Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) convened at the University of Duisburg-Essen in March 2006. The symposium was inspired by the observation that globalisation exerts an ever-growing pressure on language choices, linguistic behaviour and language policies in large parts of the world. Such changes notwithstanding, much of current foreign-language education is still being pursued according to teaching paradigms and ideological views of language that arose in the age of modernisation, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the symposium, we examined current paradigms and practices with a particular focus on the pressures and changes within established practices in relation to new insights into the cognitive processes of foreign language learning. Three topics were discussed in relation to JFL: (1) new learners and/or new paradigms; (2) interaction in contact situations; and (3) cognitive processes in language learning. The first issue is addressed by the contributions of Bernard Spolsky, Tessa Carroll, Christian Galan, Shikama Ayako and Patrick Heinrich. Interaction in contact situations is addressed in the papers by Jiří V. Neustupný and Sau Kuen Fan, while cognitive processes are considered in the contributions by Yoshioka Keiko, Ando Yuka, Gerhard Dillmann, Sugita Yuko and Irina Shport. Existing teaching practices cannot, however, be enriched by research in language learning and teaching alone. Commitment from language teachers is indispensable, and we hope that this publication will provide an incentive for more discussion and research into these three topics.

The conference and this book would not have been possible without a conference grant by the Japan Foundation, and the support of the Alumni and Friends of East Asian Studies in Duisburg (AlFreDO) and the Faculty of Humanities at Duisburg-Essen University. This support is gratefully

acknowledged here. We owe further thanks to Yoshioka Kaoru who assisted in preparing the symposium and discussed many of the papers with us, and to Tessa Carroll for helping us to render our international varieties of English more consistent and reader-friendly. We are also grateful to Florian Coulmas for his continuous support and his willingness to publish this book as part of the monograph series of the German Institute for Japanese Studies.

Neither the conference nor the book would ever have happened without the presence of Jiří V. Neustupný at Duisburg-Essen University during the winter semester 2004–05. Jiří shared his insights into JFL with us and encouraged us to address issues relating to JFL in Europe. Hoping that this publication marks only the start of more research to come, we dedicate this book to him with our gratitude.

Japanese in European language education policy

Bernard Spolsky (Bar-Ilan University)

Abstract

The paper explores the intersection of two models, a model of the conditions for second language learning (Spolsky 1989) and a model of language policy (Spolsky 2004) expanded to deal with language management. The conditions models proposed that to account for the learning of an additional language, one needs to consider a large number of conditions grouped roughly into current language knowledge, ability and language learning aptitude, motivation and attitude, and exposure. The language policy model distinguishes between language practices, language beliefs (including attitudes) and language management; the latter is further divided in management of language status, management of language form, and language education policy. Because of the complex interaction between the many parts of these two models in any society, the treatment of a specific issue like the teaching of Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) in Europe in the age of globalisation involves considering a cluster of factors. Two of the most important are motivation and exposure, which set major challenges for language educators.

1. Japanese in European language policy

It has been a great honour to participate in this symposium, not as an expert in the topic, but as a student of educational linguistics and language policy eager to learn the specific problems of one case of language education policy. In this paper, I want to explore the intersection of two models. The first is the model of the conditions for second language learning that I developed 25 years ago (Spolsky 1989). The second is the model of language policy (Spolsky 2004) that I have recently presented and that I am currently expanding into a possible theory of language management (Spolsky 2007b). Connecting the two is the claim that educational linguistics (Spolsky 2003; Spolsky and Hult (2008) is most usefully seen as the body of techniques available for the implementation of language education policy (Spolsky 2007a). My goal in this paper is not to

offer solutions, but to set out a model that should contribute to understanding the nature of the problems that are being faced.

Essentially, the effect of this approach is to contextualize language learning in two relevant contexts, the neuro-psychological and social. The conditions model aimed to embody, as it were, language learning both in the brain and in the mind. It developed originally on the basis of J. B. Carroll's (1962) pioneering model for the prediction of success in instruction. Briefly, Carroll recognised that achievement in language learning depended on three clusters of characteristics of the learner and the learning situation: ability (he was particularly concerned with developing a test of language learning aptitude (J. B. Carroll and Sapon 1955, 1957), motivation, and opportunity to learn. In the behaviourist terms of the day, Carroll characterised these factors as the speed with which someone would learn, how long they would be willing to sit at the learning task, and how long they would be exposed to instructional material. In my book, I developed this as seventy-four conditions for learning, some of them necessary conditions but most typicality conditions contributing to the strength of prediction. The model recognised certain innate qualities (including the possibility of a biologically derived universal grammar basic to contemporary Chomskyan views of language acquisition) and added to the Carroll model a fourth factor specially relevant to second language learning, namely existing knowledge of the first language and what had already been learnt of the second. Knowledge of the first language was the basis for the interest in second language pedagogy in what was called contrastive analysis (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1975; Spolsky 1979); previous experience learning a second language was also recognised as a major cause of difficulty: the notion of interlanguage developed (Corder 1967).

The conditions model then held that predicting future knowledge, skills, and proficiency in a second language depended on knowing the learner's present level of knowledge of the second language as well as the distance of the target language (its sound system, its lexicon, its morphology and syntax, its semantics and pragmatics) from the learner's own first language. (It will be noted that several of the papers at the conference focused essentially on comparisons of Japanese with languages of prospective learners: see Ando, Yoshioka and Eschbach-Szabo in this volume). The conditions model depended also on the learner's ability, including general intelligence, memory, acuity of hearing and vision, strategies for learning, and language aptitude which included specifically phonemic memory and syntactic sensitivity (J. B. Carroll and Sapon 1957). The third factor was motivation, derived from the learner's attitude to the language and to its speakers and varying in strength and in kind; a

distinction being made between instrumental and integrative motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Lambert 1969) and other desire for self-identity (Spolsky 1999) as expressed in language (The paper by Galan in this volume deals specifically with student motivations).

The final relevant factor was the amount and kind of input. The number of hours or days or months available for second language learning is clearly a major factor: the pressure to begin second language learning as early as possible or the use of intensive full-time programs to make up for a late start recognises this. There are a number of critical dimensions associated with input. Is it simply the unorganised exposure of the normal language use, or is it the highly structured presentation associated with formal language teaching (Ellis 2007)? Does it occur in a first, second, or foreign language environment? How does the audience (teacher, fellow students, and lay native speakers) react to learn output? Is the learner interacting with a human speaker or with a computer or other machine, or with a printed book? (See Eschbach-Szabo for a discussion in this volume).

While the conditions model did recognise some social aspects, if I were to rewrite the book now I would want to stress four major changes. The first would be to put greater emphasis on the social context of language learning: one does not so much learn a language as learn how to use a language for specific functions in specific social situations. The second would be to stress that language is more than an individual matter, depending fundamentally on constructive interaction with other people. I have noticed how my own fluency and proficiency in Hebrew depends on my interlocutor: I have one friend, a natural language teacher, with whom I speak most easily and from whom I learn most comfortably. The third would be to stress the complexity of motivation. From the beginning of Lambert's classic work (Lambert 1969; Gardner and Lambert 1972), interesting questions were raised about the difficulty of distinguishing instrumental from integrative motivation. How do you classify the motivation of someone learning a language in order to get a job working with speakers of the language? The issue of directionality (does motivation cause or result from proficiency) brushed aside early by Gardner has re-emerged as an open question (Spolsky 2000). Finally, there is the need to draw attention to the constraints on opportunity and output established by those controlling the language learning situation. An obvious example is the limitation of hours of teaching and the absence of limitation on the number of students in the class.

As I remarked earlier, I would start now not with pedagogical issues but with language education policy. Language policy, I suggest, has three major interrelated but independent components. The first of these is

language practices: the actual functions and choices of language varieties making up the sociolinguistic ecology of the speech community. These choices, as Hymes (1967, 1974) showed many years ago and as Labov (1966, 1972) and a great deal of research strikingly confirmed, are not chaotic or haphazard but constitute a recognised set of patterns or rules established for a specific speech community. The sum of these choices, the features preferred, and the varieties into which these features cluster, constitute the language practices of a defined community, and implement the "real" language policy of the community. The second component consists of the beliefs (or ideology) of the members of the community – not what they do, but what they think they should do and why. The belief in the value and inevitability of monolingualism accounts for the difficulties of language teaching in the United States and also in Japan; the contrasting acceptance of multilingualism in India helps account for the corresponding individual plurilingual proficiency. The disdain for foreign languages or for specific stigmatised languages or varieties is similarly critical in explaining success or failure of language programs (in this volume, Carroll deals with Japanese attitudes to foreign speakers). The third component, and the one with which I am currently most concerned, is what I call language management – others call it language planning. Language management can be defined as efforts made by an individual or group that has or that claims authority over others to modify their language practices or beliefs. A nation that sets in its constitution a national official language just as much as a parent who tries to encourage a child to speak at heritage language are equally involved in language management.

Language management too divides comfortably into three related but potentially autonomous components. The first two were defined originally by Kloss (1966, 1969). One he called status planning, the determination of what specific functions a variety should serve within the speech community. The higher status is presumably to be the official national language of a nation-state, although sometimes this is challenged by a sacred function, the transmission of the sacred texts of an established religion. In Arabic-speaking countries, for example, Classical Arabic is constitutionally stated to be the official language, although most ordinary speech is in the local vernacular variety such as Egyptian Arabic or Palestinian Arabic, and an even higher status is preserved for the original language of the Qur'an. In Thailand, it is assumed that everybody speaks Thai, although most people do not know the official high variety (Smalley 1994). Struggles over status dominate the internal language policy of the European community. The efforts to replace Spanish by Catalan and Basque in the autonomous regions and to replace English by French in Quebec and by

Welsh in Wales are concerned with status. Another critically important function is use in the school system as medium of instruction.

Kloss labelled the second component "corpus planning" by which he meant modification of the form of language itself. Clearly, this is closely related to the first component, for a change in the status of a language and the other functions it is to perform regularly makes it necessary to modify its form. An official language (and a school language no less) need to be standardised (to have a grammar book and a dictionary) and to have a writing system. A school medium needs a modernised lexicon and greater elaboration if it is to be used at higher levels. Status and corpus planning then are closely related, and as Fishman (2006) has now shown, regularly have similar motivations.

The third component of language management was recognised by Cooper (1989) who called it language acquisition planning. It is basically a decision on which non-speakers of a variety should learn it, and is what I call language education policy. It ranges over a wide gamut from decisions in the home on the varieties that children should use through school language policies to governmental language diffusion policies. Our presence at this conference is thanks to the diffusion policies of the Japanese government, and one of the loudest complaints at the conference was the relatively low status accorded to Japanese language teaching in European schools.

With this rather lengthy theoretical introduction, I turn now to some remarks focusing specifically on Japanese language policy and on the teaching of Japanese in Europe.

Historically, Japan has been firmly monolingual and while it is clear that it has not been impervious to other cultures, whether the extensive influences from Chinese over the centuries or from the western world in the last century, there remains a strong tendency to resist recognition of actual multilingualism. There have been recent recognitions of minority languages like Korean (Lee 2002), international languages like English (Heinrich 2007), and even of indigenous dying languages (Maher 2001). Public signs in Japan give evidence of increasing multilingualism (Backhaus 2007).

There have been changes in Japanese language policy especially resulting from increasing international language migration (Taki 2005). Starting in 1939, 2 million Koreans and 40,000 Chinese workers were conscripted and brought to Japan, as were 200,000 prostitutes from Korean, China, and elsewhere. Over the next 25 years, there were some population and ideological changes and the myth of "ethnic homogeneity" began to prevail: Korean and Taiwanese immigrants became politically invisible. Starting in 1970, and even more intensively since 1990s, there

has been a regular migration from many different countries. By 2000, 1.7 million foreign residents were registered with local government authorities. This posed a major problem for legal processes, as Japanese law requires that any Japanese be spoken during any investigation or public trial. The resulting language barrier was seen to threaten the validity of evidence. One attempted solution was to hire Court interpreters. By 2000, there were 3,400 police officers trained as interpreters, and 5,300 external interpreters were being hired. In the courts too, interpreters were being used, so that by 1997, interpreters were used in 85 percent of public trials involving foreigners in Japan. Efforts have also been made to improve the quality of interpreting and move the cost of providing interpreters to the public prosecutor. The election system has come to recognize the multilingualism of Japanese society.

However, the new Japanese education Minister has proclaimed again an isolationist mono-cultural policy of the kind that led to the excesses of Japanese imperial ambitions in the 1930s and 1940s (Katsuragi 2005). If this is restricted to language diffusion, well and good, but if it comes to block teaching of other languages inside Japan, one has reason to fear. At least the imperial enforcement of Japanese language on conquered peoples in Korea and Formosa has now been replaced by diffusion policy modelled on that of France and Germany.

But there are ideological problems, such as the presentation of the educated polite Japanese native speaker as the principal goal of teaching Japanese as Foreign Language (Heinrich 2005). While there have been changes in the use of honorific language in Japan Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) textbooks continue to stress it (T. Carroll 2005).

Overseas, the teaching of Japanese depends on changing social context and economic reality. During the period of rapid Japanese economic growth in the post-war period, there was a natural increase in the demand for Japanese language teaching in many parts of the world. One thinks for example of the official recognition of Japanese as Foreign Language in Australian pragmatic language policies (Lo Bianco and Wickert 2001). The emergence of China as a major world economic power is posing a serious challenge to Japanese.

The teaching of JFL naturally varies in the different regions. In Japan itself, the focus is on Japanese for foreigners and immigrants. In Asia, where there are close economic contacts, its relevance is high. This is true of some Pacific nations. In Europe, the main motivation is economic, leading to a major European Union programme in the 1990s to train a small elite group of young business executives in the language. Programs in schools and universities tend to be small and to attract only a small number of enthusiasts.

Applying the conditions model to Japanese foreign language teaching in Europe, a number of critical issues become clear. The first concerns goals of instruction. The European Union now encourages its members to teach two foreign languages. The reason for this number is that in almost every country, English is completely established as the first foreign language; by requiring two foreign languages, it is assumed that there will be space in the curriculum for teaching other major European languages such as French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Japanese then must compete for the already limited position of a third foreign language, and to the extent that there is some acceptance of the need to teach Asian languages, it is presumably, competing with the growing status of Chinese. This means that it will remain an elite language, with presumably small classes and associated high expense. The question then arises as to whether to focus on basic or advanced mastery. Given Japanese attitudes to non-native speakers, there is considerable doubt as to the worth of basic teaching for communicative purposes – obviously, there is benefit to the learner in knowing something about a different language system, but a beginner cannot expect the same encouragement that a beginning speaker of Italian commonly receives. As a result, the difficult challenge of achieving high levels of proficiency seems inevitable.

Another question is whether to concentrate on teaching speaking or reading. It is not clear that this is really a choice, as witness the problems produced by United States acceptance in 1929 (Coleman 1929) of limiting foreign language teaching goals to reading and the need to develop intensive programs for the Armed Forces in the Second World War to provide some oral proficiency. Complicating this issue are the difficulties of teaching the Japanese written language (Galan 2005).

Understanding student motivation and adapting the teaching to it constitute another challenge. Most traditional language teachers, trained in the literature and culture of their language, prefer to adopt a cultural orientation to the teaching. However, a large number of learners have a strictly pragmatic or instrumental orientation: they are learning the language for some clearly perceived use.

The final group of issues arise directly from language education policy in the countries where Japanese is being taught as a foreign language. Essentially, the question is to provide an adequate opportunity for language learning. During the Second World War, American linguists who had been involved in the armed services training program (Spolsky 1995) attempted to persuade their universities to provide intensive foreign language programs in the first year (Cowan and Graves 1944; Pottle, Buck, DeVane and Hubbell 1944). None accepted this, but there was some agreement to provide a six-hour rather than a three-hour course in the

first semester. Intensive programs were reserved for government-supported language training at the graduate level in select languages deemed to be in the national interest. The European Union programme for young businessmen learning Japanese followed this principle, but in most cases, the number of hours available for teaching makes it extremely unlikely that students will reach a satisfactory level of proficiency (see Galan in this volume).

Combining these two theoretical models to consider the teaching of Japanese as foreign language in European countries does not, I hasten to point out, produce solutions: what it does rather is to permit focusing on the fundamental problems crying out for solution.

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Japanese as a Foreign Language in the early twenty-first century – policy, learners and native speakers

Tessa Carroll

Abstract

Japanese as a Foreign Language is expanding both in terms of numbers of learners and teachers and of the number of countries where it is taught. Between 1979 and 2003, the number of people learning Japanese worldwide grew from 127,000 to 2.35 million, and the language is now being learnt in at least 127 different countries and regions. What implications do these developments have for policy on JFL teaching? How might the broadening range of learners affect teaching approaches? What impact might they have on the language itself? How are Japanese people responding to greater numbers of people interacting with them in their own language, and to the different communities of learners? How would Japan's language planners like the public to respond? Is Japanese becoming more of an international language? This paper explores some of the many issues raised by the expansion of Japanese as a Foreign Language at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

1. Introduction

Six years into the twenty-first century, Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) is expanding, in terms both of numbers of learners and teachers and of the number of countries where it is taught. This paper explores some of the many issues raised by the expansion of Japanese as JFL a century and a half on from the country opening up to the rest of the world. In trying to provide a broad overview of what is happening in JFL from the different perspectives of policy, learners and native speakers, I am often raising more questions that I am answering.

2. EXPANSION: THE FIGURES

A useful starting point is to analyse data on JFL gathered over the last two-and-a-half decades by the Japan Foundation, which has been conducting regular surveys of overseas educational institutions teaching Japanese language since 1979. The number of people learning Japanese worldwide grew enormously between 1979 and 2003, from 127,000 to 2.35 million. Between the surveys conducted in 1998 and 2003, the numbers of institutions, teachers, and learners had increased by 11.8 percent, 20.0 percent, and 12.1 percent respectively (Japan Foundation 2003a). These increases over a five-year period are all the more noteworthy given that this was at a time when the Japanese economy was still stagnating. The "surge of Japanese" described in Florian Coulmas' (1989) paper has continued unabated.

As one might expect, the largest numbers of learners, 60 percent, are concentrated in Japan's neighbouring countries in East Asia. Next comes Oceania with 17.6 percent, followed by Southeast Asia (8.7 percent), and North America (6.8 percent). Together, the Asia and Oceania region covers about 90 percent of all the learners. South Korea has the largest number of learners, about 890,000 people, or 37.9 percent of the world's Japanese-language learners. China is in second place (about 390,000), followed by Australia (about 380,000). These three countries cover approximately 70 percent of the world's learners of Japanese (Japan Foundation 2003a). It is interesting to note that Korea has over twice as many people learning Japanese as does China, despite the latter's vastly greater population. China is focusing instead on English, with an explosion of provision of English teaching in public and private institutions over the past decade or so (Quiang and Wolff, n. d.). Nevertheless, Japanese is still the second most widely taught foreign language in China (Coulmas 1989: 125).

Japanese is being studied in more and more countries. According to the Japan Foundation's 2003 survey, the language is now taught in at least 127 different countries and regions, and in 16 new countries since the 1998 survey. Expansion is particularly noticeable in the Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe (Japan Foundation 2003a).[1]

Japanese teaching is concentrated at different levels of education in different countries. In Korea, Australia, Indonesia, and New Zealand, the majority of the learners are in primary and secondary schools, whereas in

[1] The full list of new countries is: the Maldives, Samoa, Vanuatu, Palau, Iceland, Andorra, Luxembourg, Tajikistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova, Yemen, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Benin, and Botswana.

China and Taiwan, more than 50 percent of learners belong to higher educational institutions. In Brazil, nearly 80 percent of learners study Japanese in non-school institutions (Japan Foundation 2003a). The differences reflect the educational structures, language policies, and linguistic backgrounds of the respective countries. Australia and New Zealand have enjoyed large-scale promotion of Japanese as a major foreign language at school and university levels over the last couple of decades, for example, after the National Policy on Languages was introduced in 1987 in Australia. Japanese is now one of the most popular foreign languages in both countries. The 2003 Japan Foundation survey recorded 369,157 pupils at primary and secondary school level learning Japanese in Australia, and 26,012 in New Zealand (Japan Foundation 2003a). Japanese takes far longer for native speakers of English to acquire than European languages, so it is more effective for it to be introduced early in the education system. In Korea, Japanese is the first foreign language, relatively easy to learn because of similarities in grammar (Kurokawa 1992: 98). China has chosen to make English the main foreign language at school level, because of its role as the international language of commerce; in other words, promoting English is part of economic policy. The dominance of non-school institutions in Brazil is almost certainly a reflection of the Japanese government's policy of allowing immigration by the large numbers of *nikkeijin* [people of Japanese descent] from that country, as discussed later in this paper.

Although these students have a range of motivations, three major reasons are common to all educational levels and all countries: "interest in Japanese culture", "desire to communicate using Japanese" and "interest in the Japanese language". At the primary and secondary educational level, "understanding different cultures" and "preparation for examinations" are the key factors. In institutions of higher education, "finding employment" and "study abroad" are considered important. Non-school institutions have comparatively higher numbers of people citing broadly instrumental motivations: "finding employment", "need in present occupation", "study abroad", and "preparation for examinations". (Japan Foundation 2003a). These motivations therefore feature prominently in Brazil, where 80 percent of Japanese learners are in such non-school institutions. As mentioned above, for these learners, "finding employment" is likely to mean going to Japan.

3. IMPLICATIONS OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS FOR JFL TEACHING POLICY

3.1. TEACHING APPROACHES

How might the broadening range of learners – from primary schools through to higher education and non-school institutions, and from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds – affect teaching approaches?

One aspect to be considered is the dominance of non-native speaker teachers: 70 percent of Japanese-language teachers worldwide are non-native speakers, and only 20 percent of primary and secondary educational institutions have any native Japanese-language teachers (Japan Foundation 2003a). The level of Japanese competence of these teachers can be expected to vary, particularly depending on the level of classes, and will inevitably have an impact on what their students learn. The Japan Foundation notes the importance of "giving non-native Japanese language teachers a chance to visit Japan to improve their language proficiency, attain teaching methodologies, and place themselves in the Japanese cultural context" (Japan Foundation 2003b); in other words, to equip them better to teach "Japanese Japanese" (closer to Japanese as a second language, JSL).[2]

Teaching materials and methods need to be appropriate to the level and background of the students, taking into account the prevailing teaching methods and expectations in each country and the learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds: teaching Japanese in China is very different from teaching it in the UK. The Japan Foundation 2003 report indicates that materials and methods are lagging behind the expansion of JFL into such a large number of countries: approximately 40 percent of institutions mention resource problems such as a "lack of teaching materials" and a "lack of information about teaching materials and teaching methods" (Japan Foundation 2003a). In some countries, teaching materials using the learners' first language may not be available, so teachers have to produce their own materials; or use Japanese-only materials, such as those produced by the Japan Foundation; or teach via a third language, such as English.

[2] The term JSL is used to refer specifically to Japanese as taught to and used by people living long-term in Japan, whereas JFL refers to the language as used and taught (mainly) outside the country; cf. EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and ESL (English as a Second Language). Although there is obviously a great deal of overlap, the distinction is useful.

3.2. Impact on the Japanese language

What impact might be felt in the language itself, as the numbers of foreigners who can speak Japanese increase and Japanese loses its status as the language spoken almost exclusively by Japanese people? It is certainly no longer the case – indeed never was – that a Japanese person is someone who speaks Japanese or that someone who speaks Japanese is Japanese. I have argued in the past that it is unlikely that Japanese will be greatly influenced by foreigners using the language (Carroll 2001: 86), but this may not be the case in future, as the numbers of foreign speakers using Japanese, particularly within Japan, and interacting with Japanese people, go on growing. Tsuneyoshi (2004) discusses the various groups of "new" foreigners (as opposed to the "old" foreigners, the established Korean and Chinese populations) who are contributing to the process of Japan's "internal internationalization". As the numbers in these various groups increase and as people from a broader range of countries come to live in Japan on a temporary or more long-term basis, the potential for them to have an impact on language use will also grow. Shikama's paper (this volume) on the need for foreign care workers in Japan's rapidly ageing society is one example of how demographic change is having an impact on immigration, and may in turn influence language use.

Looking at discussions of how language use is changing in Japan, we see that the debate about deterioration in the language (*kotoba no midare*) that has long been a feature of popular perceptions of Japanese (Carroll 2001: 79–88) has so far tended to be attributed to changes within Japanese society, rather than to external influences. This is unlike the UK, where linguistic changes are frequently portrayed as the result of the negative influence of American English – or, more recently, thanks to the popularity of imported television soap operas, Australian English. There is, however, one example of linguistic change in Japanese that has been attributed to foreign influences, if not to foreign speakers: the spread of odd stress patterns and the trend to flatten out accents has been attributed to the growing number of returnees (*kikokushijo* – people who have lived and been educated abroad as children) appearing as TV newscasters (Carroll 2001: 86). Their experiences of other languages and cultures have an impact on their use of Japanese. The boundaries between Japanese and non-Japanese are being blurred by such individuals, who may function in and between different cultures – who can be said to be transcultural.

Another aspect of Japanese that might be influenced is honorific language (*keigo*). Foreign speakers of Japanese may be unable or unwilling to conform to the accepted norms of *keigo* use (see for example, Neustupný 2005: 309–310), and this may speed up changes in attitudes and use that

are already taking place within Japanese society, such as the shift from negative politeness towards positive politeness, and from hierarchy to solidarity (Carroll 2005; Murata n. d.).

3.3. RESPONSES OF THE JAPANESE GENERAL PUBLIC

There is certainly an awareness of the increase in the numbers of foreigners learning Japanese: a survey carried out by the National Language Section (*Kokugo-ka*) of the Agency for Cultural Affairs in 2001 found that 75.3 percent of those questioned said that they were aware that several million people were learning Japanese worldwide and that numbers were increasing (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 2002: 81). As for how Japanese people think foreigners cope with learning Japanese: back in 1991, a survey showed that 79 percent of those asked thought that Japanese was more difficult for foreigners to learn than other languages (NHK Hōsō Bunka Kenkyūjo 1993: 136). This is presumably largely based on the stereotypical idea of a foreigner (*gaikokujin* or, informally, *gaijin*) and on the long-standing notion of Japanese as a "difficult" language. The same survey found that between 35 percent and 48 percent of those surveyed said a foreigner was either someone of foreign nationality or someone who spoke a foreign language. However, more interestingly, 25 percent said "American", 15 percent said "a white person", and almost no-one said "Chinese", "Koreans resident in Japan", or "Asians". The latter groups are, of course, those who are more likely to be long-term residents in Japan and/or to have far less difficulty learning Japanese than the stereotypical American. The widely-held perception of Japanese as a difficult language, even for native speakers, has been criticized, notably by Roy Andrew Miller (1982), as mystification and as part of the "theories of Japaneseness" (*nihonjinron*) popularized in the 1970s and 1980s. However, Coulmas (1985: 255–256) posits an alternative explanation: that the rapid modernization of the language from the late nineteenth century onwards not only produced genuine practical difficulties, but also highlighted the issue of language in the general consciousness, an awareness that persists today. Coulmas also highlights the fact that the Japanese script is unarguably the most complex in the world, challenging even for native speakers. I would add that *keigo* [honorific language] is an area of sociolinguistic competence in which many Japanese feel themselves to be lacking and in which companies offer special training to new employees. There are, therefore, some good reasons why the average Japanese person considers his or her language to be difficult.

Despite the growing number of foreigners living in or visiting Japan, for most Japanese the extent of direct contact with them is still very

limited. Nevertheless, comparison of national surveys carried out by the Language Section showed an increase between 1995 and 2001 in the numbers of people who had spoken to foreigners. In 1995, only 5.4 percent of those surveyed said they had "frequently" been spoken to by foreigners within Japan in the last couple of years, compared to 63.1 percent who had never had such an experience. In the 2001 survey, these respective figures were 8.2 percent and 56.8 percent (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 2002: 85).

However, the answers to questions about what languages were used in these encounters are more difficult to interpret. In the 1995 survey, 30 percent said they were addressed by foreigners mainly in Japanese, and 36 percent were spoken to mainly in English; in the 2001 survey, 29.0 percent were addressed mainly in Japanese, 37.1 percent mainly in English, and 26.3 percent equally in both languages. The respondents were then asked in which language they replied: in 1995, 43.7 percent said mainly in Japanese, 12.2 percent said mainly in English, 39.3 percent said Japanese or English depending on the circumstances, and 4.0 percent said they either tried not to respond as far as possible or simply did not reply. In 2001, the figures were: mainly in Japanese (44.1 percent), mainly in English (16.7 percent) or in either these or another language depending on the situation (32.5 percent) (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 2002: 90). All these figures are very similar in both surveys.

In 1995 those who answered negatively to the first question were asked, "How would you reply if spoken to by a foreigner?" 43.8 percent said they would reply in Japanese, only 1.9 percent in English, and 28.2 percent in either Japanese or English depending on the situation. Interestingly, 12.8 percent said they would try not to reply if possible, and 6.7 percent said they would not respond (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 1995: 37–41). In the 2001 survey, the whole group was asked this question: 43.6 percent said they would reply mainly in Japanese, 7.7 percent mainly in English, 32.0 percent in Japanese or English depending on the situation, and 6.4 percent said they would try not to respond if possible (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 2002: 92). The larger percentages of people willing to respond (in any language) compared to the 1995 responses could be at least partly explained by the inclusion in the later survey of those who had already had encounters with foreigners.

Masamichi Sasaki's nationwide survey of attitudes of children, their parents and other adults towards globalization and national identity carried out in 2003 included a similar question: "Suppose you had an opportunity to speak with a foreigner in Japan. Even if you knew the foreigner's language, would you prefer to use Japanese?" While 64.4 percent of those over 60 answered in the affirmative, only 50.1 percent of

those aged 15–17 did, with 43.6 percent of this group saying they would not want to use Japanese (Sasaki 2004: 82). Greater confidence amongst this age group in their ability to use English, coupled with a desire to be "international" (*kokusaiteki*), seems a more likely explanation for the age-gap than a reluctance to hear foreigners speaking Japanese.

So how are Japanese people responding to greater numbers of people interacting with them in their own language, and to the different communities of learners, such as the Brazilian *nikkeijin* [people of Japanese descent], the western *gaikokujin* [foreigners], and the other Asians? Elsewhere in this volume, Shikama discusses how highly Japanese value language skills (and the cultural competence that is assumed to accompany them) in potential foreign workers. Nevertheless, the public also appears to be quite tolerant towards the kind of language that foreigners use. In a 1995 survey, 58.6 percent said that it did not matter if the Japanese that foreigners used was a little odd, so long as they communicated their meaning; 24.2 percent said any kind of Japanese was fine so long as they communicated their meaning; and only 12.7 percent said that foreigners should speak the language the same as Japanese people (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 1995: 35–42). The gradual acceptance of foreigners speaking Japanese can be attributed largely to the rapid increase in foreigners (students and workers) in Japan during the 1980s and 1990s. Tsuneyoshi Ryoko cites a 44.5 percent increase in the number of registered foreigners living in Japan in the decade up to 2002, as well as illegal immigrants, although the numbers are still low as a proportion of the total population (1.45 percent, of which the majority are Korean or of Korean descent) compared with other countries (2004: 60–61).

It is, however, true that expectations and tolerance levels vary considerably, depending on the origin of the foreigner. The obvious example of this is the problems faced by the South American *nikkeijin*, encouraged to come to Japan to fill the country's labour shortages after a vast increase in illegal immigration during the 1980s. The official reason given for allowing immigration by *nikkeijin*, regardless of occupation, in the Revised Immigration Law of 1990 was that they would fit more easily into Japanese society than other foreigners (Goodman 2004: 467). Richard Gunde (2004) discusses the ambiguous status of the Brazilian *nikkeijin*:

> "Most Japanese Brazilian migrants are second and third generation […] They speak little – often very little – Japanese. And typically whatever Japanese they may speak is nonstandard and perceived by native Japanese as countrified and "low class". […] At least initially, in the 1980s, Japanese tended to view the migrants as sufficiently Japanese that they should be subject to more or less the same mores

> as native Japanese. Thus, the migrants were not entitled to the same tolerance of difference accorded to most other foreigners. Inappropriate behavior that Japanese might find amusing in foreigners – since such behavior could be excused as the result of ignorance – they would find not the least bit amusing in Nikkeijin migrants, since they should know better. Even in bearing and demeanor – the way one carries oneself, the way one walks, one's physical gestures, and so on, all of which is of course deeply engrained and usually totally unconscious – Japanese Brazilians could be perceived as transgressing."

The paper by Yoshioka Keiko on speech-related gestures elsewhere in this issue indicates that it is very likely that factors such as subtle differences in gestural patterns accompanying speech may also contribute to negative perceptions of Brazilian *nikkeijin*. However, even in 1991, half of the Japanese people interviewed said they would not feel strange looking at someone who looked Japanese but could not speak the language, compared to 40 percent who said they would (NHK Hōsō Bunka Kenkyūjo 1993: 136).

3.4. Responses of Japanese language planners

In the early 1990s, two aspects of the impact of the expansion of Japanese amongst non-native speakers were considered by the National Language Council (*Kokugo Shingikai*): on the one hand, how to promote and improve the teaching and learning of Japanese as a Foreign or Second Language; and on the other, the need for Japanese people to adjust their attitudes towards foreigners using their language, as well as the effects that the growing number of non-native Japanese speakers might have on the language itself. Key issues included the following: what kind of Japanese should be taught to foreigners; how to promote Japanese abroad and where to focus these efforts; provision for Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) teaching for the growing number of foreign residents, including children, in Japan; and provision for extra tuition for returnees (Bunkachō 1995a: 140). How have things have developed since then?

Regarding the promotion of Japanese abroad, the last decade or so has seen a clear shift, with the Japan Foundation shifting funding away from Europe, North America and Australasia to focus on Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other regions where political and economic motivations are paramount. Meanwhile, within Japan, from the early 1990s, prefectural and local boards of education in areas with growing concentrations of foreign children and returnees began to offer special JSL assistance, providing guidebooks, workshops and assistant instructors. The Ministry of Education began collecting data on the numbers

of children requiring such assistance in 1991, and the 2002 figures were the highest up to that point (Tsuneyoshi 2004: 63–64), and are likely to continue to rise. In her study of schools in Kawasaki, Tsuneyoshi notes that returnees and the "newcomers" (children of foreign, mainly South American, immigrant workers) were placed in the same withdrawal classroom for Japanese and other subjects, despite their very different linguistic, socioeconomic and family backgrounds and their very different needs (2004: 72–73). This indicates that, although steps have been taken to meet the growing JSL need within Japan, there is still a long way to go in developing a sufficiently differentiated approach to be more effective in meeting the needs of the various categories of foreigners as well as those of the returnees.

The government is also promoting English and the development of communication skills in Japanese both in schools and amongst the general public (Carroll 2001: 146–157), policies that are a means of raising general language awareness and might lead to growing tolerance of foreigners speaking Japanese.

How would Japan's language planners like the public to respond to the increasing numbers of foreigners speaking Japanese? In its last term before the National Language Council was dissolved and replaced by the National Language Subcommittee of the Cultural Affairs Council in January 2001, the Language Council noted the growth in the number of foreigners learning Japanese and the increasing level of contact between Japanese and foreigners. The report it issued stresses that people should be tolerant of, and make allowances for, non-native speakers; they should use clear language themselves, and check that they have understood the speaker's intentions in order to avoid misunderstandings and taking offence where none is intended. Native speakers are thus encouraged to adjust to non-native speakers to some extent, and not to expect them to speak or behave the same as native speakers (Bunka-chō 2002: 393).

One interesting development that is relevant to this aim and is indicative of changing attitudes is the *yasashii nihongo* [easy Japanese] project led by Kazuyuki Sato at Hirosaki University, supported by a research grant from the Ministry of Education. The project aims to produce a manual of easy Japanese for use by emergency services, broadcasters and others in emergencies (Shibata 2006). It is important to note that this "easy Japanese" is quite different from Nomoto Kikuo's proposed "simple Japanese" (*kan'yaku nihongo*) of the 1980s, which was criticized for presenting an artificial or "deviant" (Suda 2006) version of the language, restricted to foreigners, and with simplified grammatical forms. "Easy Japanese" is intended to be used by native speakers to foreigners. Crucially, "[w]hen a reporter speaks 'easy Japanese', the Japanese sentences

should sound natural to people whose mother language is Japanese" (NHK Hōsō Bunka Kenkyūjo 2006). Thus foreigners are not separated from Japanese, and the more straightforward language may also be easier for Japanese to understand. "Easy Japanese" uses a restricted number of words: the 2,000 needed for Level 3 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test. Its principles cover both spoken and written Japanese:

- keep sentences short to simplify the sentence structure
- use disaster-related terminology that foreign residents are likely to know, paraphrasing immediately after the original words or phrases
- be careful about using loanwords as they might be misunderstood
- use verb sentences rather than nouns derived from nominalized verb stems
- avoid double negation
- choose particles carefully to make sentences comprehensible
- avoid ambiguous expressions
- pay attention to the number of *kanji* used to avoid disadvantaging people from non-*kanji* cultures, and always add *furigana*

(NHK Hōsō Bunka Kenkyūjo 2006; Shibata 2006: 37). Several of these guidelines are very similar to those recommended by the Plain English Campaign in the UK (Cutts and Maher 1986), and campaigns for "plain language" in other countries.

Looking to the future, it is useful to consider J. V. Neustupný's (2005) examination of the various kinds of norms and evaluative processes that are applied in contact situations between Japanese and foreigners. He argues that the principle "when in Rome, do as the Romans do" no longer applies universally, and that people look for a more universal basis for their interactions. Although he is dealing largely with customs and behavioural patterns, his arguments also apply to sociolinguistic behaviour. This could prove a fruitful area for more research that could contribute to future education and policy-making that aims to reduce tensions and misunderstandings between foreign and native speakers of Japanese.

4. Japanese as an international language?

Is Japanese becoming more of an international language, or is its real influence largely restricted to East Asia, which accounts for 60 percent of learners, and Southeast Asia, where Japan is concentrating much of its efforts (Japan Foundation 2003a), while the UK, USA and other western countries shift their sights to learning Chinese to take advantage of China's booming economy?

The statistics I introduced at the beginning present a mixed picture. On one hand, Japanese is clearly expanding in terms of overall numbers of learners, but, equally importantly, in the range of countries in which it is taught. On the other hand, the majority of learners are concentrated in East Asia, and this is likely to continue. However, if we consider the 16 new countries in which Japanese has begun to be taught between the Japan Foundation's surveys of 1998 and 2003, which are mainly in the Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe, it is clear that Japanese has value as a language beyond its nearest neighbours in the "hemisphere of the Chinese script" (Coulmas 1989), and that the Japanese government, via the Japan Foundation, is promoting this view. Coulmas noted that the study of Japanese had been transformed during the preceding two decades "from a somewhat exotic scholarly pursuit into the acquisition of a practical skill with economic utility", and there is no doubt that this transformation has been consolidated since then.

Finally, the National Institute for Japanese Language (*Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo*) is conducting an ongoing research project on Japanese as an international language, recognising the need for more objective information to advance the debates on the issues of whether Japanese can become an international lingua franca and the changes occurring in the language. Regarding JFL, Mizutani Osamu, Director of the Institute from 1990 to 1998, notes that (Mizutani n. d.): "JFL education is thriving, and it is reported that the numbers of people using Japanese worldwide have rapidly increased. It is certainly the case that Japanese has begun to be no longer just something belonging to the Japanese, but we have almost no information on, or even a grasp of the reality of what form this takes in practice, or for what reasons people around the world are embracing Japanese." Although the Japan Foundation is heavily promoting Japanese in particular regions of the world, the above quotation shows that it has been recognized that lack of information on which to base such policies has been a problem, and is likely to continue to be so, given the relatively sudden and rapid expansion of JFL.

As for public opinion, responding to the 2001 Language Section survey, 58.6 percent agreed that it would be a good thing for Japanese to become an international language (Bunka-chō Bunka-bu Kokugo-ka 2002: 83). Will it achieve this status by the end of this century? Is the goal of Japanese language diffusion really to spread the language or rather simply to improve the perceptions of Japan elsewhere in the world? These are questions to be borne in mind when we look at the progress of Japanese worldwide in the decades to come.

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Japanese as Foreign Language in European universities – new students and/or new teaching paradigm?

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Abstract

This paper discusses recent changes surrounding Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) in Europe, specifically in France. These include changes in student numbers, profiles and expectations, as well as in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). These changes have not yet led to the necessary reconsideration of the appropriateness of current JFL programmes at universities. The scope of the problem is assessed by discussing current expectations and practices of JFL in the context of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The discussion demonstrates that expectations in JFL programmes are largely unrealistic and, hence, need to be changed. Finally, the paper discusses strategies through which current JFL teaching and learning practices can be improved. It is concluded that such considerations have to start with a decision as to whether JFL in Europe should continue training only specialists of Japanology or whether it also ought to teach students the linguistic skills necessary for daily work and life in Japan.

1. Introduction

The circumstances of teaching Japanese in French and European universities have clearly undergone major changes over the past decade. These changes are the result of a considerable increase in student numbers together with the diversification of students' expectations, motivations and abilities and, in addition, the revision of study programmes resulting from the various university reforms implemented in many European countries. A further factor is a new perception of the Japanese language on the part of the western public.

Yet, in this context, the main concern of teachers of Japanese today involves the balancing of (1) students' expectations and abilities, (2) the function of the university as an institution and the educational objectives

relating to the acquisition of foreign languages there, and (3) the educational methods employed to meet these objectives. It is in fact difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of these different elements for there is no clear-cut distinction between them. This constellation has ultimately created the rather paradoxical situation in which the growing popularity of the Japanese language among young people in France, and in the rest of Europe, is actually shaking the foundations of JFL (Japanese as Foreign Language) as it has been practised to date.

In this paper, I will address each of the three factors mentioned above, and, in using the example of Japanese language teaching in France, will try to show how they fit together or contradict each other. Most importantly, I will discuss how these elements interrelate with regard to the specific constraints and possibilities of JFL, and how, it seems to me, they are forcing us to challenge teaching practices in this discipline.

2. CHANGES IN THE PROFILE OF STUDENTS OF JAPANESE

The popularity of Japanese language programmes in France (and Europe) is clearly a product of the globalization and internationalization of our day, an influence which can be felt in every aspect of our societies, and the success of these programmes is the translation of this phenomenon in the domain of foreign language acquisition.

Yet there is a major paradox in the fact that, throughout the decade from 1995 to 2005, Japanese culture – or at least certain parts of Japanese culture that could be qualified as young, urban, mass-oriented, ordinary, transmitted by and involving new media – spread throughout the world. At the same time Japan was experiencing its worst economic and moral crisis since the end of the 1950s. How, in this context, has the public seeking to learn Japanese changed? And how have these changes come about?

The first observation I would like to make, regarding my home institution, the University of Toulouse-le Mirail, relates to the increasing diversity of JFL students. Student responses to two surveys I conducted in 2000 and 2005 revealed considerable diversification in the following areas: (1) educational background (according to their high school curriculum; in the French high school system, students elect to follow either a general – with a literary, scientific, or economic focus –, technological or professional stream), (2) age at the time of their first enrolment in a Japanese university course, and (3) the point in their educational career at which they started studying Japanese.

In 2000, students from the general high school stream (literary, economic and scientific streams combined) represented 84 percent of all

students of Japanese, with 45 percent coming from the literary stream.[1] In 2005, however, this group was reduced to only 61 percent, with 28 percent coming from the literary stream. At the same time, students from the technological and professional streams increased from 16 percent to 39 percent.

The age of students enrolling in their first year of Japanese also became much more diverse. In 2000, the vast majority of our students entered university straight out of high school. Thus age had not yet been identified as a relevant factor, and my 2000 survey did not ask for the students' age. Today, however, the age span is quite large. For example, amongst first-year students alone, ages ranged from 16 to 29, with more than 10 percent of all students for each year of age 18 to 23 in 2005.

Also new in the 2005 survey were questions asking which degrees had been obtained prior to taking up the study of Japanese, and whether students were enrolled in a dual degree programme. In 2000, these questions would have been relevant in only a few cases. Previous degrees and dual degree programmes would have been exceptions to the rule. Yet, in 2005, over 20 percent of all students had already obtained a degree (which fits with the diversification in ages discussed above), and 8 percent were enrolled in a second degree programme – typically their third or fourth year in another discipline.

Another important aspect of the students' background which changed significantly in this five-year period is the knowledge of the Japanese language acquired *before* they started university. At my university, for example, from 1991 up to around 1995–1996, very few, if any, students had already studied Japanese before enrolment. Starting in 1999, however, the proportion of students with an existing knowledge of Japanese began to increase, reaching 32 percent of all students in 2005. Although in most cases this prior knowledge is rudimentary, there are occasionally students who have already acquired solid bases. Most importantly, this increase shows that, for many young people, Japanese is no longer a strange and exotic language. Rather, they see it as just another foreign language, at least as one that is no more or less accessible than others, and which many of them start to study before university, sometimes on their own.

Finally, the last and most important point with regard to the changing profile of JFL students relates to their motivations and career goals, and to the time they plan to devote to the study of Japanese. In terms of the primary motivation for studying Japanese at university, 33 percent of

[1] Literary: 45 percent, followed by economic (21 percent), scientific (18 percent), technological (9 percent) and professional (7 percent).

students stated in 2000 that their motivation was linked to their career goals, while 36 percent said it was above all an interest in learning the Japanese language, and 14 percent referred to Japanese civilization and society as a source of motivation. The remaining 17 percent represented a mix of widely varying motivations, ranging from a passion for J-culture (for example, *manga*, *anime*, J-pop music), martial arts, or Japanese cinema to students who chose Japanese randomly or following a friend's lead. For a comparison at the international level, see Japan Foundation (2005: 6).

In 2005, the motivations of students in the first three years of undergraduate study were as follows (multiple responses allowed): only 13 percent were related to career goals, while 37 percent indicated an interest in the Japanese language itself, 34 percent were interested in Japanese civilization and society and 13 percent in J-culture, travel or had a personal interest. As these figures show, there was a reversal in motivations within this five-year period, with those linked to knowledge of Japanese civilization and society becoming more prevalent, while career-based motivations became less prominent.

In terms of career goals, in 2000, student responses varied widely, although the leading answers were: business work, with French or Japanese companies in Japan or France (23 percent), professions in translating (16 percent) and interpreting (14 percent), and teaching, of Japanese in France or French in Japan (10 percent). The responses in 2005, taken as a whole, show little change in this respect. They name the same four main professions: teaching (22 percent); sales and tourism (19 percent); translation (16 percent); and interpreting (10 percent). What has changed, however, is the number of students who say that they have *no idea* what type of job they may have in the future. In 2000, few if any students fell into this category, but by 2005 their number had increased to one in five students (21 percent). Again, we see that, contrary to its role in the past, Japanese has become a perfectly "normal language" – that is to say, a language like any other taught at university and which can be studied without connection to a specific professional goal.

It is also noteworthy that, in 2005, the only students who answered that they planned to go on doing research (1 percent) were those enrolled in a dual degree programme and who sought to study Japanese in connection with their work in another discipline, such as history or ethnology.

Finally, in terms of the time students planned to devote to the study of Japanese, the 2000 survey showed that all the students, even those in their first year, were well aware that acquiring skills in Japanese would require a long – even very long – period of study. Almost 30 percent expected to

spend more than five years studying the language. In 2005, this trend was even stronger, with 38 percent of first-year students planning to study Japanese for over five years. Yet, at the same time, 21 percent stated that they wished to spend no more than three years studying Japanese, and 18 percent said they did not know how to answer this question.

Furthermore, when asked how long they planned to study *at university*, 36 percent of first-year students said they would stop once they had received their "Licence" (three-year degree in the French system); 43 percent wished to complete a Master's course (five years of study); and 8 percent planned to go on to pursue a postgraduate degree; 9 percent said they did not know. These results appear to be mainly consistent with the responses to the previous question, except for the fact that they do seem to show that students clearly dissociate their study of Japanese from their studies at university. However, analysis of these results becomes more complex when we consider that, in response to a further question, 80 percent of these same first-year students wished to find a profession in which they could use their knowledge of Japanese – including, of course, most of those who planned to study Japanese for no more than three years!

To sum up, whereas ten or fifteen years ago students choosing to take up Japanese language studies planned to devote many years to its study and did so in connection with a specific professional or academic goal, today this holds true only for a small minority of students. Rather, JFL is now confronted with a new category of students which is characterized by the following traits:

(1) Japanese is an ordinary language to them, in other words, a language they may choose to study without a well-defined goal and without expecting it to present particular difficulties;
(2) they intend to be able to use their Japanese knowledge in a professional context after spending less than five or even less than three years studying it;
(3) they expect the university to train them accordingly, that is, to provide them in a short time with a level of proficiency in Japanese that will allow them to use the language in their work, even if this means continuing their study on their own after leaving university;
(4) even if they are hardworking and diligent, they do not have the same educational background or skills in university-level scholarship (knowing how to write papers, give presentations, take reading notes, and so on) as the students who chose to study Japanese in the past.

In fact, the only thing these new kinds of students seem to have in common with the previous ones is their interest in or "passion" for Japan, however irrational it may be.

To conclude this point, let me say that the diversification in the profiles of students of Japanese has of course been amplified by the fact that, between 2000 and 2005, the numbers of learners have dramatically increased in French universities. At my university, for example, the number of all Japanese language students rose from around 100 to over 350, representing a more than 250 percent increase in five years.

3. OBJECTIVES AND EXPECTATIONS OF JFL AT UNIVERSITY

What is – and what should be – the function of Japanese language teaching at university? This seemingly straightforward question actually proves difficult to answer. Are university courses in Japanese supposed to provide proficiency in the language or to prepare students for Japanese studies? Or, in a more ideal, or utopian, vision of things, are they supposed to do both – that is, make students proficient in the language *and* prepare them for Japanese studies? In other words, could the goal be to provide students with multi-faceted training: in the language, in general knowledge of Japan as a "subject", and also in a more specific aspect of this subject – an area of study which would later serve as their focus for research in Japanese studies? This solution, although undoubtedly very ambitious, certainly seems to make sense. After all, these are the goals in teaching other foreign languages (English, German, Spanish and so on) offered at university.

But in the case of Japanese, the question of time reveals the problematic side of such ambitions: how much time will we have to transmit all of this to the students? Three years – five years – eight years? Less or more? In fact, the real question is this: in how much, or how little, time can students in fact acquire such knowledge and skills? Moreover, if it is accepted, as it tacitly is in France, that Japanese studies are not possible without first mastering the Japanese language, how should this two- or really three-fold approach be organized, and according to what (reasonable) timeline?

We could discuss such questions in great detail, coming up with different answers based on various perspectives. In the present paper, however, I will content myself with discussing a few aspects which I see as truly pertinent to the issue at hand. My ideas have of course been based on the experience of teaching Japanese in France, but I think that these aspects are also relevant for other European countries.

The first aspect I would like to discuss here can be presented in the form of a question: "Is Japanese really a language like the others offered at university?"

Let us consider the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL henceforth), set up in 2001 by the European Commu-

nity as a starting point for our considerations. The CEFRL was created to serve as a basis or redefinition of the goals and methods for teaching foreign languages in Europe, intended to, at least, harmonize programmes and degrees. In terms of skills and know-how, this framework defines three user profiles and six levels of linguistic proficiency: A – Basic user (A1: Breakthrough; A2: Waystage); B– Independent user (B1: Threshold; B2: Vantage); C– Proficient user (C1: Effective Operational Proficiency; C2: Mastery) (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages 2001: 22–23).

For fear of straying too far from our subject here, I will limit my discussion to two remarks. I first wish to point out that, in establishing these communication-centric levels: *understanding, speaking and writing*, and in defining knowledge, and knowing how to do, how to be and how to learn, the CEFRL has been perfectly consistent with the expectations or demands of the students of Japanese arriving at university today. Moreover, and this is my second comment, this framework allows clear objectives in foreign language acquisition to be established for each stage in the education system. The French government, for example, decided in accordance with the CEFRL that, starting in 2005, the objectives to be reached, defined using this scale, would henceforth be as follows *for all students*:

– level A1 at the end of elementary school;
– level B1 at the end of mandatory schooling (i. e. eighth/ninth grade, at the age of 13/14 to 14/15 years);
– level B2 at the end of secondary school, in the general or professional curricula (Direction de l'Enseignement scolaire, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche 2005).

What does this imply for JFL? For foreign languages in general, the level to be reached by the end of high school, thus, upon entry to university, is B2. In other words, we can consider level B2 as the minimum level required to undertake university-level study and start down the path leading to research. Yet in the case of Japanese, courses in French universities usually start from scratch, which means that the most urgent function of teaching the language at university is to allow students to acquire a B2 level of proficiency, so that they have the same "pre-research level" required for other languages. Now, this is where the problem starts, since the skills that qualify level B2 have been defined as follows:

B2: Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of

subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and independent disadvantages of various options (Council for Cultural Co-operation 2001: 24).

When broken down according to the various linguistic skills involved, this definition can be expressed as in the table below (Council for Cultural Co-operation: 26):

Tab. 1: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

Level B2	
Skill	**Content**
Understanding Listening	I can understand extended speech and lectures and follow even complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar. I can understand most TV news and current affairs programmes. I can understand the majority of films in standard dialect.
Understanding Reading	I can read articles and reports concerned with contemporary problems in which the writers adopt particular attitudes or viewpoints. I can understand contemporary literary prose.
Speaking Spoken interaction	I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.
Speaking Spoken production	I can present clear, detailed descriptions on a wide range of subjects related to my field of interest. I can explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
Writing	I can write clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects related to my interests. I can write an essay or report, passing on information or giving reasons in support of or against a particular point of view. I can write letters highlighting the personal significance of events and experiences.

The question which arises in our context is thus how long it would take for the average European student, starting to learn Japanese as a true beginner, to acquire these linguistic skills. Could it reasonably be done in two years, in three years or in five years? Would this process allow time for training in the methodology of another discipline, such as that of Japanese studies? And if so, at what pace?

Set out in these terms, it seems to me that the answer to all these questions is "no". Unless we consider a perfect student who would spend all his time, even holidays, studying Japanese (in which case, if such a student existed, why would he or she need university to learn the language?), I think it is unrealistic to claim, or even imagine, that the knowledge covered in level B2 could be acquired for Japanese in less than five years (if five years is sufficient to start with). Needless to say, this would be even less likely in less than three years. In addition, we have to keep in mind that, if we compare Japanese with other foreign languages, this means that any possibility for research work would be jeopardized, because of a lack of linguistic proficiency. Thus, in answer to our question, Japanese is, in this sense, clearly not a language like the others widely taught at university.

In fact, if we examine the question of the function of teaching Japanese at university from this perspective, we realize that this function has never really been defined, except in idealized terms such as the following: 500 *kanji* in the first year, 500 *kanji* in second year, 1000 *kanji* in third year. Such a "programme" did, and still does, intend to bring beginning students up to the linguistic level of Japanese high school students, in particular in terms of their mastery of the written language. The mastery of written language as defined by such objectives is the level implicitly defined as the minimum required for undertaking research using documents in Japanese.

Although this goal, which is entirely theoretical, and probably entirely utopian as well, might have been satisfactory in the past, it seems to me that, in its current form, it is no longer appropriate (and I doubt that it ever really was in fact). I have always found it rather shocking, as an educator, that our university programmes in France, and elsewhere I assume, claim that in three years (which really only adds up to three six-month periods) students could be provided with a level of literacy in Japanese that Japanese, living in Japan and speaking the language from birth, need nine or twelve years to attain. It strikes me as ethically questionable to put forth as a "standard" something which will forever remain an exception, in other words, something which is in educational and intellectual terms impossible for the vast majority of students enrolling in these programmes, including those who are hard-working and focused.

The objective is so ambitious, and the knowledge and skills to be acquired are so vast, that in the end, a large majority of the students who receive their degrees are those who, by one means or another, have studied Japanese *before* coming to university. This observation is substantiated by the survey I carried out in Toulouse and, to an even greater extent, by a survey conducted at the University of Paris 7 in 2003.

In fact, my 2005 survey showed that in our university, the percentage of students having already studied Japanese *before* arriving at university increased with the year of study: 12.5 percent in first year, 45.5 percent in second year, 57 percent in fourth year. The survey at the University of Paris 7 produced even more impressive results, with the following percentages for first, second, third and fourth year students, respectively: 37.4 percent, 58.2 percent, 74.5 percent and 75 percent of participating students having started to study Japanese prior to their first Japanese language course at university (Ōshima 2005).

This increase in proportion clearly indicates that the teaching method in place obviously proceeds too fast, is too difficult and, most importantly, does not take into account the assimilation capabilities of true beginners. In fact, the Paris 7 survey shows that over 75 percent of the students who successfully completed their fourth year were those who had a head start and had studied Japanese before enrolling at university. In other words, with very little exaggeration, we could sum up the situation by saying that, at university, we only manage to provide a sufficient level in Japanese to students who have learned the language before.

It is evident that the current programmes are not realistic, and this cannot be explained simply by the fact that first-year students are a mixture of both true and false beginners. In my opinion, *re*-definition of these programmes in accordance with the changing profile of our students is insufficient. Rather, we need to define them to start with, something which has so far not been done, except in the case of training the few and highly specialized students of Japanese studies, which no longer corresponds to the vast majority of our students nor to the purpose of our institution. In fact, the framework of the European Union could well provide a solid basis for this task of defining coherent programmes.

It seems impossible to keep using the same extremely high and idealized proficiency level that is supposed to be attained by the end of the third or fourth year and, in so doing, blocking the advancement of students who fail to attain such goals, without asking whether this objective is actually attainable to students who have no previous experience of Japanese. We also need to truly ask ourselves what educational systems need to be set up in order to enable the majority of students, if they study properly, to attain this level. After all, this is what the description of our degree programmes promises to students. This element strikes me as essential, especially since the proclaimed objective of all university and institutional players, including on the Japanese side, is to draw ever-growing numbers of students into Japanese language programmes.

4. New methods or new materials?

The problems discussed above demand solutions that will be likely to involve both institutional and pedagogical aspects. Let us briefly consider the institutional aspects before discussing the pedagogical aspects in more detail.

On the institutional level, potential solutions that appear obvious, such as splitting true and false beginners into separate classes for the duration of the three- or five-year university programmes, appear rather unrealistic, since the cost of this type of initiative contradicts the budgetary restrictions currently imposed upon us.

In this area, I see a similarity between France and Germany, in that, for both countries, the majority of their Japanese learners are in the higher education system, as opposed to that in the other European country in which Japanese studies is a major discipline, the United Kingdom, where the situation is just the opposite. To be more precise, in France and Germany there are twice as many students of Japanese at the university level than at the primary and secondary school[2] levels; whereas in the United Kingdom there are three times as many Japanese learners at the primary and secondary school levels than in the higher education system.[3] What these figures imply is that, in the case of France and Germany, it is impossible to start Japanese language studies at university at any other level than beginner level. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, could, at least in theory, implement a general system for university-level Japanese which would offer a start at a higher level.

Even if it were possible to split up true and false beginners, in my opinion this would not resolve all the difficulties we are facing in the cases of France and Germany. There would still be the issue of realistically defining the content of the programmes and, to boot, there would be the issue of how and when to reunite these two groups. In addition, there would be the problem of whether students with no pre-university experience in Japanese would attain such a level of language proficiency.

By locking programmes into strict block scheduling that is the same for all languages, and by offering an academic year reduced to 25 or 26 weeks of classes, the university institution deprives the teaching system

[2] In 2003, France had 7,580 students of Japanese in the higher education system, compared to 3,710 at the primary and secondary school levels, and Germany had 6,783 and 2,008 respectively (Japan Foundation 2005: 20).

[3] In 2003, the United Kingdom had 3,636 students of Japanese in the higher education system, compared to 9,700 at the primary and secondary school levels (Japan Foundation 2005: 20).

of the consistency it needs. To be effective, the teaching of the Japanese language has to be spread over a longer learning period, with more regular classes, and it needs to include more hours of instruction.

In France, one possible solution could be to create a new degree programme which, in comparison to the LLCE and LEA concentrations (LLCE: Foreign Languages, Literature and Civilizations; and LEA: Applied Foreign Languages: Japanese + English + Economics/law/business administration) (Galan 2004: 305–330), would be devoted entirely to learning the Japanese language itself, with the class time in civilization replaced by additional linguistic training. Such language-centred courses would clearly meet a major demand among our current students. However, in addition to the fact that it could only be implemented after redefining the objectives of Japanese language teaching at university (that is, defining the need for exclusively linguistic teaching that is not tied to research), this system would also require extra class hours, which does not seem realistic in the current time of budgetary restrictions, characterized as it is by attempts to pool together or increasingly reduce the numbers of hours of instruction.

As institutional constraints are entirely out of our control and, although extremely important, beyond our influence, I will refrain here from developing these considerations further. Let me turn instead to the issue of pedagogy.

Reflection on how to go about teaching Japanese is actually quite recent in France. By definition, the vast majority of professors in French universities are researchers who have never been trained in teaching methods. Historically speaking, educational methodology has never really been a priority at universities, and in the specific case of Japanese, many professors teach the language in spite of the fact that there is no direct link to their area of scholarly specialization. Thus, for many teachers the extent of reflection on which their teaching approaches are based is simply that of reproducing the type of instruction they themselves had received as students.

In fact, the methodology for teaching Japanese in France is still based more on a romanticized notion of the teaching profession than on sound pedagogical considerations, for example, accounts of the specific features of the Japanese language and the actual abilities and needs of the students – of all the students, not just the best ones.

Nevertheless, there is the awareness today that pedagogical reflection is much needed and we can hope that improvements in current practices will be brought about in the mid- to long term. Yet, at the same time, various factors that complicate such reconsideration of teaching practices are also emerging. As pointed out above, these factors include the new

student profile, which goes hand in hand with new requirements, changes in terms of structure, university reforms, budgetary restrictions, and so on.

Today, it is tempting to link the question of Japanese teaching methods to the consideration of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) for education. For one thing, the issue of Japanese teaching methods came to the forefront in France at around the same time that ICT were becoming a central issue in pedagogical discussions in general. But the connection between the two issues also comes from the fact that ICT put their finger on problems we are facing, while appearing to be a tool that could, in some cases, provide a solution.

In this context setting a few things straight about ICT seems to be appropriate. It seems to me that there is some confusion surrounding ICT, and that they are sometimes presented in a fairly misleading light. After attending a number of conferences, such as those that were announced during the sessions on Japanese teaching at the EAJS symposium in the summer of 2005 in Vienna, and after reading a number of pedagogical texts on the *educational miracle* of ICT in the teaching of Japanese, I admit that many of the arguments presented have failed to convince me. In particular, I am sceptical about opinions presenting ICT as revolutionary and about the "new way of teaching" they are supposed to bring.

Such opinions lack knowledge of the history of education and pedagogy. This becomes most obvious when we are called upon to view multimedia tools as an "opportunity to rethink the traditionally accepted pedagogical concepts". In contrast to such opinions, it is simply not the case that ICT have suddenly enhanced our understanding that it is advantageous for learners to actively construct their knowledge rather than taking it in passively. These are issues already known since the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, if not before. ICT simply make it easier and less costly to use this type of constructivist pedagogical practice, although this of course depends on whether or not the multimedia tools available are truly suited to this type of project and to their public.

In my opinion, multimedia cannot really be considered as the vehicle of a "new way" of teaching. Nor, for that matter, does this technology in itself imply that the role of the teacher is redefined as a mere mediator – as certain defenders of ultraliberal economics would like to have us believe in their strictly commercial view of e-learning. In fact, the advantage offered by multimedia here is that it enables existing pedagogical principles to be applied, many of which have been around for a long time and have well proven their effectiveness in practice, but which are difficult to apply in the typical setting of our classes. These are principles such as adapting teaching to individual needs (level, rate of progression,

scheduling), feedback on the instruction given in the absence of the teacher, increasing time spent on exercises and practice, and so on. In all these areas, multimedia is an unmatched and unquestionably effective tool. It is in these areas that ICT can certainly provide solutions for more effective instruction and learning. This holds true in particular for handling diversity in classes. It seems that, for some teachers, multimedia could actually enable a readjustment of current practices, whereby class time could be used to provide additional explanations and clarification, practical exercises, and concrete, detailed discussion of various points (in grammar, writing, or reading, for instance) which have been previously studied individually by the students using appropriate multimedia applications.

One of the main problems with our current teaching methods, as I see it, is that, considering the volume of knowledge to be assimilated in view of the short duration of the academic year, nearly every class session requires that a great deal of new information is presented to the students in one block. They are then expected to assimilate this information by the following week. In other words, they are not offered a chance to re-apply or practice what they have learned, although it is well known in pedagogy that such practice time is essential for the assimilation of learned information. A point in case is the way *kanji* [Chinese characters] are taught in our JFL classes, compared to Japanese elementary schools. It is often overlooked that Japanese children learn the *kanji* not through a simple presentation of each sign in turn, but through dozens or even hundreds of hours of exercises and practice in both reading and writing. Yet our students are deprived of this time, as it is supposed to be part of their private study, even though they lack the necessary resources to manage such study on their own.

It seems strange that our pedagogy neglects this time for the assimilation of knowledge, so central to the learning process in Japan. This is even more true in view of the fact that the methods we use to teach Japanese reading and writing in France are more or less modelled on those used in Japanese schools (which are, granted, probably too mechanical, but that is another subject we will not go into here). It is not enough to "teach" the *kanji* for students to have them learned them. While everyone agrees on this, one nonetheless carries on as if this was not the teachers' responsibility. And the same could be said of the content covered in our classes in grammar and bi-directional translation, and so on.

However, let me once and for all establish the fact that an educational medium is not a pedagogy. This is an area in which the proponents of ICT in JFL are often disconcerting, and many multimedia-based methods that have been developed and are available on the market or offered by

various organizations merely use new materials without offering any real alternative to the established teaching methods. These materials include films, animation, and audiovisual elements, but it is rare to find tools designed to help students do more individual practice and personalized review exercises.

Yet, in my view, it is precisely through this latter type of tool that ICT could help resolve some of the problems we are facing today. Furthermore, as opposed to most of the multimedia methods now available, which claim to be both interactive and complete, it seems to me that, for university purposes, we should be developing media applications adapted to specifically defined uses and/or existing areas of instruction (language, literature, civilization), while also providing specialized supplementary materials designed to help students either consolidate or progress further in these areas. These materials would not be used in class, at least not solely. Rather, students would use them away from the university, at home, during holidays, whenever they wished, in order to practice and get a firmer grasp on what they have learned. In other words, such materials provide a means for students to construct their knowledge of the Japanese language more solidly and more independently.

This not only represents a potential solution to some of the most pressing problems in JFL, but it might actually be the only solution we have, considering both the current material circumstances (institutional and budgetary) in French universities today, and the types of difficulties our students are facing in studying the Japanese language.

5. Conclusion

To come back to my initial question, it can be concluded that the profile of students of Japanese has changed, and the pedagogical challenges we are facing have also changed, although probably to a lesser extent. With the arrival of large numbers of new kinds of students in Japanese language classes, the flaws or weaknesses in our teaching practices have been aggravated to the point that they can no longer be overlooked. However, it is my view that we should work on improving our current methods rather than reconstructing a radically new system of teaching Japanese at university.

There is, in fact, a great paradox in our current situation, in that most of our students now see Japanese as a language like any other foreign language and that Japanese language educators, too, carry on pretending that this is the case, whereas an objective and unrestrained assessment of the effectiveness of our current methods shows that Japanese simply

cannot be treated at university in the same way as other languages. An analysis of the Japanese language itself, and of how the Japanese succeed in mastering it, supports this. It is time we accept that this paradox is no longer viable.

To progress beyond this situation, two things are essential. Firstly, we need to define what the objective(s) of studying Japanese at university must be (and potentially do the same at the European level) and set up *realistic* programmes that take into account both the specific features of Japanese and the public concerned as well as the material constraints relating to teaching. Secondly, new technologies must be used, not in order to create a new teaching method, but rather in order to develop new tools enabling more personalized learning and a better response to the diversification of our students' expectations, learning levels, and capabilities.

The choice we are faced with is thus a very straightforward one. Either we continue treating Japanese as a language reserved for a small, select group of learners – a language the university offers solely for the purpose of training researchers in Japanology (*nihongaku*). But in this case, this outlook on JFL has to be *clearly stated* as such, to keep the wider public from flocking to a discipline that can only lead to disappointment, or even become an obstacle in the long-term, as it will be a dead-end. Or, on the other hand, along with training specialists in Japanese studies, we also set up an effective system for teaching Japanese to the wider public – a system which would, for example, allow students who completed the three- or five-year programme to attain a level of proficiency in the language sufficient *for daily work and life* in Japan. But this second option would require us to revise our programmes, our practices and our objectives, and particularly to define what exactly needs to be learned in order to live in Japan, and live there comfortably for any purpose other than research in Japanology.

In fact, it seems that many opportunities for the realization of this second option have already been missed, considering that the players in Japanese studies, that is, university administrations, European governments, and most of all the Japanese government and the Japan Foundation, seem to have clearly made the choice to draw more and more students to the discipline, ignoring the fact that this means that teaching practices must be altered. Thus, the real choice we are faced with is in fact the following: either the university accepts and shows that it is capable of implementing this new type of teaching programme, or the task will be given to other organizations outside the university system.

The consideration we must devote to all these issues is, I think, very similar to that needed within the Japanese school system if it is to succeed

in educating the children of immigrants, whose numbers are destined to rise dramatically in the coming years (as I have demonstrated in other works, for example Galan 2005). Of course, the larger question lurking behind each of these issues is: in this, the Asian Century, as some have declared the twenty-first century, what will be the status of the Japanese language, and what role will be played by Japan?

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Integration policy towards migrants in Japan with a focus on language

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Abstract

This paper discusses the present Japanese policy towards working migrants to Japan, based on the example of nurses and care workers from the Philippines. The integration of working immigrants and Japanese language training, two intricately interconnected issues, are therefore the focus of attention. The paper summarizes the legal, political and ideological context of Japan's slow and sometimes hidden shift towards a multicultural society. Benchmarking Japan's integration policy and examining the circumstances under which nurses and care workers from the Philippines are employed in Japan reveals several fundamental difficulties. With regard to language education, it is argued that Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) needs to address the specific needs of professionals such as care workers and nurses, and that it must play a more prominent role in the creation of realistic learning goals. As things stand, high expectations of Japanese language proficiency combined with a lack of attention from language educators act as a barrier to embracing and integrating new immigrants into Japanese society.

1. Introduction

Almost two decades have now passed since the first foreign workers and their families came to Japan to cover postwar labour shortages. In these two decades, communicative and cultural problems between Japanese and non-Japanese in the workplace, in local communities, in schools and other settings have become apparent. Japan's transition into a more multicultural and multilingual society has also expanded the demands on Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL), in that it had to expand beyond the target group of international students. Teaching Japanese to foreign residents, i. e. Japanese as Second Language (JSL), became a new task.[1]

[1] Broadly speaking, JSL refers to teaching Japanese to people living long-term in Japan while JFL refers to the language taught outside the country.

In recent years, the discourse on the necessity of foreign workers for the future of Japan's rapidly ageing society has grown more prominent. The word "integration", long tainted by Japan's past imperial policy in East Asia (Oguma 1998), has re-emerged in such discourse. The idea of integration has been reconsidered, drawing in particular on the experiences of western European countries (Kajita 1994; Miyajima 2003), which had received large-scale immigration several decades earlier than Japan.

Several actors are shaping the discourse on migration and integration in Japan. First, the introduction of foreign workers is promoted by Japanese economic organizations. But the Japanese government also identifies migration and the establishment of an integration policy, in particular with regard to Japanese language education, as important issues (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006). Both government and economic organizations suggest language education merely as a means of ensuring short-range interests such as economic efficiency and the ability to accommodate to Japanese companies. In other words, they lack concern about integrating non-Japanese into Japanese society.

In the present paper, the main emphasis will be on the introduction of care workers from the Philippines. Their case will serve as an example for the discussion of Japanese integration policy within a framework of benchmarking integration following Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003). At present, Japan accepts only short-term or limited-term workers from abroad. In the government's perception, Japan is not an immigration country, nor does it endeavour to become one. It is for this reason that the government avoids using the term "migrant" but continues to prefer "foreigner" in official documents and opinion polls.

2. FOREIGN WORKERS IN JAPAN AND JAPANESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The postwar debate about foreign workers can be subdivided into two periods. The debate first started in the 1980s and was reignited around 2000, and the latter debate is still continuing. In the 1980s, foreign workers came to Japan in order to cover labour shortages, in particular in small and medium-sized companies. Consequently, companies pressured the government to revise the immigration act of that time, which did not allow for the introduction of unskilled foreign labour. The issue of a possible revision of the immigration act led to the discussions of the 1980s. The government had to negotiate between the two extreme positions of either "opening the gate" (*kaikoku*) or "keeping the gate closed" (*sakoku*). It chose a compromise between these two positions.

In 1990, the immigration law was revised, and, consequently, foreigners of Japanese descent (the so-called *nikkeijin*) were permitted to enter and work in Japan without any limitations.[2] In other words, Japan succeeded in employing unskilled "foreign" workers without changing its official stance of not admitting low-skilled foreign workers. It was argued that the *nikkeijin*, because of their Japanese ancestry, understood Japanese to a certain degree, and that they would easily integrate into Japanese society. Up to 2003, more than 300,000 *nikkeijin* came to Japan, mainly from Brazil and Peru. The experience of migration revealed, however, that the *nikkeijin* rarely understood Japanese and that they did not differ substantially from other foreigners residing in Japan. The idea of circumventing problems arising from migration by accepting unskilled migrants of Japanese descent proved naïve in reality. Schoolteachers were confronted with children who did not understand Japanese. Because of *nikkeijin* migration, Japanese language classes, multilingual information and support systems for foreign residents had to be established around the mid-1980s (Nuibe 1999; Takahashi and Vaipae 1996).

The Japanese government also introduced foreign workers on a short-term basis. This, too, did not entail the idea that Japan was transforming itself into an immigration country. However, against the government's intention, the increase of migrants to Japan did not stop after the Japanese economy started declining in the 1990s. In addition, foreign workers initially planning to live in Japan for only a limited time chose to stay. Against this backdrop, an awareness of language problems arose on the part of these foreigners as well. In particular, lack of proficiency in written Japanese turned out to be a major obstacle in their daily lives.

Despite official rhetoric, Japan had started to transform itself into a multicultural and multilingual society in the 1980s. This manifested itself in, among other things, the increased demand for JSL from a completely new target group, immigrants and their children. Confronted with this new situation, the government decided to delegate the responsibility of teaching them Japanese to local authorities. Since some communities have a large foreign population, demand for JSL differs considerably

[2] Before and after World War II, thousands of Japanese moved to South American countries such as Brazil and Peru in order to obtain farm land and seek a higher standard of living. According to estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the descendants of these Japanese emigrants amount today to some 2.6 million people. From 1990 onwards, about 300,000 *nikkeijin* came to Japan (Kajita 1994). In many cases, they work for small and medium-sized companies. Places such as Ota City in Gunma Prefecture, Hamamatsu City in Shizuoka Prefecture and Toyota City in Aichi Prefecture are well known for their large *nikkeijin* communities (Gaikokujin Shūjū Toshi Kaigi 2006).

among them. Some cities established their own support systems, such as setting up Japanese language classes for foreign workers and their families, dispatching interpreters to public schools and publishing multilingual information about everyday life in Japan (Bunka-chō 2004; Kawahara 2004).

As mentioned above, the second period of debate about foreign workers started around 2000. This time, the debate related to problems resulting from Japan's ageing society. Japan has today the longest life expectancy in the world: 85 years for women and 78 years for men. It has, in addition, one of the world's lowest birth rates, with a national average of 1.29 children per woman (Cabinet Office 2004). According to a United Nations report, Japan will lose 17 percent of its population in the period between 2000 and 2050. The report further predicts that, by 2050, the percentage of the population aged 65 years or older will rise from the present 17 percent to 35 percent, making Japan the oldest society ever to have existed. In reaction to the challenge of Japan's ageing society, this time the government is seeking various solutions, such as longer employment and increasing the number of women in the workforce. Countering the rapid decrease of the Japanese working population is, however, not an easy task. This is exactly why the issue of immigrants has again come to the fore. Since 2000, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, and several economic councils have published more than 15 schemes addressing the issue of foreign workers (for example, Japan Business Federation 2004). The Japan Business Federation (*Nippon Keizai Dantai Rengōkai*) went as far as to suggest the establishment of institutions, such as a Foreigners' Agency or an Agency of Multicultural Cohabitation, which should play key roles in the formation of policies relating to immigrants (Japan Business Federation 2004).

At present, there are 16 professional fields for which working visas are issued in Japan. These include diplomats, professors, teachers, artists, journalists, technicians and employees dispatched to Japan by foreign companies. In 2005, the Ministry of Justice announced a new plan to expand the field of working visas to further professional jobs which now also included nurses and care workers.

3. Introducing foreign care workers and nurses

Let us consider first, however briefly, the general situation. According to the Nihon University Population Research Institute (2003), the Japanese ratio of people available for the care of elderly people is the lowest in the world. Japan's established care system is based on the offspring, especial-

ly women (daughters and wives), taking care of their parents or parents-in-law at home. Until 1986, about 80 percent of female informants answered that it was a good custom or an inevitable duty that women should take care of elderly parents. In 2000, however, that number had dropped to a mere 45 percent. Women resuming their working careers after marriage and having children is one of the more prominent developments underlying such a dramatic change in attitude. It is therefore not easy for them to take care of elderly parents at home. All of this means that a different policy for elderly care is needed, and, even more crucially, these changes render nursing and the care of old people a work field for which a high future demand can be projected.

Reacting to developments such as those described above, the Cabinet Office (Naikaku-fu 2000) conducted an opinion poll on attitudes towards the introduction of foreign care workers. The result clearly showed that Japan still had a long way to go to transform itself into a multicultural society: 43 percent answered "I agree with the introduction of foreign care workers", but 48 percent stated "I do not agree" and 9 percent were undecided. The younger generations tended to agree more strongly than the older generation. Several reasons were given for objecting to the idea of introducing foreign care workers: almost 70 percent suggested that "Japanese language proficiency is needed for care work"; about 60 percent answered that care workers "need to understand the Japanese welfare systems and Japanese customs"; 38 percent pointed out that "professional skills are needed for care work"; another 18 percent were concerned that "foreigners take jobs away from the Japanese"; 16 percent thought that the introduction of foreign care workers was "not necessary"; the same percentage thought that "it costs too much to manage these systems"; and 11 percent stated that the scheme would have "a bad influence on Japanese workers".

Tab. 1: Reasons for disagreeing with the introduction of foreign care workers

Japanese language proficiency is needed for care work	69.5 %
They need to understand welfare systems and Japanese customs	58.0 %
Professional skills are needed for care work	38.3 %
Foreigners take jobs away from the Japanese	18.3 %
It is not necessary	16.7 %
It costs too much to manage the systems	16.5 %
It has a bad influence on Japanese workers	11.3 %
Others	1.8 %
Don't know	1.0 %

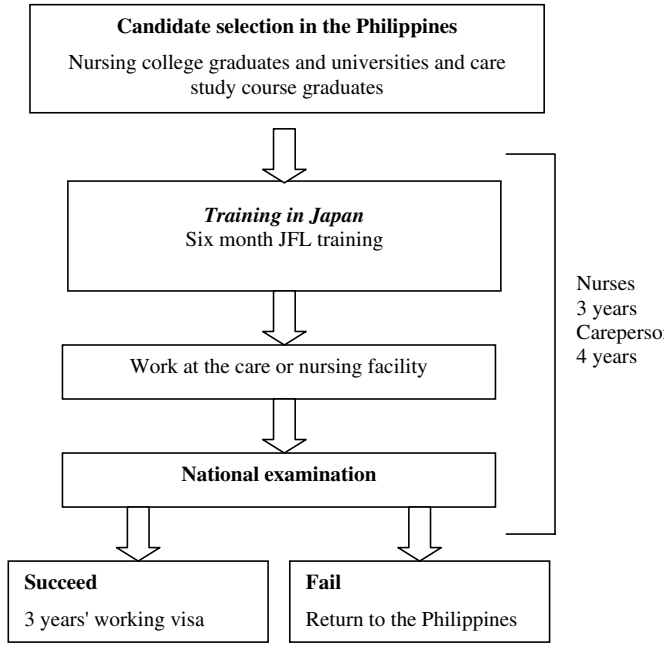
All in all, the results of this opinion poll plainly revealed that the Japanese are most strongly concerned about problems arising from insufficient language proficiency, which they emphasized more than issues such as customs or professional skills.

Despite considerable misgivings about the introduction of foreign care workers among large parts of the Japanese population, the Japanese government signed an agreement with the Philippines[3] in 2004. According to this agreement, Japan will introduce 400 nurses and 600 care workers from the Philippines starting in 2007 (*Asahi Shinbun* 11 September 2006). Japan is considering this a first test. Once this plan is underway, the government plans to expand the scheme and to conclude similar agreements with other Asian countries.

As mentioned above, Japan does not issue working visas for unskilled jobs, and because care work used to be categorized as unskilled work, it was previously impossible to introduce foreign care workers. Based on requests from the Japan Business Federation and other organizations, the government resolved the problem by promoting care work from unskilled to professional work. The government requires that care workers to be employed in Japan must learn Japanese, since they are required to pass the standard Japanese examinations necessary to be licensed as nurses and care workers. Since the national examination is designed for Japanese native speakers, this implies that prospective candidates will need a high level of written and spoken Japanese language proficiency. In view of the difficulty of Japanese writing conventions, one clearly has to wonder how many candidates will actually pass such an examination and will, ultimately, be able to obtain a working visa as professional care workers or nurses. Figure 2 graphically illustrates the process of introducing care workers and nurses from the Philippines.

[3] The Philippines is already exporting 20,000 nurses and care workers per year to various countries around the world. The government of the Philippines encourages nurse migration, as it regards the export of nurses as a new growth area for overseas employment. In the Philippines, 175 nursing schools produce more than 9,000 graduates yearly, of between 5,000 and 7,000 are licensed (Kline 2003).

Fig. 1: Process of introducing foreign nurses and care workers



As can be seen from the figure above, nursing applicants first have to earn a nursing qualification and gain work experience. In addition, applicants have to graduate from a nursing college or graduate from a four year university programme. There are already some private schools training prospective applicants for care work in Japan and in the Philippines. It is only upon graduation that care workers are permitted entry to Japan, where they will be issued a four-year trainee visa. Nurses, on the other hand, receive a three-year trainee visa and are required first to enrol in a six-month training course. After completion, they can start working at a care facility or nursing home. If trainees pass the Japanese national examination for care workers within three years, that is, during the period of their trainee visa, they subsequently receive a three-year working visa as a professional care worker or nurse. The working permit can be extended as long as the applicant is employed. If candidates fail the examination, return to the Philippines is obligatory after the end of the trainee period. Presently, there is no special JFL syllabus for trainee nurses and care workers.

As we have seen above, the Japanese government's position towards migration has made some fundamental changes since the 1980s. The two periods under discussion can be summarized in the following way.

Tab. 2: Two periods of discussion and solutions regarding foreign workers

	Problem	Discussion	Migration solution	Social change
End of 1980s	Economic boom Lack of workers	Foreign workers Yes or No?	*Nikkeijin* (Japanese descendant)	Multicultural, multilingual society Long-term residents
Around 2000	Aging society Lack of workers	Foreign workers Yes or No?	Strict requirements Limited numbers	?

In 1990, the government revised the law of immigration control and the Refugee Recognition Act in order to accept *nikkeijin* immigrants under the concept of Japan's standing *jus sanguinis* policy. This allowed for the introduction of low-skilled or unskilled workers to Japan without departing from official immigration policy. After 2000, demand for foreign workers was principally caused by a decline in the Japanese working population, and as a result, pressure was exerted by the economic world on the Japanese government to help compensate for the declining Japanese working population. Following the (usual) debate on whether to the gates should stay "locked" or be "opened", the government decided, again, on a compromise. This time it allowed for migration with very strict limitations and constraints. The work of nurses and care workers was classified as professional work and strict requirements were imposed on numbers, qualifications and employment. In summary, therefore, starting with the economic boom of the 1980s, Japan started to become a multicultural and multilingual society, in spite of the fact that the Japanese government never envisioned such a transformation. There are numerous problems ensuing from governmental attitudes to migration to Japan. The "hidden internationalization" of Japanese society that is taking place results in a lack of support and specific policies towards foreign workers. Such a lack is detrimental to the aim of integrating them into Japanese society. Further problems relate to the health insurance system, unequal working rights and the relationship with the host society in general. I will turn next to a more detailed look at these problems.

4. Immigration from the perspective of integration

There are various theories on integration, and migration countries often adopt widely different approaches to ensure integration. However, Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) provide a helpful categorization of factors relating to integration which allow for the benchmarking of integration policies. The four dimensions Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003: 5) propose are the following:

(1) Socioeconomic integration: successful labour market participation, employment, income level, social security, level of education, housing etc.
(2) Cultural integration: creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding in a society.
(3) Legal and political: participation in politics: naturalization, citizenship, voting rights etc.
(4) The attitude of recipient societies towards migrants.

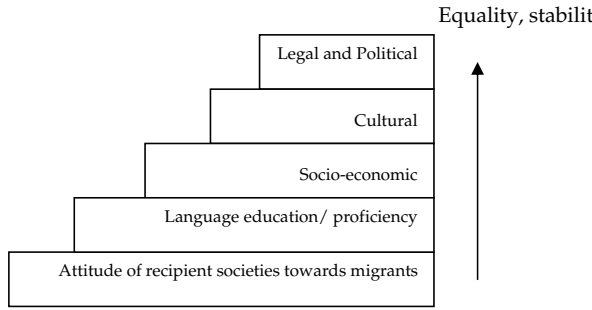
Socioeconomic integration implies successful labour market participation. Five main indicators, employment, income level, social security, level of education and housing, are used to measure the extent of integration within this dimension. The case of education and housing somehow constitutes the border between socioeconomic and cultural dimensions. In recent years, it has increasingly been recognized that integration is not limited to the socioeconomic domain. The quest for integration in the cultural domain is, however, more difficult to grasp. Sharing certain societal values is considered an important factor of cultural integration, but even the dominant or mainstream culture is not uniform, and the same holds true for any migrant culture as well. It is, in addition, difficult to clarify the borders between assimilation and integration, and also those between integration and multiculturalism. The indicators of legal and political integration are, on the other hand, comparatively straightforward. Rules for naturalization introducing the concept of "civic citizenship" and the right to vote at national or local elections are often used to measure national policies as well as the attitudes of a country towards migrants. Literature on the issue is in agreement that integration is not a one-sided process which requires efforts only on the part of the immigrants. The host society equally bears a responsibility. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003: 29) suggest that "successful integration requires the major institutions of the recipient societies to be sufficiently accessible to migrants".

Hospitals and care centres in which foreign nurses and care workers are employed can be seen as a microcosm of society. The extent to which foreign workers are accepted or welcomed into hospitals, the kind of

positions that they can attain in the workplace, the degree to which they share the culture and values of their co-workers and patients, their formal participation in various institutions and so on all need to be considered. With regard to these issues, Japanese language proficiency is undoubtedly a key factor. How well care personnel are able to demonstrate their abilities and work skills depends on it. Magnusdottir (2005: 268), who studied foreign nurses in Iceland, noted a widespread semi-fluency among nurses and concludes that "the language barrier was central to the nurses' experience". No doubt, the same can be expected from foreign nurses migrating from the Philippines to Japan.

In order to discuss Japanese migration policy in more detail, I remodelled the four categories of policy processes set forth by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) in the following way.

Fig. 4: Steps of integration

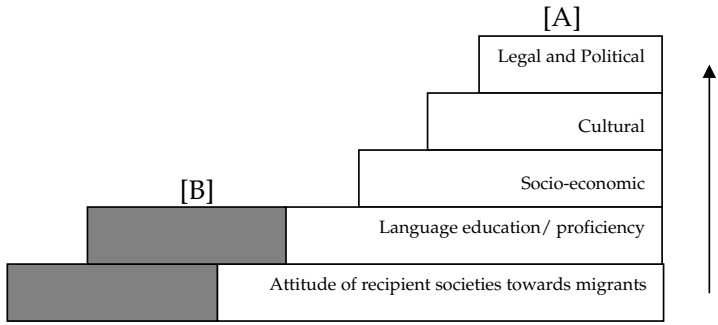


The steps described above refer to steps in an integration process. The attitude of the host society represents the basis of all integration processes and is hence the most vital factor for a successful migration policy. Language education and the development of language proficiency allow migrants to benefit from these policies. The socioeconomic dimension is based on the two preceding stages, the attitudes of the host community and Japanese language education. In the same way, the realization of the cultural dimension in an integration process requires successful management of the three preceding stages. The same holds true for political participation. In other words, language education and the enhancement of language proficiency is a basic measure in assuring migrant integration into the host society. The lesson to be learned from this model is clear. The development of a cultural integration policy, for example, is bound to be unsuccessful if it is not embedded in a policy ensuring socioeconomic integration and linguistic integration. It should be emphasized, further-

more, that the steps in the above model merely depict processes of policy formation and not necessarily the processes of how foreigners actually integrate into their host societies.

Next, I will apply the above model to the Japanese context. As discussed above, foreign workers came to Japan in the 1980s. Japanese language education for migrants began roughly around the middle of that decade, that is to say, the Japanese government, Japanese nationals and non-Japanese residents entered the first stages of the integration process. In present-day Japan, the government is showing intentions of reforming existing socioeconomic inequality and of promoting what is called here the cultural dimension for foreign workers. This is manifested, for instance, in the reform of the social security system, which had previously been disadvantageous to foreign residents. Today, the government is also paying attention to the relationship between foreign residents and the local community, thus expanding its attention beyond economic issues. This hints at the fact that the government has shifted from treating foreigners not merely as short-term residents. Irrespective of such a shift, however, high levels of proficiency in Japanese language are still expected, as evidenced in the case of foreign nurses and care workers. The problem of this position is that, the more stringent the linguistic requirements are, the more difficult it is to acquire socioeconomic equality for foreigners in Japan. Present-day JFL thus faces a difficult task. It should endeavour to help foreign language learners to attain high levels of Japanese language proficiency, and, at the same time, it should endeavour to set out realistic learning objectives (see also Galan in this volume). Let us, therefore, consider the model of integration outlined above in the Japanese context.

Fig. 5: Steps of integration in the Japanese context



According to the governmental position, the policies presently being implemented should ensure that foreign workers reach level A. In reality, however, attaining this level is quite difficult, because of strict requirements, especially in terms of language proficiency. As a result, many foreign workers settle on B. In other words, the gap between A and B represents the existing gap between governmental expectations about existing policies and their actual effects.

5. CONCLUSION

There cannot be any doubt that Japanese proficiency is a key qualification for care work. The ambitious task of foreign nursing candidates having to pass the standard national test, though, appears to constitute too high a requirement. As things stand, such a requirement represents a considerable barrier to integration rather than a tool towards integration. Upholding such requirements, and witnessing the failure to live up to these expectations on the part of foreign care personnel, might thus serve as a convenient argument to reject long-term residents in Japan. At the same time, and against the inclination of the government, the number of non-Japanese residents is more likely to increase than not. The effect of this is a contradictory situation: while Japan officially promotes integration policies, these policies, intentionally it appears, serve to block integration and in so doing ensure and reproduce segregation and inequality between Japanese nationals and immigrants to Japan.

While the present situation is unfavourable for non-Japanese residents in Japan, we should nevertheless expect the situation to improve. To begin with, the number of occasions where Japanese people have contact with care workers of foreign nationality will certainly increase in the future. As a result, Japanese individuals will be confronted with the Japanese language skills of foreign care workers. Their views and their expectations will in all likelihood have a decisive influence on future requirements. Together with such changes, we should also expect attitudes to change with regard to issues such as how language education for foreign workers should be supported at work and who ought to fund foreign workers' language education. Such issues constitute considerable challenges for Japan in general and for JFL in particular. It is in this sense that these issues deserve attention from scholars of language acquisition planning and of JFL.

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Establishing Okinawan heritage language education

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Abstract

In spite of Okinawan language endangerment, heritage language education for Okinawan has still to be established as a planned and purposeful endeavour. The present paper discusses the prerequisites and objectives of Okinawan Heritage Language (OHL) education.[1] It examines language attitudes towards Okinawan, discusses possibilities and constraints underlying its curriculum design, and suggests research which is necessary for successfully establishing OHL education. The following results are presented. Language attitudes reveal broad support for establishing Okinawan heritage language education. A curriculum for OHL must consider the constraints arising from the present language situation, as well as language attitudes towards Okinawan. Research necessary for the establishment of OHL can largely draw from existing approaches to foreign language education. The paper argues that establishment of OHL education should start with research and the creation of emancipative ideas on what Okinawan ought to be in the future – in particular which societal functions it ought to fulfil. A curriculum for OHL could be established by following the user profiles and levels of linguistic proficiency of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

[1] This paper specifically treats the language of Okinawa Island only. Other languages of the Ryukyuan language family such as the languages of Amami, Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni are not considered here. The present paper draws on research conducted in 2005 in Okinawa. Research was supported by a Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science fellowship which is gratefully acknowledged here. I am also indebted to Miyara Shinsho, who kindly hosted the research project, to Florian Axt for processing the survey data, as well as to Tessa Carroll, Imai Jun, Sugita Yuko and Yoshioka Kaoru for reading and discussing an earlier version of the paper.

1. Introduction

Despite often being imagined to be linguistically homogenous, an image that has been promoted by Japanese language planners, Japan is in fact a multilingual state (Lee 1996; Oguma 1998; Osa 1998; Ramsey 2004; Yasuda 1999, 2000). This image of Japan influences linguistic reality, because the effects of a nation's own image are real. Nine of Japan's eleven indigenous languages are either endangered or extinct.[2] While the topic of language endangerment in the Japanese context has increasingly often been addressed in recent years (for example, Karimata *et al*. 2002; Long 2002, 2003; Maher and Yashiro 1995; Murasaki 2001a, 2001b; Satō 2002; Tsuhako and Uemura 2003; Uemura 2003), concern about language endangerment has not yet extended to language education. What Stacy Churchill (1986: 4) wrote, more than 20 years ago, is still valid today: "Linguistic and cultural minorities have recently emerged as a central concern for educational policy in almost all OECD countries, with the sole exception of Japan." While languages other than Japanese (*nihongo*) have not yet been considered worthy of attention on the level of national educational polities, grassroots movements have emerged since Churchill's statement.

Consider Okinawa, where the *Uchināguchi Fukyū Kyōgikai* [Society of Okinawan Language Revitalization, henceforth SOLaR] was established in October 2000. In its inaugural meeting, SOLaR set itself the ultimate objective of establishing local language classes at elementary and junior high schools. Miyara Shinsho, the present general secretary of SOLaR, declared at this meeting:[3] 'Without intervention, people speaking the dialects will vanish. Particularly at this time when interest in the culture and entertaining arts of Okinawa is growing, these varieties need to be incorporated into school education, and we hope that young people too will start to show an affection for Okinawan' (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 21 October 2000). With the aim of establishing heritage language education, the society developed an orthography of Okinawan (*Okinawa Taimusu* 29 August 2001; Serafim 2005) under the direction of Miyara, a linguistics professor at the University of the Ryukyus, and volunteers were trained

[2] These languages are, from northeast to southwest, Kurile Ainu, Shakalin Ainu, Hokkaido Ainu, Ogasawara (Bonin) Creole English, Amami Ryukyuan, Okinawan Ryukyuan, Miyako Ryukyuan, Yaeyama Ryukyuan and Yonaguni Ryukyuan. Not endangered are Japanese and Japanese sign language.

[3] All translations from Japanese are provided by the author. Japanese quotations rendered in English given within the running text are enclosed in single (rather than the regular double) quotation marks.

as local language teachers (*Ryūkyū Shinpō* 22 September 2003; field notes 19 March 2006). Such efforts notwithstanding, the introduction of local language classes has not been accomplished so far.

Heritage language education is essential if the Okinawan language is to survive. The interruption of natural intergenerational language transmission, such as occurred in Okinawa in the 1940s and 50s due to the imposition of Standard Japanese (Heinrich 2004; Motonaga 1994), implies that language maintenance and revitalization hinges crucially on heritage language teaching. The child-bearing generation in Okinawa no longer speaks the local language; hence, they cannot pass it on to the following generation. If no organized action is taken, the entire Ryukyu archipelago, of which Okinawa is part, will become monolingual in a predictable period of time (Karimata 2001: 181). The future for the Okinawan language is rather straightforward, since, strictly speaking, it is not the language which dies, but its speakers. In view of present Okinawan life expectancy standing at 81 years on average, the number of people born before 1950, that is, the number of local language speakers, will diminish from the present 250,000 people to half that number in 2015, and then rapidly decline towards zero in the following two decades.

Despite such a bleak outlook for the future of Okinawan, little consideration has been given in Japanese linguistics or language pedagogy to heritage language education. Japanese language pedagogy remains focused on Japan's main language of wider communication, *nihongo* [Japanese], in an attempt to develop it into an internationally used language (see Carroll in this volume). In this way, JFL is meeting a growing demand for Japanese language education worldwide, but, at the same time, demand for all the other languages of Japan is being neglected. While the Japanese linguistic yearbook *Kokugo Nenkan* [National Language Yearbook] has listed over 200 books and over 1,000 papers published in the field of JFL over the last ten years, not a single publication listed addresses the issue of teaching Japan's endangered languages. Here again, language ideology is at work. In this case, the research agenda of language education in the Japanese context reproduces Meiji ideology about the existence of a homogenous Japanese nation which can be defined via a national language.

In order to consider the prerequisites for and constraints on the establishment of OHL, let us turn first to existing language attitudes and language choices in Okinawa, before looking at research issues which need to be addressed. Based on these insights, some general considerations for the development of an OHL curriculum will be made.

2. Okinawan language revitalization and present language attitudes

Throughout the modern period, minority languages have existed in an environment hostile to them, because modern state institutions are dominated by an imposed national language or language of wider communication. The modernist project of treating all nationals as abstract beings devoid of ethnicity, sex, education, and other aspects of identity leads to the hegemonic imposition of the norms of dominant groups on everybody, and, in effect, to the marginalization of everybody not belonging to this specific group (Bourdieu 1991). Therefore, language revitalization is ultimately embedded in social, economic and political struggles and in attempts to undo the unequal distribution of power underlying modern language regimes. Okinawa is no exception.

Today, the overwhelming numbers of Okinawans perceive themselves to be Japanese, but the perception of being different from mainland (*hondo*) Japanese is equally widespread. This is reflected in the self-designation *uchinānchū* (Okinawan), defined in opposition to *yamatunchū* (person from the mainland) as the principal Other (Siddle 2003: 133). Collective identity in Okinawa is thus local and Japanese at the same time, and only a tiny minority in Okinawa perceives this to be contradictory. The inhabitants see themselves as hyphenated Okinawan-Japanese and they are increasingly proud of this self-identity (Allen 2002: 235). Okinawan identity can thus not simply be pitted against Japanese identity and the same applies for the Okinawan and Japanese languages. The situation in Okinawa is more complex.

2.1. Linguistic situation in Okinawa

Okinawan is a language with a rich and long standing tradition. The Ryukyuan language family is believed to have split from Japanese at some point no later than the sixth century CE (Hattori 1954; Serafim 2003). Its most prestigious variety is that of Shuri, the former capital of the Ryukyu Kingdom on Okinawa Island (see Kerr 1958; Smits 1999; Kreiner 2001 on Okinawan history). Although there was diglossia in the Ryukyu Kingdom, in that Chinese and, to a lesser extent, Japanese, was used for writing, the Shuri variety had occasionally also been used for writing. The linguistic situation of the Ryukyu archipelago drastically changed in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when, following Japan's forceful annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1872, Japanese was spread first in the public domain after 1880 and in the private domain after 1940 (Itani 2006; Kondō 2006). In the course of Japanese

language spread, Okinawan-Japanese contact varieties called *uchinā yamatoguchi* (Okinawan Japanese) emerged. Starting as early as the 1960s, attempts at the revitalization of Okinawan heritage culture and language began to be made (Hara 2005).

Language activists striving to revitalize the local language need to surmount several obstacles. Symmetrical social bilingualism, in which both languages fulfil the same roles, is bound to be provisional. It will lead to the replacement of one of the two languages, if diglossia, that is, a functional differentiation between the two languages, is not developed (Fishman 1985). In the case of Okinawa, this implies that the heritage language, first of all, has to fulfil some societal functions which Standard Japanese does not. The most obvious function of local languages is that of providing membership in the local community and drawing a boundary against everybody else. While Okinawan without doubt serves exactly this function today, the problem is that this only holds true for the older generation. For the middle and the young generation, it is in no way contradictory to claim an Okinawan identity without speaking Okinawan.

Varying Okinawan language proficiency in the local community is a complex issue for language activists. Due to the interruption of natural intergenerational language transmission, language proficiency varies greatly among the generations, with the old generation being most fluent, the middle generation predominantly having passive skills only, and the young generation only understanding selected expressions. Language shift results in language attrition, that is, structural and functional simplification (Sasse 1992: 63–64). What is more, language attrition often prevents less proficient speakers from using the language at all. Proficient users, on the other hand, are critical of functional and structural simplification, which they perceive to be wrong language use or language decay. Consider two concrete examples. Stating that the language of most Okinawans born after 1945 is in disorder, the local newspaper *Okinawa Taimusu* emphasizes the need to pass on correct dialects (*tadashii hōgen*) of Okinawan (*Okinawa Taimusu* 4 May 2000). Arakaki's (2002: 4) account reflects the ensuing dilemma that less proficient speakers have when endeavouring to use the local language: "I was unable to communicate with my paternal grandmother. Even if I tried to speak Luchuan [here the Shuri variety of Okinawan P. H.] to her, as I did not know the honorifics, I was not allowed to speak." In view of this situation, it is a delicate task for language activists to balance the objective of imbuing the heritage language with prestige, while at the same time encouraging speakers with little proficiency to use it.

Minority language activists, whether consciously or not, aim at recreating social identities. These identities need to be more favourable than those which emerged as an effect of the marginalization of minorities in the modernization process. In other words, language revitalization cannot be discussed merely within the limited confines of a language's instrumental or integrative functions. Ultimately, the revitalization of Okinawan is indicative of and linked to Okinawan emancipation efforts from mainland Japan. Williams (1991: 3) identifies increased political autonomy and economic autarchy as the two most important prerequisites for successful language revival based on emancipation efforts. In a similar vein, May (2001: 315) states that "the arguments of minority groups for the retention of their ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities are most often not characterized by a retreat into traditionalism or cultural essentialism but, rather, by a more autonomous construction of group identity and political deliberation." Attempts at language revitalization in Okinawa are thus part of re-imagining Okinawan in a globalized and post-modern world. Language revitalization, Fishman (1991: 6) writes, is an attempt to make "the post-modern present." It challenges the modernist views on ideologically mediated national coherence expressed by the imposition of a shared language, culture, history and ethnicity. It essentially questions whether nation-states should continue to be imagined as national communities, enforcing homogeneity by suppressing diversity within the nation-state, or whether they should not rather be imagined in such a way that they recognize and value existing variety within the confines of the state. Local languages are an important tool in repositioning minorities within nation states more favourably – losing them constitutes a decisive setback (Heinrich 2005; May 2001; Tsitsipis 2003).

Since Okinawan language revival is embedded in a renegotiation of the terms according to which Okinawa is part of the Japanese nation state, language revitalization will obviously not find enthusiastic support from the state to which the current situation is advantageous.[4] This implies that

[4] Consider the experiences of a member of the local education board on Kume Island, near Okinawa, who states his experiences of trying to have the local language included in the local school curriculum (Allen 2002: 124): "The biggest problem we face is that of the Ministry of Education. It looks to standardize its curriculum without any recognition of regional or cultural difference. So the kids down here learn about Kansai, Kanto and Kinki Japanese history, but nothing at all about local culture and history. This is more than a shame, it's a travesty. I mean, the reason that the kids have to learn this stuff is so that they are able to compete with other students at the same level so that they can get into university, so that in turn they can get jobs. The result is that they are seriously disadvantaged coming from Okinawa, and coming from the *ritō*

Okinawan language revival has to be driven by grassroots movements until it has gained enough momentum to secure state support. In order to assess support for language revival in the local community, the study of language attitudes towards the linguistic varieties used in Okinawa is crucial. We will turn to this issue next.

2.2. Language attitudes

A central point in Okinawan language revitalization is the question of which Okinawan variety ought to be the subject of heritage language education. Okinawan has several distinctive regional and social varieties, some of which are more prestigious than others. Although Okinawan has no standard variety, there are still notable prestige differences between its varieties. The varieties of Shuri, in particular the social variety of the former samurai class, ranks highest. It is followed by the language varieties of the greater Naha region, the remaining varieties of south and central Okinawa (*chūnan-bu*), and then by the local varieties of *yanbaru* [Northern Okinawa]. In view of this situation, SOLaR proposes that everybody should be encouraged to speak their respective local variety but that writing should be based on the Shuri variety (*Okinawa Taimusu* 12 October 2000). Among all the language varieties spoken on Okinawa, hybrid language forms enjoy the least prestige.[5]

Hybrid language is particularly often used by younger speakers no longer proficient in the local language. It varies considerably between local communities and generations. When respondents were asked how they addressed their spouses, children, parents, grandparents, neighbours and colleagues in a questionnaire survey in 2005, the overall figure for hybrid language amounted to 23 percent for the older generation (older than 60), 39 percent for the middle generation (between 30 and 60), but 49 percent for the younger generation (younger than 30). Thus, the younger the informants the more hybrid language is used (The middle generation, in contrast, has the highest rates for Standard Japanese and the older generation for the local language).[6]

[outer islands] is even worse in many respects, because they don't even have access to the most rudimentary facilities for education."

[5] Hybrid language use can include entire words such as *chimū* or *chimui* in place of Japanese *kawaisō* [pitiful], word stems such as in *hingiru* [escape, run away] formed from Okinawan *hingiyun* and Japanese *nigeru*, or inflective morphology such *karusan* [light] from Okinawan *gassan* and Japanese *karui*.

[6] Research was conducted in July 2005. 800 questionnaires were distributed randomly by the present author, 185 of which were sent back (23 percent). These constitute the basis for the present analysis.

For language revival, the potential of the language variety to be revitalized is more crucial than its present role in the local community (Kymlicka 1995: 100–101). In Okinawa, present language choices and language attitudes are not congruent. Divergence between language ideology, language use and legal provisions on language can generally be seen as a harbinger of change (Coulmas 2005b). Okinawans today have a much more positive outlook on their local language than their language choices, constrained by the effects of language shift, reflect. In particular, young Okinawans, usually Japanese monolinguals, display a strong sense of yearning (*akogare*) for the local language (*Okinawa Taimusu* 12 October 2000). A survey conducted by the local newspaper *Ryūkyū Shinpō* in 2001 revealed that 89 percent of the respondents stated feeling affection (*aichaku*) for Okinawan and that 82 percent of the children questioned claimed that they would like to speak the language (*Asahi Shinbun* 12 May 2002). In my questionnaire survey conducted in Okinawa in summer 2005, I asked informants whether they thought that (1) Okinawan should be taught at school; whether they (2) would like to study Okinawan themselves; and whether they (3) thought that the state had a responsibility to safeguard the Okinawan language. The results obtained reveal strong support for the local language: among the 179 valid answers to (1), 149 (83 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with the idea of establishing Okinawan at school. In relation to (2), when I asked informants to rank English, Standard Japanese, Okinawan and other languages they would like to study, 60 (32 percent) out of 164 valid answers named Okinawan as their first choice and a further 57 (21 percent) referred to Okinawan as their second choice; English was the most popular choice. As for (3), 127 informants (73 percent) out of 175 valid answers thought that the state had a responsibility to safeguard the local language. These figures thus reveal that the aims of the SOLaR are backed by solid support from the local community.

Language revitalization implies that problems emerging from within the local community need to be overcome. One of the most widely noticed problems which undermine language revitalization from within is language purism. Since language shift is always accompanied by language attrition, maintaining the norms of highly proficient speakers often leads to the silencing of everyone else (Coulmas 2005a: 167; Hill 1993: 89; King 2001: 97). What is more, purism may lead to regarding the activities and effects of language revitalization as inauthentic, and the language and culture it reproduces as degenerate (Thieberger 2002: 317). Furthermore, many people will inevitably tend to regard the issue of language revitalization as superfluous and ill-

fated. Okinawan heritage language education has to challenge such scepticism and has to build on the enthusiasm of its teachers and its students.

To summarize, language attitudes towards the local language are considerably positive, in particular for the young generation. Furthermore, the questionnaire survey revealed that there is a solid demand for OHL. The current situation is however such that no support from the state for such programmes can be expected at the present which means that establishing OHL needs to be driven by grassroots movements. There are several obstacles which need to be overcome for a successful establishment of local language education. The most important are avoiding language purism, developing societal function of the local language for the younger generations, and providing a linkage between the language and its associated culture which is responsive to and attractive for the young generation. All of these issues require more detailed insights than we presently have. Establishing OHL, in other words, requires specific research on Okinawan heritage language education. This issue will be discussed next.

3. Research on OHL

Frankly speaking, research on language revitalization is not a prominent issue in linguistics, including endangered language studies. Students of endangered languages often study the language detached from its speakers and care more about their research results than about the speech community from which they obtained their data (Spolsky 1978: 332). In view of such practices, Hale (2001: 76) cautions his readers that anyone involved in field research inescapably assumes a responsibility for the speech community in question, since it may be affected by the research results obtained. Skutnabb-Kangas (1986: 164) therefore argues convincingly that research into local languages is best carried out by members of the local community in question.

Arakaki (2002: 1) reports on the concrete difficulties of using existing research results to study the local language: "Although there are many excellent studies about [the] Shuri dialect, it is difficult to find a study which focuses on the descriptions necessary for the practical usage of the language. In addition to this point, the contexts in which the utterances have emerged have been neglected, in spite of their importance. Consequently, people who desire to learn Luchuan [Ryukyuan, i. e. Okinawan in this case P. H.] immediately face compound difficulties. That is to say, it is exceedingly difficult to speak Luchuan in contextually oriented con-

versations." Arakaki's comment highlights a lack of insights into (1) heritage language pedagogy and (2) sociolinguistic studies on language use and language attitudes.[7]

3.1. HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

For general research into heritage language education, the research paradigm of foreign language education provides a reliable starting point. Lynch (2006: 3) points out that pivotal questions in both foreign language education and heritage language education should be: "(1) What do second language learners acquire?, (2) How do learners acquire a second language?; (3) What differences are there in the way in which individual learners acquire a second language?" As a starting point, these three questions certainly provide a research agenda broad enough to launch research into heritage language education in the Okinawan context. A further task to be added for OHL is research into language pedagogy and curriculum development. Selecting and sequencing features of Okinawan grammar, lexicon and discourse types to be acquired at specific stages requires scholarly insights into pupils' meta-linguistic knowledge and the speed with which Japanese monolinguals can acquire the Japanese sister language Okinawan. Since the meta-linguistic knowledge of pupils is largely defined by the *kokugo* [national language] curriculum, the heritage language education curriculum should be interconnected with it. In addition, consideration needs to be given to which issues should receive more or less attention in heritage language education, for example, reading and written composition versus conversational skills.

3.2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

There is, moreover, little research into the fields of sociolinguistics and language ideology in Okinawa. This is partly due to the fact that the language varieties of Okinawan are often treated as greater dialects (*daihōgen*) of the national language (*kokugo*), rather than as languages in their own right; hence the reduced research agenda (see above). Since language shift (including reversing language shift) is the outcome of changing

[7] Since language revitalization is also an emancipative movement, research of language revitalization in the framework of social movement studies and here, in particular, the matching between political opportunity structures and the mobilization strategies of the various movements supportive of language revitalization would also be desirable. Such discussion is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper.

language attitudes, language revitalization must first and foremost be directed at changing these language attitudes and the language ideologies underlying them (Mühlhäusler 2002; Burnaby 1997: 295). Contact between the language varieties spoken in Okinawa, hybrid language varieties and language attrition are further fields that have not yet been studied in detail. Furthermore, social network analysis is an important approach to gain insights into the beneficiary conditions for language maintenance in specific local communities.

Language revitalization requires a promotion of the status of the language variety in question within the local community, as well as the recognition of such status from outside. Such status is, however, never obtained without struggle (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 180). Language revival in general requires the identification of negative language ideology about the language in question so that these views can be deconstructed. Discourses of empowerment through the local language need to be developed in reaction to these views. Fettes (1997: 308) points out that such discourse can draw from powerful concepts "of freedom, of justice, of human rights, of anti-racism, of community, of sustainability, and so on."

In the absence of important insights into heritage language pedagogy and sociolinguistic language use in the Okinawan context, ideas for curriculum design can only be rudimentary at present. Let us nevertheless consider some directions that an OHL curriculum might take. Heritage language curriculum design should best be seen as a process to which new insights emerging from research such as the areas briefly outlined above should contribute.

4. Towards a curriculum of OHL

According to Hinton (2001: 7), five basic types of language revitalization programmes can be found throughout the world: (1) school programmes for children, (2) programmes outside school for children, (3) programmes for adults, (4) documentation programmes and (5) home-based education programmes. Scholars in the field of language acquisition and learning are in general agreement that early childhood, that is, the period from 18 months to 6 years of age, is the period best suited for language acquisition (Francis and Reyhner 2002). Specialists in language revival furthermore draw attention to the success of language immersion programmes (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 51). Language attitudes in Okinawa reveal, however, some hesitation about such early exposure of children to the local language. When I asked informants in which situations the local

language would be appropriate, 49 percent thought that it would be appropriate in school, but only 39 percent thought it appropriate in kindergarten. These figures reveal concern about a negative influence on the mastery of Standard Japanese arising from knowledge of the heritage language. A thorough acquisition of Standard Japanese without any possible interference from the local language appears to be preferred by many respondents.

4.1. COOL LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Schooling and education can hardly be cool. Some issues and programmes however are cooler that others and heritage language education can certainly draw on existing positive attitudes towards Okinawan language and culture. Among an increasing number of Japanese, in particular young people, Ryukyuan traditions, language and artefacts are cool (*kakkoii*). In addition to cool as the ever-changing outlook on artefacts and cultures by young urban people, Cool, with a capital C, has been developed as a category in cultural studies. I argue that consideration of this principle is important for securing learners' interest in and enthusiasm for heritage language education.

Pountain and Robins (2000: 23) characterize the principle of Cool in the following way: "Cool is a rebellious attitude, an expression of a belief that the mainstream mores of your society have no legitimacy and do not apply to you. It's a self-contained and individualistic attitude, although it places high value on friendship within a tightly defined peer group." They convincingly argue that Cool is increasingly often governing attitudes and outlooks on ethnicity among young people. Maher (2005) reminds us that the modernist construction of collective identity, that is, identity being imposed on individuals to remain there unalterable and forever, is uncool. Uncool, furthermore, is the view that being part of a cultural and linguistic minority entails a burden of a collective past characterized largely by remembering past suffering and oppression. Okinawan language, culture and collective memory can certainly be constructed in a way that they represent an obligation for Okinawan students. The point is, however, that obligation and duty are uncool. Allen's (2002) depiction of the preparation of a local language rally on Kume Island is an example how uncool, and therefore counterproductive, local language education for children can be. When children who were studying the local language showed insufficient enthusiasm about memorizing speech incomprehensible to them, they were addressed by a local authority on education in the following way (Allen 2002: 94): "Learn your parts. Remember your lines: Practice your dances. It's just like home-

work. Not fun, but necessary. Do you understand?" Cool, by contrast, takes pride in difference, and this can be exploited by heritage language education, but it is important to note that mainstream stereotypes and expectations are uncool, irrespective of whether these stereotypes and expectations are mainland Japanese or Okinawan.

There is an important lesson for language revitalization to be learned from cultural studies centred on the principle of Cool. Uncool imposition of heritage language education, in other words, learning as an obligation, and its linkage to a dark and oppressed Okinawan past, will fail to produce enthusiasm for the local language among the young generation. Okinawa has much more to offer to students than imposing or reinforcing a sense of duty to remember local suffering and oppression. Cool education takes pride in difference, modifies ethnic identity for aesthetic purposes and takes a "culinary" delight in repositioning oneself *vis-à-vis* dominating social mores. Cool as an operating system creates cool desktop expressions of identity. Cool language education for the young generation should explore both, the principle of Cool, i. e. an attitude of pride in difference and the cool icons and manifestations created thereby. For the young generation, cool stuff about Okinawa includes, to name but a few things, Okinawa hip hop and pop music, Chatan bars, clubs and the nearby sea wall, Sakurazaka hill in Naha, local *min'yō* [folksong] music bars, hybrid language, the local FC Ryukyu soccer club, the outlying islands (*ritō*), beach and barbeque parties and countless other things. Including these topics in heritage language education will address the image that the young generation has of Okinawa and, what is more, an Okinawa in which they take pride – Cool pride. In a situation where it is extremely difficult to mobilize people for one specific purpose, in this case language revitalization, Cool can serve as an important idea to ignite interest for a process of reconsidering Okinawan identity formation from the side of language revitalization.

Pitting the heritage language against national or global languages in order to symbolically create a sense of equality between the heritage language and, for example, Standard Japanese or English, is detrimental, because it pretends that the dominating and the dominated language are on a par, in spite of the fact that this is clearly not the case (Fettes 1997: 302). In order to be successful, heritage language education must empower its learners by taking pride in their language and culture *because* (and not dispite) of the dominance of Japanese and English as a means for empowerment. Heritage language education can be contrasted with the (uncool) national language and English language education imposed on young pupils as a duty to ensure their economic wellbeing.

4.2. Bridging gaps between generations

Heritage language speakers are the most valuable resource for language revitalization projects, and their attitudes towards the local language need to be taken into consideration. Few exceptions aside, only the older generation is proficient in Okinawan today. Since this is at the same time the generation in which natural language transmission was interrupted in the 1940s and 50s (Heinrich 2004), many of these speakers continue, often unconsciously, to have prejudices against the local language. Ensuring that these prejudices are not passed on to pupils is an important issue in heritage language education. Since language ideologies are hard to displace, the curriculum should have enough space for language learners to form for themselves a positive outlook on the local language. The curriculum of OHL should therefore also include topics such as an introduction to Japan's indigenous languages and multilingual heritage, language rights, the nexus of language and identity, Okinawan intellectual traditions and resistance to the hegemonic imposition of state-defined culture and language, indigenous arts/entertainment and their position in the contemporary context, as well as an introduction to linguistic or anthropological field work in Okinawa.

Contrary to foreign language education, students in a heritage language programme already have very specific ideas and knowledge about the culture linked to the target language. Heritage language education can build on existing ideas. Mismatches between students' expectations and language programme content, on the other hand, will result in reduced motivation. In this context, Hill (1993: 89) has noted that the "heavy emphasis on 'traditional culture' characteristic of many language maintenance programmes may enhance pride in this culture, but may fail in language maintenance. This occurs if the programme exposes young people mainly to registers of the language that they can't really use because it [sic] is inappropriate for their age group (such exposure may also yield extreme concern on the part of the elders that ritual knowledge is being discussed inappropriately, by unqualified people in profane contexts), or to kinds of knowledge, like the traditional use of plant materials, that have little relationship to contemporary life and are unlikely to be retained beyond the classroom." In other words, the content and issues addressed in language classes ought to draw on and develop students' knowledge and attitudes. Such language education might then provide an incentive for later studies of traditional culture and practices among some of the students. Within the heritage language programme, however, classroom activities should be provided in which students'

world knowledge and cultural expectations serve as a support to the lessons.

Language education ought to provide students with an occasion to gain a deeper understanding of their culture and, perhaps even more crucially, of culture in general terms. Since heritage language education targets pupils' identity formation to a large extent, pupils should furthermore be included as much as possible in the selection of teaching materials. As studying Okinawan is, at present, not a tool of economic advancement, but a means of strengthening local pride and embracing cultural diversity, heritage language teaching must differ from the teaching practices of other languages in Okinawa. And, in fact, it already does. When I asked local language teacher Inamine Chie (19 July 2006, interview) where she placed most emphasis in her teaching, the reply was short but clear: 'Heart, it's the heart' (*hāto, hāto desu yo*). Contrary to English-language education, heritage language education can ill afford unmotivated students. After all, motivation and not economic advancement is the main plus point of local language learning. The greatest asset of any heritage language programme should be the enthusiasm and interest on the part of the students. To ensure this, students need to be given fundamental roles which should, in return, assure that heritage language education stays cool.

4.3. Defining learning goals

Realistic learning goals are central to any curriculum. Like any other language education programme, teaching heritage languages will produce speakers with widely divergent language proficiencies. Heritage language education should therefore include the idea that some students will acquire only a limited proficiency. Just as in any other subject, heritage language learning requires structured, concentrated and long-term learning and teaching efforts. Ideas such as that the language is dormant within the children (Inamine, 19 July 2006, interview), or that knowledge of the language is innate by grace of being Ryukyuan (Nakahama, 29 September 2005, interview), and that heritage language education therefore merely has to provide an impetus in order to awaken "dormant" linguistic knowledge, are unrealistic. Learning Okinawan is an endeavour as time-consuming and demanding for Okinawan students as it is for their mainland Japanese counterparts. Heritage language teachers have to accept the fact that the overwhelming majority of Okinawan pupils are monolingual. Hence, heritage language education is a kind of "foreign language education" for

the pupils – the foreign language in this case being a heritage language they never acquired. Nevertheless, since Okinawan is genealogically related to Japanese and shares large parts of its lexicon, morphology and syntax, much faster progress can be expected in Okinawan language education than, say, in English, German or French language education in Japan.

Since Okinawan heritage language education is foreign language education in a Japanese sister language, it can draw from the European experience of promoting foreign (sister) language learning and, in particular, of teaching minority languages there. As a starting point, the six reference levels as defined in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) could be used as a helpful grid into which linguistic features to be taught at the various stages could be assigned (Council for Cultural Co-Operation 2001; see also Galan this volume). The basic three reference levels are further specified with regard to proficiency.

Tab. 1: Reference levels in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

Beginner A:	A1 Breakthrough, A2 Waystage
Independent user B:	B1 Threshold, B2 Vantage
Proficient user C:	C1 Effective Operational proficiency, C2 Mastery

Since these profiles are accepted as standards for assessing language proficiency and designing language curricula across several European languages, they also provide a helpful framework for language activists engaged in establishing Okinawan heritage language education. A clear and widely accepted categorization of proficiency and curriculum would facilitate recognition of Okinawan heritage language education *vis-à-vis* its critics and, what is more, provide the possibility of interrupting and resuming the study of the heritage language at any time and of offering intensive classes at any given level.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on what has been discussed here, the field and the agenda of Okinawan heritage language education can be summarized schematically as below. Needless to say, the table is not exhaustive but merely a heuristic simplification.

Tab. 2: Outline of the field of OHL

	Ideology / ends	**Research**	**Curriculum design**
Starting point	• research • deconstructing Meiji ideology • principle of Cool	• frameworks of foreign language pedagogy and sociolinguistics	• CEFRL • *kokugo* curriculum
Activities	• creating and spreading ideas on how Okinawa can be imagined more positivly	• empirical research on Okinawan heritage language education and language use	• assigning Okinawan features into CEFRL grid • Considering *kokugo* curriculum
Actors	• language activists • local movements • journalists • politicians	• local scholars and students	• local scholars on language pedagogy • language teachers • language activists • language learners

As can be seen from this table, language revival can be tackled from various ends and by various actors. All the activities can fall back on existing frameworks or discourses as a starting point. The field, as outlined above, is in no way as clear-cut and static as it might appear from the table. For instance, activities aimed at creating emancipative ideology, in other words, imagining and positioning Okinawa in a more positive way than has been the case throughout the modern period, affect research on heritage language education and attempts at curriculum design. Research and curriculum design, on the other hand, also provide an important impetus to imagine Okinawa in a more positive way. The most important point to learn from the above abstraction is, however, that *any activity which can be placed within this field provides an important contribution to revitalizing Okinawan*. In other words, none of the activities are futile, and attempts at heritage language revitalization have beneficial effects which go beyond the issue of language revival. Activities aimed at establishing Okinawan heritage language education are a contribution to creating an Okinawa worth living in and worth living for. This is why research on heritage language education should best be pursued by those affected. If the present paper can draw more interest to this field, it will have achieved its purpose.

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Speech perception across languages and writing systems – lessons for Japanese as Foreign Language from a commercial research project

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Abstract

In the first part, this paper discusses our experiences developing speech-controlled car-navigation tools for Japanese, in particular problems occurring thereby. It proved to be rather difficult to deal with the linguistic complexity of written and spoken Japanese words, especially with regard to devocalization and the lack of standardized transcriptions. In the second part, lessons for Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) evolving from our experiences are discussed.

1. Introduction

The semiotic view of language as a representational device is interconnected with other representational devices such as writing systems. This interconnection has received little attention in Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL), probably because psycholinguistic issues related to teaching *kanji* [Chinese characters] are not particularly prominent as a research subject. Rather, language educators are usually content to perceive the lexicon as being somehow connected to the writing system. Learning new words is, however, not that simple. This becomes clear when one studies new vocabulary in the context of their interconnection with different writing systems. In this paper, I will identify two concrete problems:
(1) problems pertaining to devoicing.
(2) problems related to transcribing Japanese with Roman letters.
The problems of devoicing and transcribing Japanese into the Roman alphabet were encountered in the course of a commercial research project for a Japanese car navigation system. While these problems have not emerged in the process of language education, several lessons for JFL can nevertheless be derived.

At our institute at Tübingen University, we have been developing a series of Japanese car navigation tools together with Temic, a company based in the city of Ulm. We were primarily engaged with matters of

speech recognition. In this process, we encountered several problems of applied phonology and lexicology. Since the research was based on demand, our approach was pragmatic and straightforward. Nevertheless, we faced problems on an almost daily basis. Most problems originated in the fact that existing writing systems have become so naturalized that they tend to take on a life of their own. In the case of linguistic interaction between humans and machines, as in the case of car navigation systems, such naturalization becomes a problem. Investigating these problems thus serves as a chance to deconstruct the ways in which we are influenced in our perception of language by the writing conventions we use. This is where our experiences in this commercial research project become relevant for JFL as well.

2. Description of the commercial research project

As mentioned above, the project was not planned as a scientific experiment, but grew in small steps. These steps were primarily instigated by requests from the company for which we conducted the research. Overall, the project involved the following steps.

(1) Checking texts containing a total of 900 Japanese words. Native speakers of Japanese read out sentences and word lists relevant to car navigation. These texts had already been produced in Japan. The texts were presented visually in transcriptions and over headphones to members of our team. They had the task of listening and reading the stimuli in *kanji-kana* mixed writing (*kanji kana majiribun*) and correcting the transcriptions if necessary. The transcriptions were in two writing systems: mixed *kanji-kana* writing and the Roman alphabet (*rōmaji*). Two to fifteen repeated runs were necessary to edit the texts.

(2) After the first round of corrections by one person was completed, two more members of the team verified the corrections which had been made.

(3) Next, the texts were analysed in order to obtain a phonetic transcription and in order to define the core lexical items to be used for the car navigation system.

(4) A semi-automatically derived vocabulary list was edited in more detail. For instance, the transcriptions of all long vowels in word endings *ou* were edited as *o+u*.

(5) These lexical entries were transcribed from the original *kanji-kana* mixed style into *kana* and several more writing systems and orthographies: Tu-Kana, Kunrei romanization, Hepburn romanization, In-

ternational Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and SAMPA (Speech Assessment Method Phonetic Alphabet), a transcription system jointly developed by Temic and Tübingen University. All these transcriptions were necessary in order to allow the car navigation system to process the linguistic data: Tu-Kana was necessary for word-segmented texts, Kunrei for adapting the entries into the existing Japanese database, Hepburn for possible German and English databases, IPA for the creation of the actual spoken items and, finally, SAMPA for electronic transmission of the phonetic data.[1]

The following example illustrates the work steps described so far.

Tab. 1: Transcription process in the project

American English translation:	I wish I had a portable telephone.
Mixed *kanji-kana*	携帯電話があったらなあ。 keitaidenwa ga attara naa portable telephone I wish I had
Hiragana	けいたいでんわがあったらなあ。
(Semi-automatic identification of words)	
(Transformation to Tu-Kana)	
Hiragana	けいたい でんわが あったら なあ。 Keitai denwa ga attara naa
Tu-Kana	けいたい でんわが あったら なー。
(Transcription by Perl Script)	
SAMPA	kei:tai denwa ga a?tara na:
Hepburn	keitai denwa ga attara na
Kunrei	keitai denwa ga attara na

(6) Speech recognition of the navigation system for Japanese was tested.
(7) Product-specific spoken commands for human–machine–human communication via the auditory system were translated (from German and English to Japanese).
(8) Product-specific written commands for human–machine–human communication via the displays were translated (from German and English to Japanese).
(9) The vocabulary list was modified by adding new product-specific information.

[1] Tu-kana is a method of word segmentation and, at the same time, a master version for romanization which distinguishes between *onbin* [euphony] and long vowels.

(10) Correction of spoken and written commands with the machine interface, which allows the correction of errors that occur when translating without a fixed working system.

By now, readers might wonder why our department and 20 students from our institute were asked to develop tools for car navigation in Japanese, in spite of the fact that there are certainly plenty of well-trained Japanese computer linguists. As a matter of fact, the company in question had initially worked with computer linguists, but had encountered a plethora of problems in doing so (see below). Thus, Temic deliberately chose to consult specialists in Japanese with a philological background.

Since several variations in software systems for Japanese exist, it was necessary to engage students trained both in Japanese language and in natural language engineering in order to manage all programme versions and language encodings comprehensively. In addition to existing programmes, specific software for semi-automatic transcription and automatic error checking in Japanese and all its transcribed versions needed to be developed by our team.[2]

Our team understood Temic's problem immediately. The results of the preceding speech recognition project had not been solid enough to process the data. We decided to embark upon the project as follows: first we had to ascertain that a relatively small number of researchers, not all of whom were trained in linguistics, could contribute to the project. Since we knew that speech perception is always influenced by one's first language, in our case by native speakers of Japanese or German, we would compare their respective difficulties in identifying word and morpheme boundaries. Two problems in particular turned out to be laborious:

(1) In the case of the Japanese native speakers, the phenomenon of devoicing (*museika*) was problematic.

(2) For Germans, the biggest problem turned out to be the lack of standards for transcribing Japanese with the Roman alphabet. In particular, segmentation rules and Japanese alphabetic conventions proved to be laborious.

3. THE CASE OF DEVOICING

In step 6, the controlling of machine speech recognition, we encountered significant differences between native and non-native speakers of Japanese. In order to determine these differences more concretely, we started

[2] The software was mostly developed in Perl and Jperl (see Rich and Riechert 1998).

to compare the results systematically. The most prominent problem we encountered on the part of the native Japanese speakers was devoicing, an issue which has drawn much attention in Japanese linguistics for a long time and which can be traced back to the publications of the influential phonetician Sakuma Kanae (1929). While devoicing of vowels is clearly manifested in auditory acoustics, it is frequently not perceived psycho-acoustically. In other words, our Japanese native speakers often perceived vowels where there were none. Needless to say, this dramatically influenced the corrections of the vocabulary lists. Our Japanese consultant tended to transcribe /*ichi*/, even in cases when only the devocalized variant /*ich*/ had been articulated. This specific perception pattern originates in the fact that there are no consonant clusters in Japanese, which is manifested in the syllabic writing conventions of Japanese, in this case *i-chi*. Hence, the psycho-acoustic interpretation of /*ich*/ as /*ichi*/ was influenced by the native speaker's knowledge of existing writing conventions.

When presenting the lexical items in question over headphones, non-native speakers of Japanese initially marked the devocalized pronunciation more often than the native speaker. Non-native speakers of Japanese and German speakers without any knowledge of Japanese, too, differentiated between variants such as /*ich*/ and /*ichi*/ more clearly than native speakers. The deviance between native and non-native Japanese members of our team only vanished after we trained the native speaker about devoicing phenomena.

In the course of our working steps, the Japanese native speaker first read out a sentence and then compared it with the original written text. Since it was not possible to reduce the speed of the recording, this procedure had to be repeated several times. Then, initially, the native speaker checked his transcriptions together with a German speaker of Japanese. Needless to say, this task was extremely time-consuming. This is why we chose to train the native speaker of Japanese.

We have a clear understanding of how devoicing works from existing linguistic research.

Step 1: vocality [-consonantal] is reduced or lost.
Step 2: place of the articulation [+coronal] and continuity [+continuant] are retained.
Step 3: voicing may or may not be lost.

Phonological devoicing is thought to consist of spread of the feature (glottal spread) from the preceding obstruent to the following vowel. This results in the subsequent realignment of the spreading feature to the midpoint between the obstruent and the vowel. In this model, phonolog-

ical devoicing occurs between plosives, but phonetic loss of voicing can also occur between voiceless fricatives.

In summary, we encountered the following problem. Not differentiating between variants such as /*ichi*/ and /*ich*/ (one) or /*roku*/ and /*rok*/ (six) as a lexical entity in dictionaries gives rise to the view that such variance is irrelevant. When communicating with machines, however, this no longer holds true. Speakers frequently use devoiced variants and do not conform to written language norms. This was precisely the problem that the computer linguistics who had worked on the data before had failed to take into account.

4. The case of Romanization

The problems we encountered in the course of our project were not limited to native speakers of Japanese alone. German speakers of Japanese faced various problems concerning the Roman transcription of Japanese. The lexical entries processed for the car navigation system included the usual three types of Japanese lexical categories: indigenous Japanese words, Sino-Japanese words and western loanwords (Takeuchi 1999: 41):

Yamato Japanese	e. g. *hana* (flower)
Sino-Japanese	e. g. *happyō* (announcement)
Western loanwords	e. g. *hanbāgā* (hamburger)

Despite the existence of transcriptional techniques, it is noteworthy that the conventions for transcribing Japanese using the Roman alphabet are ambiguous. One problem is the influence from one's own language and its writing conventions. Consider a concrete example: on what basis should one decide whether "screen switch off" should be transcribed as one word (*sukuriinsuicchiofu*) or as three words (*sukuriin suicchi ofu*) following the English word boundaries? Note that the syntactic order (N-V) is Japanese and not English (V-N). There are, in addition, different transcription conventions in different European countries which reflect the writing conventions of their national languages. We thus have various European conventions for transcribing Japanese: the Portuguese system (1591), the systems used by scholars of western sciences (*rangaku*) in premodern Japan (1640–1854), the French Landresse system (nineteenth century), the Siebold system (1827), the Hepburn system (1867), the revised Hepburn system (1905), the Japanese official (*kunrei*) system (1885) and the revised Kunrei system (1937 and 1946 respectively), and the Meyer system (1971). Consider again a concrete example: the botanical name

Camellia sasanqua is an adaptation of Latin in Sino-Japanese. In the Roman alphabet, this term can be transcribed as *sazanka* or alternatively also *sasanka* (in both the Kunrei and the Hepburn system). The popular word for Camellia in Japanese is *tsubaki* (Hepburn), *tcubaki* (Portuguese), *toebaki* (Rangaku), *tsoubaki* (French), *tsubaki* (Siebold), *tubaki* (Kunrei 1946) and *zubaki* (Meyer).

As the car navigation terminology usually follows the Kunrei or Hepburn conventions, variations such as those above would rarely be possible. Nonetheless, when checking Japanese word lists by having them read by Japanese or non-Japanese, there remains some uncertainty, because certain possibilities for representing these Japanese words have been discarded. In order to account for the differences that exist between mixed *kanji-kana* writing and romanized Japanese, the method of matching Roman letters to *kana* and *kanji* must be flexible. In order to ensure such flexibility, we need to develop proper integration of linguistic knowledge and information retrieval technologies.[3] In order to avoid any ambiguities or mistakes, the most flexible solution was to use a romanized writing system *together* with the standard *kanji-kana* mixed writing.

5. Conclusions for Japanese language planning and JFL

As a result of our project we can draw attention to the fact that the creation of thorough lexicological and instructive systems for overcoming the differences in the Japanese and western perceptions of Japanese words is still urgently needed. Human beings have a highly developed and finely articulated model of the world, closely related to the vocabulary and grammar of their mother tongue. Communication depends on the congruence of such world models and of the respective language and its writing system, which have been internalized by its (native) speakers. Discovering these intermediate structures and developing them in a more organic way should also be a requirement for foreign language educators. When accounting for the complexities we faced in our project, three points of view emerged, which need to be kept in mind simultaneously:

[3] Problems of transcription are, of course, not limited to applications of car-navigation systems. The Risk Digest-Forum on Risks to the Public in Computer and Related Systems gives a detailed outline of problems involved with transcriptions (van Meter 2003).

(1) syntagmatic and paradigmatic characteristics of a particular sign system,
(2) knowledge-oriented issues when relating different structures to different cognitive strategies and
(3) using the systems as a part of human behaviour.

Sign systems must thus be treated as complex systems for particular groups of people at a particular point in time. This issue is not limited to problems of developing linguistic tools for a car-navigation system. It is relevant for all communicative interaction.

In the course of a commercial research project primarily conducted on pragmatic grounds, our team, which included students of Japanese, discovered and experienced for themselves issues of fundamental significance. The experiences of this project highlight the importance of including concrete linguistic assignments for students in order to allow them to discover and manage language problems which are encountered in the treatment of foreign languages. This, I would argue, is essentially a topic for foreign language educators.

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COLLECTIVE ACTION CHOICES IN JAPANESE WORKPLACE INTERACTION[1]

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ABSTRACT

In classrooms of Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) as well as in "intercultural training programmes" for business people going to Japan, students are advised not to directly say "no" or "impossible" when communicating with Japanese. The strategy is accounted for in terms of "culture" and, especially, in terms of the stereotypical notion of "indirectness". Empirical analysis tells us, however, that cooperative actions in institutional settings are much more complex. This paper examines cooperative actions in more detail by analysing parts of an audio-recorded business meeting in a Japanese company. In this analysis, the process of negotiating business matters reveals a complex interplay of control mechanisms, institutional logics and knowledge on the part of the individuals involved. Applying the analytical framework of knowledge types of Ehlich and Rehbein (1977) and the discourse analytical method, it is shown that different linguistic means, talk organization, and shared knowledge are at work in the process of negotiating the sales goals.[2]

1. INTRODUCTION

For any given institution, the cooperative actions of its members are a prerequisite for its functioning (Brünner 2000: 8). In order to explain the

[1] This work was partly funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) within the framework of the SFB 538 Mehrsprachigkeit (Research Centre No. 538 Multilingualism) at the University of Hamburg.

[2] I am aware of the different backgrounds and agendas of various approaches in analysing interactional data, such as Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA) in general or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (ten Have 2005). In this paper, the method of Functional Pragmatic Discourse Analysis (see, for example, Ehlich 1991) is employed, because the framework of knowledge structure was developed by researchers in this discipline. Nevertheless, studies in CA and Interactional Linguistics (Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2000) are also taken into account.

cooperative actions of individuals, two distinctive paradigms have had an influence on institutional studies: the theory of cooperation as a rational choice of "benefit-oriented individuals" (for example, Orbell and Dawes 1991), and the model of "socially fully constrained actors" (for an overview of the paradigms and discussions see, Sato and Yamada 2004). The former acknowledges individuals as conscious decision-making actors, and the latter understands society as constraining the actions of individuals.[3] In order to explain plausibly cooperative actions of institutional members in practice, however, we need to take both aspects into account, in other words, individuals acting on the basis of their knowledge about constraints in society. This paper assumes that an analysis of knowledge about possible actions in a given constellation offers explanatory potential for cooperative actions in everyday institutional interaction. Most of our knowledge of operating institutional actions is automatized and unconsciously applied. Other knowledge, however, implies deliberate decision-making. Knowledge is partly acquired through the socialization process and experiences, but it is also mediated through social networks or institutions. Therefore, institutional control mechanisms, rules and logics as well as interactional processes play an important role in forming and activating such knowledge about institutional actions. The empirical study presented in this paper shows the complex interplay of the factors mentioned above in negotiating institutional cooperation.

2. FRAMEWORK AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Assuming that we are knowledgeable agents in a society of alternatives from which we are able to choose in order to act in different social constellations, the analysis of concrete knowledge is essential for investigating individual and collective choice of action. In the framework of functional pragmatic discourse analysis (Ehlich 1991, Rehbein 2001), Ehlich and Rehbein (1977) propose the analytical and theoretical concept of "knowledge structures" and "types of knowledge structure", analysing everyday interaction in German schools. These concepts are valuable in analysing institutional knowledge structures and their mechanisms. In what follows, the types of knowledge structures will be introduced.

[3] In the recent discussions on the relationship between institution and culture, new models are being developed by institutional and cultural sociologists. See, for example, DiMaggio & Powell (1991), Swidler (1986), Sato and Yamada (2004). I am very much indebted to Jun Imai for his insightful comments on this issue.

Knowledge is categorized into seven types according to the degree of sedimentation, internalization or diffusion:

(0) **Knowledge (resulting) from Idiosyncratic Experience** (*partikulares Erlebniswissen*)
(1) **Assessment** (*Einschätzung*)
(2) **Picture, Image** (*Bild, Image*)
(3) **Sentential Knowledge** (*Sentenz*)
(4) **Maxim** (*Maxime*)
(5) **Pattern Knowledge** (*Musterwissen*)
(6) **Knowledge of Routines** (*Routinewissen*)
(Ehlich and Rehbein 1977: 44; for English equivalents, see Ehlich *et al*. 1996)

According to Ehlich and Rehbein (1977), this categorization is not exhaustive. Nevertheless, it offers potential for the further development of analysis of institutional knowledge.[4]

(0) Knowledge resulting from idiosyncratic experience is individual knowledge, of which a large part is forgotten. It is numbered zero because of its peripheral position in the knowledge structures. (1) Assessment is knowledge that is acquired by individual recurrent experiences as a kind of summary, such as "Y is often Z", or "Some of Y is Z". When this knowledge gains a firm status in the mind of X, it becomes (2) Picture. When the Picture, such as "Y is always Z", or "All Y is Z", gets shared with some other members of the social group, then it is called (2) Image. One such knowledge type is "stereotypes" (Redder 1995). (3) Sentential Knowledge is a collective mnemonic sentence, which all members of the social group share. In institutional settings such as schools, which are the focus of the analysis in Ehlich and Rehbein (1977), an example of Sentential Knowledge might be "A tree must be bent while it is young". (4) Maxim is knowledge which is acquired from experiences and immediately elicits actions; such as "Pull a trick on the teachers whenever you can, but do not let them cop you." It might remain individual, but can also be shared by members. (5) Pattern Knowledge is knowledge about the deep structure of action patterns for certain purposes, such as question and answer, or more complex ones like claim-making and its treatment in an institutional setting (Fiehler, Kindt and Schnieders 1999). (6) Knowledge of Routines refers to all possible knowledge types so internalized that one can act automatically without being conscious of them. According to the definitions above, (2) Image, (3) Sentential knowledge, (4) Maxim, (5)

[4] Although more comparative studies are necessary, they also seem to be compatible with the social cognitive scientists' view of "social knowledge", as well as with the concept of "schema-knowledge structures" in the field of cognitive sociology (DiMaggio 1997, 2002; Zerubavel 1997).

Pattern knowledge and (6) Knowledge of Routines are "shared knowledge", whereas (4) can be both individual and shared.

In this paper, I will mainly focus on (4) Maxim as knowledge immediately eliciting actions. According to Ehlich and Rehbein (1977: 61), a Maxim is employed when goal-oriented decisions between alternative actions must be made. A Maxim itself is usually not observed on the surface of the interaction, but, when it comes to rationalizing one's own or others' deed, its linguistic formulations become visible. If it ought to be shared with others, it is verbally transmitted in the interaction (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977: 60). The method of analysis taken here, detail analysis of action and knowledge in discourse, can only be of a qualitative character. Quantitative validity is therefore not claimed here. Rather, I am trying to demonstrate an instance of a method of analysing interaction by which the negotiation process of institutional cooperative actions can be elicited from the empirical data.

3. DATA

The corpora were collected in the framework of the project team Japanese and German Expert Discourse (JadEx) of the SFB 538 Research Centre of Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg (Hohenstein and Kameyama 2000). The data to be analysed here are taken from a digitally audio-recorded sales meeting that took place in the Kyoto office of a food-retailing company in 2000. No visual cues were available. The Regional Manager for Kyoto (hereafter RM) and the Area Managers for the region (hereafter AMs) attend a meeting which is held regularly. In the data under consideration, the topic is sales goals in the coming sales period. Both the Kyoto variety and Standard Japanese are used. The audio-recorded meeting data was transcribed using EXMARaLDA software, which was developed by the Centre of Multilingualism mentioned above.[5] In addition, some prosodic features are measured physically with the phonetic analysis software PRAAT.[6]

The data presented here are excerpts of a recorded meeting (see Appendix II). The numbers in square brackets indicate the score area number within the four excerpts. The numbers with the letter "s" for "segment" in the same line denote the utterance number within the complete tran-

[5] For details and download see http://www.exmaralda.org (as of December 2007).

[6] For details and download see http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat (as of September 2006).

scription. Institutional and personal names have been changed and bracketed with < > in the verbal transcription lines (for other abbreviation and transcript conventions, see Appendix I and Rehbein *et al*. 2002).

Concerning the organization and routines in the branch office of the company under consideration, our insights are mainly limited to the information available in the audio-recorded data of our corpora of three different meetings. Additional information was gathered from the collaborator who recorded the business meetings and from the internet sites of the company. This means that it is not possible to understand all the relevant business matters. As the data presented here are fragments, I will briefly present the content of the data for the sake of better understanding in the analysis that follows.

At the beginning of the final part of the meeting, the RM introduces the last topic for that day's meeting: *sūji awase* [adjusting figures]. In this institution, this apparently involves the sales goals reported by each AM being publicly compared with target figures defined by the management. Usually, higher targets than the reported figures are set out for the future. The RM reads out the sales goals for each area for the last week of May written in the distributed handouts, and the percentage compared to the same period of the year before. Three of the reported sales goals are lower (80–99 percent) than those of the preceding year. Only one of the AMs reports that he is planning to achieve 109 percent of the sales in the same period of the previous year. After the RM has read out all the reported figures, he directly states that he wants the goals to be raised to the level of the same period of the previous year, that is, 100 percent, because sales in the month of June cannot reach this level because of the unfavourable weather conditions in Japan at that time of year.[7] He then reads the new figures for each area sales office. After that, the interaction presented in **Data 1** follows: The RM emphasizes that it is possible to achieve the new goals as defined by him. The manager then repeats "100 percent of the preceding year", addressing Mr. Sato in utterances s124–s125. After a 3.5 second caesura, Mr. Sato just repeats "100 percent of the preceding year" with no special prosodic stress (s127). The RM emphasizes that it will definitely be impossible to achieve 96 percent of the previous year's outcomes in June (s129–s130).

After the interaction shown in **Data 1**, the RM refers to the actual sales goals, called *bazetto* [budget], and the percentage by which each area sales office has to raise its outcomes compared to those of the same period in the previous year. Giving the weather conditions (30 degrees, hot enough

[7] Since June is the rainy season in almost all areas of Japan, the food products that the company retails are influenced by the weather conditions.

to have good conditions for selling their products) as one of the reasons for his confidence about the possibility of attaining last year's figures, the RM insists on his revised sales goals. He also shows sympathy to the AMs who, he thinks, want to postpone the tough task into June. Repeatedly arguing that the new goals must be achieved in May, he also emphasizes the difficult sales conditions in June.

In s262 in **Data 2**, the RM encourages the AMs to compensate for the predicted decrease of sales in June by boosting sales before that period. He then asks Mr. Kato for his opinion (s264). Instead of giving a direct answer, Kato, after a 3.5 second caesura, asks the RM whether he should achieve the last year's outcomes in all the distribution systems they have (s266). The RM does not immediately react to Kato's question, but aggressively argues that June would be a hard month in which to achieve higher sales outcomes. Hence, it would be better to overcome the difficulties in advance rather than postponing dealing with them (s269-s270).

Again in s276–s279 in **Data 3**, the RM says that the AMs should make efforts in good time in order to compensate for the sales losses in June. Mr. Mochizuki is then asked for his opinion in s281. After a 2.5 second caesura, he says he will try anyway. The manager reacts just with *na* [you see] (although this is unclear on the recording) and, after a caesura of 6.5 seconds, he points out that there is a good chance of Mr. Mochizuki achieving the goal, because his area office has only a moderate discrepancy between the self-reported sales goals and the management's decision (s286–s288).

After the interaction shown in **Data 3**, the RM asks Nakamura whose area office is likely to have far greater difficulties than Mochizuki's in making up the imbalance between the reported and the new sales goals. Nakamura mentions a sales strategy he would like to use: *hyaku-en hanbai* [100-Yen Sales]. The RM positively evaluates the sales campaign of selling products at reduced prices for a certain period of time (these data are not shown here).[8]

Data 4 begins with the RM's utterance emphasizing the necessity of a drastic strategy change, including sales campaigns (s429). Mr. Nakamura then suddenly asks the manager who is objecting to their plans to promote a campaign with reduced prices (s430). An explanation for his complaint is in order here. The interaction presented in **Data 4** shows that there is often a conflict among the managing, planning, and sales divi-

[8] Here is the limitation of the data in question. Although this part is somewhat relevant to Data 4, without visual access and internal information about the institution, it is difficult to identify clearly the matters talked about and the persons talking.

sions in the company. The first two often hinder the price reduction campaigns preferred by the latter because of the (temporary) loss of profits for the former two, despite the (temporary) achievement of sales goals for the latter. Nakamura also claims that the AMs and their staff have great difficulty in achieving the given sales goals and that this is well known by the RM (s435). He also makes his doubts clear that he is not sure whether the president of the company knows about the difficulty of their situation (s443–s446). The RM confirms that he does (s447–s448).[9] As Mr. Nakamura has assumed, the RM admits that the management and planning divisions do not usually agree with these campaigns (s439, s441) for the reason depicted above. Mr. Nakamura shows his understanding of the different interests of both the other divisions (s451and s454–s459).

Towards the end of the meeting, which is not shown here, the RM repeats that the AMs should do their best to achieve 100 percent of the outcomes of the same period in the previous year. This statement closes the topic. The two AMs who have been rewarded for their good sales outcomes with a trip are wished a pleasant time by the RM. Then the chair of the meeting, who is not the RM, closes the meeting, thanking all participants. Let us now proceed to some analysis of the data presented above.

4. Data analysis

First, the interplay of local control by the management which the RM represents here and the individual choices of action shown in **Data 1–3** will be examined. By the term local control, I mean the institutional control over individuals' work which is evident in everyday face-to-face interaction. This is distinguished from other control devices on the organizational level (Nakamura and Ishida 2005). The focus is, then, moved particularly on to Nakamura's choice of action in **Data 4**. At the centre of attention is the question of how an individual choice of action becomes collective or cooperative (Coulmas 2005: 11).

4.1 How an individual action becomes collective

In our data, the local control of the RM is manifest in his verbal actions. He is actually using a range of talk-organizational means as well as linguistic ones in order to persuade the AMs to accept the decision of the

[9] The RM's utterances, however, are not very clear-cut, so that we are not actually able to know whether he is really reporting the difficulty of the situation of the AMs to the president of the company.

management; only some of these will be mentioned here. For example, in the following three almost adjacent utterances (s115, s117 and s119) in **Data 1**, the RM's utterances gradually develop a threatening character:

(7)	*(…) kore*	*saigo no shū*	*ur-e-ru*	*hazu*	*desu*	*kedo*	*ne.*
	this	in the last week	sell-POT-ATT	must	VSUF.FRM	CONS	FP (expecting hearer's confirmation)
	'You can sell this (amount) in the last week, I suppose?'						

(8) *kore* *ur-e-ru* *hazu* *desu* *wa.*
This sell-POT-ATT must VSUF.FRM FP (*emphasizing*)
'Oh, yes, you can sell this.'

(9) *kore* *wa* *zettai* *ur-e-masu* *na.*
This TOP definitely sell-POT-VSUF.FRM FP (*confirming*)
'You can definitely sell this, can't you.'

The tiny changes in the use of final particles which express different illocutions to the hearer, as well as the use of other modal expressions, such as the adverb *zettai* [definitely] or *hazu*, a noun which expresses strong expectation, gives the utterance chaining a threatening character.

Concerning the turn organization, the RM, although not actually chairing the meeting, allocates a speaker's turn to the AMs, and the subsequent talk is strictly organized by him. The interactional pattern given in (10) can be derived from the data (**Data 1–3**):

(10) Interactional pattern

RM	refers to the necessity of raising sales goals	
RM	((Caesura)) speaks to one AM (~ *san*,) inquiring whether it is possible	
RM		persists in his position
AM	((Caesura)) reacts briefly	

As (10) shows, the contribution of each AM is restricted with regard to turn allocation and length. That is to say, the AMs cannot take turns themselves but must be invited by the RM. Although the RM asks the AMs for their comments, he does not directly respond to the utterances of the AMs, for instance, to Kato's question in **Data 2**. Rather, he persists in his arguments: he explains why the sales goals in the last sales week of May should be set higher. This argument is frequently repeated in the meeting. The aggressiveness of the RM's reaction is evident in his raised voice pitch and loudness as well as in the modal adverb *zettai* [definitely] and the final particle *zo* in s129–s130. With these speech characteristics, the final particle *zo* gives the utterances a strong insistent/threatening

illocution. It actually tells us that both the contributions of Sato and Kato (**Data 1–2**) at least are interpreted by the RM as indicating their unwillingness to accept the projected goals.[10] In addition to the linguistic means described above, there is yet another way of local control: "talking with institutional logics". In the RM's utterances, it is generally taken for granted that the sales outcomes will achieve the level of the previous year. This is an institutional logic, by means of which the members should make sense of their actions. In concrete terms, if it is taken for granted that the whole year's outcomes must be equivalent to or higher than the preceding year's level, it makes sense to state that the predicted profit loss in June must be compensated for with higher sales outcomes sooner or later, as is the case in our data.

The RM is in a position where it is expected that he not only transmits the decision of the management to his staff (AMs), but also secures the achievement of the goals set by the management. As described above, the RM raises the goals to 100 percent of the previous year's outcomes in the same sales period immediately after having read out the reported sales goals. However, the RM has to make sure that his staff will make the necessary efforts to attain such goals. Hence, he asks them for their comments. His solution is to control the actions of his staff locally by putting pressure on their choice of action not to opt for saying that this is impossible. By repeatedly employing the same interactional pattern as shown in (10), with the same argument in addition, the RM is enhancing the predictability of his possible aggressive reaction if one of the AMs chooses to react against his expectations.[11]

Given a very restricted reaction slot, the AMs are nonetheless able to choose their verbal actions individually and deliberately. This can be observed in the verbal formulations the AMs are using (see below), as well as in the short caesurae before reacting. The caesura after being addressed has two functions here: to gain time to deliberately choose a verbal action from the alternatives they have; and to show their reluctance to agree to the RM's higher sales goals.[12] As we can see in **Data 1–3**,

[10] Mochizuki's case in **Data 3** is excluded because of his relatively positive reaction from the RM's viewpoint.

[11] The pattern is actually observed six times all together in the data in question. Due to space limitations, it is not possible to deal with all the cases here. The pressure is evident in the reaction of Mochizuki, the fifth person questioned by the RM in the meeting in **Data 3,** which is rather positively received by the RM.

[12] Conversation Analysts have demonstrated "pauses" as showing certain problems in the course of the interaction, for instance, as a sign of not having identified the caller on the phone (Schegloff 1968) or as a sign of hesitation about pursuing certain "dispreferred" acts such as rejecting a request (Jefferson 1980).

none of the AMs actually show themselves willing to accept the revised sales goals by saying either "yes" or "no" directly: Mr. Sato (**Data 1**) only repeats the RM's utterance: *zennen hyaku* [100 percent of previous year's]. Mr. Kato (**Data 2**) asks questions such as "do you mean we have to achieve 100 percent in all other distribution systems?" That the reactions of Sato and Kato are not desirable ones for the RM is evident in his aggressive reactions described above. Even Mr. Mochizuki (**Data 3**) says *yaru wa yarimasu yo*, [I'll do what I can] which is not the same as *yarimasu* [I will].[13]

As demonstrated above, the local control of the RM obviously constrains the actions of the AMs. Nonetheless, individual choice must be taken into account in explaining the similarity of the AMs' actions in **Data 1–3**. Thus, shared knowledge about the choice of action guiding a collective choice of action must be at work here. As stated in the previous section, the concept of Maxim is useful in understanding the deliberate choice of action in institutions. What can be derived from the AMs' actions in terms of knowledge is to not agree wholeheartedly to the revised sales goals. Hence, this can be drawn out as the shared Maxim.[14] "In negotiating the sales goals, never say 'impossible' to the higher goals, but show your reluctance to achieve them. Otherwise you will be regarded as fully accepting the given goals." It is strategically important to keep the goals at a lower level which is easier for the sales staff to achieve, because the achievement rate of the "budget" is often the subject of evaluation in personal assessments (Nakamura and Ishida 2005: 43–47). According to Nakamura and Ishida (2005: 7), certain conflicts in sales meetings are predictable when negotiating concrete sales goals. The basic decision on sales goals is made by the management, but the responsibility for their achievement rests on the sales staff. The knowledge depicted above could have been developed as a consequence of this situation and have become acquired through individual everyday institutional experiences, or it might have been transmitted by senior colleagues as part of the "survival kit" in the institution.[15]

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[13] The syntagmatic expression "Verb *wa* Verb" such as *yaru wa yaru* or *yaru wa yarimasu* implies that the speaker will try to do something but considers him- or herself not responsible for any negative consequences.

[14] Ehlich and Rehbein (1977: 64) distinguish shared Maxim (or "general Maxim") from Maxim which an individual person develops.

[15] Ehlich and Rehbein (1977: 65–66) also claim that students develop their Maxims making use of the school rules in order to avoid following them completely. See also Swidler (1995: 36) cited in Section 5.

4.2 How an individual "non-cooperative" action becomes cooperative

Let us now turn to an analysis of **Data 4**. In asking the RM an apparently undesirable question in an unexpected slot without waiting for a turn allocation in s430, Mr. Nakamura is the only person who does not act in the given framework depicted above. In contrast to his colleagues, Nakamura directly expresses their problems, referring to their "difficult/tough situation" (*kurushimi*) in s435. He presumes that the RM knows about this, but doubts whether the management has ever heard "our voice" (*naka no koe*) (s435, s443–s444). Nakamura's choice of action at this point is challenging and jeopardizes what has been patterned in the interactional practice between the RM and the AMs so far. In this interactional process, we can observe that the RM's way of speaking changes from strongly persuasive to being less warranting. His reduction of voice pitch and intensity, as well as other linguistic means such as the recurrent use of causal particle *kara* [as] in the utterance-final position, evidence a change in the way of speaking.[16] Up to this point of the interaction in **Data 4** (up to s449), it seems as if Nakamura does not share the same knowledge of the action pattern, ignoring the Maxim that all the other AMs employ. What we witness after s452, however, somewhat compensates for his actions so far: Nakamura demonstrates himself and his staff to be "integrated" institutional members who are very aware of the institutional logic and values: while the RM is explaining why the marketing division disapproves of campaign sales with reduced prices, Mr. Nakamura shows his understanding of the different interests of the sales and marketing divisions (s452–s453). By giving an example of one of his staff (s461), he is showing the institutional logic as knowledge: every member of the sales staff is expected to know that "price reduction is not a good solution for achieving sales goals", either as an Image (shared Picture, such as "Y is always Z", or "All Y is Z"; see Section 1) or perhaps as institutional Sentential Knowledge (a collective mnemonic sentence such as a proverb or a slogan; see Section 1), even if it is the easiest way for the sales staff to clear stocks. As is apparent in Nakamura's utterance about his staff who attended the training course, the company strategically implants such knowledge in the members of the sales division. Nakamura himself also adds that "it is certainly the most risky thing to discount 100 or 200 Yen per box" in s463. His final contribution *mā yō wakaru n desu kedo* [Well, I know the problem, however…] in s464 shows his understanding of the

[16] The recurrent use of the causal particle *kara* in the utterance-final position gives utterances the nuance that the speaker wants the hearer to understand the circumstances. See the analysis of another dataset in Sugita (2004: 176).

institutional logic on one hand, and, on the other, the struggles of himself and his sales staff, with strategies often being constrained by the marketing or the management planning division. Finally, he withdraws.[17] Nakamura's verbal action is his individual choice; however, his knowledge about the institutional logic leads him to refrain from giving his own interests absolute priority. His cooperation is also the result of the negotiation: this time, Nakamura is officially supported by the RM in carrying out a sales campaign which could help him to catch up with the raised sales goal.

5. DISCUSSION

The institutional power relationship obviously constrains the actions of the members within the institution. However, it is necessary to look at the everyday practices of institutional interaction closely, in order to elucidate the negotiation process of cooperative actions. From the local analysis of the empirical data, it becomes evident that different linguistic means, talk organization, and shared knowledge are all at work in the process of achieving an institutional aim, such as getting consent for the sales goals. The management is speaking in terms of institutional logics, so that other members must act in the same institutional reality. Institutional logics are implanted as shared knowledge such as Image or Sentence in the training courses for the younger staff. Both have an influence on the member's choice of action. Nevertheless, the actions of the institutional members are individually chosen. In our case, the Maxim plays a role in allowing members to choose deliberately what they say in a meeting in which sales goals for the next sales period are projected. In Data 1–3, they are expressing their reluctance without directly confronting the RM. Yet, embedded in the talk strictly organized by the RM, their deliberately chosen comments on the raised sales goals, however implicit they might be, have little influence on the negotiation. Nakamura's sole choice of criticizing the company organization for its sales goals is a violation of the talk organization as it has been practised so far. In the negotiation process with the RM, Nakamura nevertheless acts as a com-

[17] Showing his understanding of the attitude of the marketing division, Nakamura marks his utterance with an expression using the concessive particle *kedo* in the utterance-final position. Nakamura understands the situation, but it is implied that he cannot fully accept it. For more details about the utterance-final use of *kedo*, see Onodera (2004).

petent member of the company by showing that he has internalized the institutional logic.

As has become clear by now, individual members of an institution are neither fully constrained by the institutional power relationship nor fully conscious actors oriented to their own interests. Rather, members are constrained by their own knowledge, which elicits or guides actions. In this respect, remarks by Swidler (1995: 36) on institutional culture deserve our interest: "Institutions create obdurate structures that are both constraints and opportunities for individuals. For sociologists of culture, what is interesting about institutions is that individuals create culture around their rules. Individuals can then come to act in culturally uniform ways, not because their experiences are shared, but because they must negotiate the same institutional hurdles." Applying this view to our analysis, a Maxim is culture that members create around the institutional rules. The members' choice of action is, therefore, not identical with the institutional rules. Nevertheless, it is not free from them either, because being a member of this institution implies knowing that "they must negotiate the same institutional hurdles".

6. Implications for JFL research

Although some sociological studies have revealed that the analysis of institutional interaction is necessary in order to understand fully the relationship between institution and individual action, we still lack empirical studies. I have tried to show in this paper that further study of mundane institutional practice could shed light on the organization of cooperative action in institutions. While this kind of analysis of interaction among Japanese institutional members must have some implications for the study of JFL, we need to investigate further contact situations in institutions empirically (see Fan and Neustupný in this volume for the study of contact situations in JFL). What the study of institutional members' knowledge could contribute to research in JFL is, for instance, to elucidate the mechanism of sedimentation processes of institutional knowledge in contact situations between L1 and L2 Japanese speakers. Language is a means to construct a mutual knowledge basis for institutional cooperation.[18] Covering current research in cognitive science as well as cognitive sociology, the research could aim at practical analysis of the role of Japanese language in such sedimentation processes, asking

[18] See Berger and Luckmann (1967: 34–46) on the role of language in constructing "a social stock of knowledge" (accumulation of socially shared knowledge).

how the knowledge is generated, mediated, shared and realized by L1 and L2 Japanese speakers in contact situations. When L2 Japanese speakers are observed to have difficulties in sharing and realizing the institutional knowledge as verbal actions, the reasons for and the consequences of these difficulties should be also examined. One possible practical training form could include contact situations embedded in the curriculum as it is already practised at Kanda University of International Studies, Japan (see Fan in this paper). Both L1 and L2 speakers should be instructed to make themselves aware of the strategic knowledge of actions they develop as well as the problems they encounter in the course of interaction in contact situations.

A change in perspective in JFL, including intercultural training courses, is required: students of JFL are no longer to be considered as people to whom only the stereotypical action rules should be taught, but as people who ought to acquire as well as create shared knowledge with their L1 counterpart. Such understanding also challenges the "taken-for-grantedness" in the institutional practice of L1 Japanese speakers which was the subject of this paper.

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APPENDIX I

Symbols		
•	....	pause less than 0.3 second
••	....	pause approx. 0.5 second
•••	....	pause between 0.5 and 0.9 second
((1 s))	....	1 second pause
( )	....	not audible
:	....	syllable lengthening
[v]	....	verbal line
[mt]	....	morphological transliteration
[en]	....	translation in English
[su]	....	supra-segmental features
/	....	repair

Transliteration		**Morpheme category**	**Forms**
ABL	....	ablative	*kara*
ACC	....	accusative	*o*
ADV	....	adversative particle	*ga*
ATN	....	nominal attribute particle	*na*
AUG	....	augmentation	*ne, sa*
COM	....	commutative particle	*to*
COND.PF	....	perfective conditional	*-tara*
CONS	....	concessive particle	*keredomo, kedo, keredo*
DAT	....	dative particle	*ni*
DUB	....	dubitative	*ō in deshō, darō*
DUR	....	durative	*-te iru*
(DUR)	....	durative with drop of vowel /i/	*-te ru, -te n (followed by NML "no")*
ESS	....	essive	*de*
EXO	....	exothesis*	*ano, e::to, etc.*
GEN	....	genitive particle	*no*
FP	....	final particle	*na, ne etc.*
HOR	....	hortative	*-yō*
INT	....	interrogative particle	*ka, (k)ke*
LOC	....	locative	*de*
NEG	....	negative	*V-na-i*
NML	....	nominalizer particle	*no, n*
NOM	....	nominative particle	*ga*
PAR	....	participial	*Verb-te, Adjective-kute*
PF	....	perfect	*Verb-ta, Adjective-katta*
POT	....	potential	*Verb-(rar)eru*
QUT	....	quotative particle	*to*
SUF.POL	....	'politeness' suffix	*-san [Mr., Mrs., etc.]*
SUS	....	suspending form	*Verb stem with –i and –e, Adjective-ku*
1P-PL	....	1st person plural	*watashi-tachi, -ra*

Transliteration	Morpheme category	Forms
TOP	.... topic particle	*wa*
VPRT	.... particle verb	*da*
VPRT.FRM	.... formal particle verb	*desu*
VSUF.FRM	.... formal suffix verb.....	*masu*

* The instances of "exothesis" analysed here are so-called "fillers". Because of their interactional function as an "externalisation of mental processes", which should not be defined as "something which fills pauses" as "fillers", they are called "exothesis" in Functional Pragmatic Discourse Analysis. See Hohenstein and Kameyama (1996) for a definition and empirical analysis.

APPENDIX II

Data 1

[1]	**s115**							
RM [v]	最悪	曜日	の	ま /	かわり	から	いろいろ	
RM [v]	Saiaku	yōbi	no	ma/	kawari	kara	iroiro	
RM [mt]	(even) in the worst case	day	GEN		change	ABL	differently	
RM [en]	*If you think that far more weekdays during the period, even in*							

[2]					
RM [v]	考えたら、	去年並み	に	は	これ
RM [v]	kangae-tara,	kyonennami	ni	wa	kore
RM [mt]	think-COND.PF	level of the last year	DAT	TOP	this
RM [en]	*the worst case,*	*it must be possible to sell this amount in the last*			

[3]									**s116**
RM [v]	最後	の	週	売れる	はず	です	けど	ね。	九十九
RM [v]	saigo	no	shū	ur-eru	hazu	desu	kedo	ne.	kyūjūkyū-
RM [mt]	last	GEN	week	sell-POT	must	VPRT.FRM	CONS	FP	1999
RM [en]	*week.*								*In May of*

[4]								
RM [v]	年	の	五月	の	ね、	七万	九千	三百
RM [v]	nen	no	gogatsu	no	ne,	nanaman	kyūsen	sanbyaku
RM [mt]	year	GEN	May	GEN	AUG	79,332.		
RM [en]	*1999 (= last year), (we had the outcomes of) 79,332.*							

[5]		**s117**					**s118**	**s119**	
RM [v]	三十二。	これ	売れる	はず	です	わ。	((4s))	これ	は
RM [v]	sanjū ni.	Kore	ur-eru	hazu	desu	[wa.]	((4s))	Kore	wa
RM [mt]		this	sell-POT	must	VPRT.FRM	FP		this	TOP
RM [en]		*This (sales) must be possible to achieve.*					((4s))	*You can*	

*[Kansai Var]**

[6]				**s120**	**s121**
RM [v]	絶対	売れます	な。	((10,5s))	
RM [v]	zettai	ur-e-masu	[na.]	((10,5s))	
RM [mt]	definitely	sell-POT-VSUF.FRM	FP		
RM [en]	*definitely sell this, can't you.*			((10,5s))	
NN [v]					（咳払い）
NN [en]					(clears throat)

[Kansai Var]

[7]	**s122**			**s123**	**s124**
RM [v]	取り合えず	前年	百。	((3s))	< さとう > さん
RM [v]	Toriaezu	zennen	hyaku.	((3s))	<Satō>-san
RM [mt]	for now	previous year	100 (%)		Mr. Sato
RM [en]	*For now, (our goals is) 100 % of the previous year's sales. ((3s)) Mr. Sato,*				

[8]			**s125**			
RM [su]			*quietly*			
RM [v]	前年	百。	これ	に	向かって	がんばって
RM [v]	zennen	hyaku.	Kore	ni	mukatte	ganbatte
RM [mt]	previous year	100 (%)	this	DAT	toward	make effort
RM [en]	*100 % of the previous year's [sales].*		*Please make efforts toward*			

[9]		**s126**	**s127**	
RM [v]	くだはい。			
RM [v]	[kudahai].			
RM [mt]	please			
RM [en]	*this goal.*			
SATO [v]		((3,5s))	前年	百。
SATO [v]		((3,5s))	Zennen	hyaku.
SATO [mt]			previous year	100 (%)
SATO [en]		((3,5s))	*100 % of the previous year's (sales).*	

[Kansai Var for "kudasai"]

[10]	**s128**	**s129**							
RM [su]		*higher & stressed*							
RM [v]	((5s))	これ	どう	考えて	も	六月	は	です	な
RM [v]	((5s))	Kore	dō	kangaete-	mo	rokugatsu	wa	desu	[na]
RM [mt]		this	how	think-even if		June	TOP	VPRT.FRM	AUG
RM [en]	((5s))	*In June, whatever we do, we cannot reach the goal of 96 %*							

[Kansai Var]

[11]						
RM [su]				*higher & stressed*		
RM [v]	もうー	九十六、	（もこりゃも）	絶対	行けん	ぞ。
RM [v]	mō:	kyūjū roku,	(mo korya mo)	zettai	ik-en	zo.
RM [mt]	really	96	(this really)	definitely	go-NEG	FP
RM [en]	*(of the previous year.)*					

[12]		s130		
RM [v]	• •	これ	絶対	無理。
RM [v]	• •	Kore	zettai	muri.
RM [mt]		this	definitely	impossible
RM [en]	• •	*It's definitely impossible.*		

*Kansai Var = so-called Kansai variety including Kyoto variety.

Data 2

[13]	s262						
RM [v]	だか、	レギュラー	の	落ち込み、	できる		だけ
RM [v]	[Da ka],	regyurā	no	ochikomi,	dekiru		dake
RM [mt]	therefore	regular	GEN	loss	as much as possible		
RM [en]	*Therefore, I would like you to make a bit more effort to compensate*						
	[=da kara]						

[14]						
RM [v]	です	なーー	• なんとか	• もう	ひと	•
RM [v]	desu	na::	• nantoka	• mō	hito-	•
RM [mt]	VPRT.FRM	AUG	anyhow	a little bit		
RM [en]	*the loss in the regular distribution system*		• *anyhow, to bring the*			

[15]						
RM [v]	ふんばり	がんばって	いただいて、	前年並み		まで
RM [v]	funbari	ganbatte-	itadai-te,	zennennami		made
RM [mt]	more	make effort-	give me.POL-PAR	previous year's level		to
RM [en]	*sales outcomes to the previous year's amount.*					

[16]			s263	s264				s265
RM [v]	• • •	行っとく	と。	((8s))	<カトウ> さん、	どう	です	か。 ((3,5s))
RM [v]	• • •	[ittoku]	to.	((8s))	<Katō>-san,	dō	desu	ka. ((3,5s))
RM [mt]		go	QUT		Mr. Kato	how	VPRT.FRM	INT
RM [en]				((8s))	*What would you say, Mr. Kato?*			((3,5s))
		[=itte oku]						

[17]	s266								s267	s268
Kato [su]	*quietly*									
Kato [v]	( )	や	なん	か	も	みんな	百	です	か。 ((1,5s))	
Kato [v]	( )	ya	nan	ka	mo	minna	hyaku	desu	ka. ((1,5s))	
Kato [mt]		or	so		also	all	100 (%)	VPRT.FRM	INT	
Kato [en]	*Do all the things such as () have to achieve 100 %?*								((1,5s))	
NN [v]										( )

[18]	s269						
RM [v]	落とした	分	が	ね、	[来年 /	来年 /	来年]
RM [v]	Otoshita	bun	ga	ne,	[rainen/	rainen/	rainen]
RM [mt]	lost	portion	NOM	AUG	next year	next year	next year
RM [en]	*If you could make up for the loss next year/next year/next year,*						

[It is understood that the RM wants to say raigetsu

[19]				
RM [v]	取れる	ん	やったら	ねー、
RM [v]	tor-eru	n	[yat-tara]	ne:,
RM [mt]	take back-POT	NML	VPRT-COND.PF	AUG
RM [en]				you know
	'next month' instead of 'next year'.]		*[Kansai Var for "dattara"]*	

[20]							
RM [v]	もう、	胸	張って	落として	もろても	結構	な
RM [v]	mō,	mune	hatte	otoshite-	[morote]mo	kekkō	na
RM [mt]	really	with confidence		let fall-	receive-even if	O. K.	ATN
RM [en]	*it would be no problem; you could just reduce the sales goal*						
					[Kansai Var for "moratte"]		

[21]						**s270**				
RM [v]	ん	です	けど	ね。	• •	もう	来月	が	や	ね、
RM [v]	n	desu	kedo	ne.	• •	Mō	raigetsu	ga	[ya]	ne,
RM [mt]	NML	VPRT.FRM	CONS	FP		really	next week	NOM	VPRT	AUG
RM [en]	*with confidence (this year).*				• •	*At the end of the next month, we*				
									[Kansai Var]	

[22]								
RM [v]	もう	最後	その	まま	もう	ぐっちゃぐちゃ	に	なって
RM [v]	mō	saigo	sono	mama	mō	gutchagucha	ni	nat-te
RM [mt]	really	at last	such	as	really	messy	DAT	become-PAR
RM [en]	*will be in such a situation that things get really messy*							

[23]								
RM [v]	です	なーー ,	((1s))	もう	何	を	失う	わからん
RM [v]	desu	na::,	((1s))	mō	nani	o	[ushinau]	wakar-an
RM [mt]	VPRT.FRM	AUG		really	what	ACC	lose	know-NEG
RM [en]	*and,*	you know,	((1s))	*we do not know how much we will lose.*				
							[= ushinau ka]	

[24]						**s271**
RM [v]	ちゅう	状況	です	から	ね。	((7,5s))
RM [v]	[chū]	jōkyō	desu	kara	ne.	((7,5s))
RM [mt]	'as meant'	situation	VPRT.FRM	CAUS	FP	
RM [en]						((7,5s))
	[=to iu]					

Data 3

[25]	**s275**	**s276**				
RM [v]	((14s))	とりーあえず	同じ	しんどい	ん	だったら
RM [v]	((14s))	Tori:aezu	onaji	shindoi	n	dat-tara
RM [mt]		for now	same	severe	NML	VPRT-COND.PF
RM [en]	((14s))	*If we will have a severe situation anyway,*				

[26]								**s277**	**s278**				
RM [v]	前	へ	前	へ	持って	こう	と。	• • •	で	前	へ	前	
RM [v]	mae	e	mae	e	motte-	k-ō	to.	• • •	De	mae	e	mae	
RM [mt]	earlier	to	earlier	to	bring-	go-VOL	QUT		then	earlier	to	earlier	
RM [en]	*we should try to make it come earlier.*							• • •	*(We should) try to*				

[27]					**s279**					
RM [v]	へ	持って	こう	と。	• •	いう	だけ	の	こと	で。
RM [v]	e	motte	k-ō	to.	• •	Iu	dake	no	koto	dé.
RM [mt]	to	bring-	go-VOL	QUT		'as meant'	just	GEN	thing	ESS
RM [en]	*make it come as early as we can.*				• •	*That's the only thing.*				

[28]	**s280**	**s281**				**s282**	**s283**
RM [v]	((6s))	< モチヅキ > さん	どう	で	っか。	((2,5s))	九万
RM [v]	((6s))	<Mochizuki>-san	dō	[de	kka].	((2,5s))	Kyūman
RM [mt]		Mr. Mochizuki	how	ESS	INT		91,000.
RM [en]	((6s))	*What about you, Mr. Mochizuki?*				((2,5s))	*91,000.*

[Kansai Var for "desu ka"]

[29]		**s284**	**s285**				**s286**	**s287**
RM [v]	一千。						(な。)	((6,5s))
RM [v]	issen.						(Na.)	((6,5s))
RM [mt]							you see	
RM [en]							*(You see.)*	((6,5s))
Moch [v]		((2,5s))	やる	は	やります	よ。		
Moch [v]		((2,5s))	Yaru	wa	yari-masu	yo.		
Moch [mt]			do	TOP	do-VSUF.FRM	FP		
Moch [en]		((2,5s))	*I'll do what I can.*					

[30]	**s288**								
RM [v]	ま	< コウナン >	は、	申告数字	より	あと	五百	ほど	
RM [v]	Ma	<kōnan>	wa,	shikoku-sūji	yori	ato	gohyaku	hodo	
RM [mt]	well	Kōnan-branch	TOP	reported-figures	than	still	500	about	
RM [en]	*Well, Kōnan-branch has just about 500 more than the reported*								

[31]		**s289**
RM [v]	や	から。 ((1,5s))
RM [v]	[ya]	kara. ((1,5s))
RM [mt]	VPRT	CAUS
RM [en]	goal.	((1,5s))

[Kansai Var for "da"]

Data 4

[32]	**s429**								
RM [v]	もう	もう	思い切った	こと	やらな		どう	に	も	なら
RM [v]	mō	mō	omoikitta	koto	[yar-ana]		dō	ni	mo	[nar-a
RM [mt]	now	now	daring	thing	do-NEG.COND		(not)	at	all	become-
RM [en]	*You must be daring, otherwise it will not work at all.*									

[Kansai Var for yaranakereba] *[Kansai Var]*

[33]				**s430**					
RM [v]	へん	で	と。						
RM [v]	hen	de]	to.						
RM [mt]	NEG	FP	QUT						
Naka [v]				•• 支社長	そんな	ん	どこ	で	ストップ
Naka [v]				•• Shishachō	sonna	n	doko	de	sutoppu
Naka [mt]				RM	such	NML	where	LOC	is brought
Naka [en]				•• *Regional Manager, but who gets in our way?*					

[34]						**s431**		**s432**		
RM [v]						何	が。			
RM [v]						Nani	ga.			
RM [mt]						what	NOM			
RM [en]						*What?*				
Naka [v]	が	かかる	ん	です	か。			そう	いう	話ーー、
Naka [v]	ga	kakaru	n	desu	ka.			Soo	iu	hanashi::,
Naka [mt]	to stop		NML	VPRT.FRM	INT			such		story
Naka [en]								*I think everyone of us*		

[35]								
Naka [v]	営業部	の	思い	は	一緒	や	思う	ん
Naka [v]	eigyōbu	no	omoi	wa	issho	[ya]	omou	n
Naka [mt]	sales division	GEN	thought	TOP	together	VPRT	think	NML
Naka [en]	*from the sales division thinks in the same way as you mentioned.*							
								[Kansai Var for "da to"]

[36]				**s433**	**s434**				
Naka [v]	です	けど	ね。	((1s))	あと	どこ	で	うち	ストップ
Naka [v]	desu	kedo	ne.	((1s))	Ato	doko	de	uchi	sutoppu
Naka [mt]	VPRT.FRM	CONS	FP		yet	where	LOC	in our company	
Naka [en]				((1s))	*I do not really understand who else*				

[37]								
Naka [v]	が	かかる	か	よう	わからん	の	です	ね。
Naka [v]	ga	kakaru	ka	[yō]	wakar-an	no	desu	ne.
Naka [mt]	is brought to stop		INT	well	know-NEG	NML	VPRT.FRM	FP
Naka [en]	*hinders (our plans), you know.*							
				[Kansai Var for "yoku"]				

[38]	**s435**				
Naka [v]	こう	やって、	支社長ら	と	話
Naka [v]	Kō	yat-te,	shishachō[-ra]	to	hanashi
Naka [mt]	like this	do-PAR	RM and like	COM	talk
Naka [en]	*When we talk with you like this, Regional Manager, you know most of*				
			[plural suffix used more often in Kansai Var]		

[39]				
Naka [v]	させて	もろうたら	私ら	の
Naka [v]	s-ase-te-	[morō-tara]	watashi[-ra]	no
Naka [mt]	do-CAU-PAR-	receive-COND.PF	1P-PL	GEN
Naka [en]	*our problems.*			
	[Kansai Var for "morattara"]		*[plural suffix used more often in Kansai*	

[40]										**s436**
Naka [v]	苦しみ	も	大概	知って	はります		や	ん。	で	
Naka [v]	kurushimi	mo	taigai	shitte-	[hari-masu		[ya	n].	De	
Naka [mt]	troubles	also	almost	know-	DUR.FRM-VSUF.FRM		you	know	then	
Naka [en]									*And*	
	Var]				*[Formal Kansai Var "imasu"]*		*[Kansai Var]*			

[41]						
Naka [v]	それ	をーー、	支社長会議	でーー、	まあ	経営
Naka [v]	sore	o::,	shishachō-kaigi	de::,	mā	keiei-
Naka [mt]	it	ACC	RMs' meeting	LOC	well	management
Naka [en]	*then, you tell about it in meetings of regional managers or managers'*					

[42]								
Naka [v]	会議	か	どっか	で	ゆうて	もらいます		や
Naka [v]	kaigi	ka	dokka	de	[yūte]-	morai-masu		[ya
Naka [mt]	meeting	or	somewhere	LOC	say-	receive-VSUF.FRM		you
Naka [en]	*meetings or so, right?*							
					[Kansai Var for "itte"]			*[Kansai*

[43]			**s437**						
Naka [v]	ん。	• •	あと	ストップ	かかる	ん	は、		やっぱり
Naka [v]	n].	• •	Ato	sutoppu	kakaru	[n]	wa,		yappari
Naka [mt]	know		yet	is brought	to stop	NML	TOP		as expected
Naka [en]		• •	*Then, is it the planning division that hinders our plan?*						
	Var]					*[Kansai Var for "no"]*			

[44]										**s438**	
Naka [v]	企画		の	方	から	です	か。	• •	ぜぜこ	の	
Naka [v]	kikaku		no	hō	kara	desu	ka.	• •	[Zezeko]	no	
Naka [mt]	planning	(division)	GEN	direction	ABL	VPRT.FRM	INT		money	GEN	
Naka [en]								• •	*Does it*		
					[euphemistic use; old-fashioned motherese for money]						

[45]				**s439**			
RM [v]				そう	や	ね、	やっぱ
RM [v]				Sō	[ya]	ne,	[yappa]
RM [mt]				so	VPRT	FP	as expected
RM [en]				*Yeah; that's the marketing division.*			
Naka [v]	関係	です	か。				
Naka [v]	kankei	desu	ka.				
Naka [mt]	relation	VPRT.FRM	INT				
Naka [en]	*have to do with money?*						
				[Kansai Var] [= yappari]			

[46]									
RM [v]	マーケ		の	方	から。				
RM [v]	māke		no	hō	kara.				
RM [mt]	marketing (division)		GEN	direction	ABL				
Naka [s]						s440			
Naka [v]						マーケ	の	方	
Naka [v]						Māke	no	hō	
Naka [mt]						marketing	GEN	direction	
Naka [en]						*It is the marketing*			

[47]			**s441**			**s442**	**s443**			
RM [v]			マーケ	や	ね。					
RM [v]			Māke	[ya]	ne.					
RM [mt]			marketing	VPRT	FP					
RM [en]			*Yes, marketing.*							
Naka [v]	です	か。				((2,5s))	中	の	声	が
Naka [v]	desu	ka.				((2,5s))	Naka	no	koe	ga
Naka [mt]	VPRT.FRM	INT					inside	GEN	voice	NOM
Naka [en]	*division.*					((2,5s))	*I really don't know*			

[Kansai Var]

[48]											
Naka [v]	トップ	まで	ね、	聞こえて	ん	の	か	聞こえて	ない	の	か
Naka [v]	toppu	made	ne,	kikoete-	n	no	ka	kikoete-	nai	no	ka
Naka [mt]	top	to	AUG	hear-(DUR)		NML	INT	hear-(DUR)-NEG		NML	INT
Naka [en]	*whether our voices are heard by the executives or not.*										

[49]						**s444**		**s445**
RM [v]								( )
Naka [v]	よく	わからん	の	です	ね。	（ほんま	に。）	
Naka [v]	yoku	wakar-an	no	desu	ne.	([Honma	ni.])	
Naka [mt]	well	know-NEG	NML	VPRT.FRM	FP	really		
Naka [en]						*(Really.)*		

[Kansai Var for hontō ni]

[50]	**s446**			**s447**	
RM [v]				社長ー	出て
RM [v]				Shachō:	dete-
RM [mt]				company director	attend-
RM [en]				*The company director*	
Naka [v]	社長	出られて	ます。		
Naka [v]	Shachō	der-arete-	masu.		
Naka [mt]	company director	attend-PASS.POL-	(DUR-)VSUF.FRM		
Naka [en]	*Does the executive director also attend (the meetings)?*				

[51]										
RM [v]	はる	からー,	その	場	で	の	会議	や	からー。	• •
RM [v]	[haru]	kara:,	sono	ba	de	no	kaigi	[ya]	kara:.	• •
RM [mt]	DUR.FRM	CAUS	its	place	LOC	GEN	meeting	VPRT	CAUS	
RM [en]	*attends the meetings,*		*it is the meeting in his presence, therefore…*							• •
	[Kansai Var]								*[Kansai Var]*	

[52]	**s448**							**s449**
RM [v]	えっ、私らー		で	見てる	こと	を	みな	sh’ (…)
RM [v]	E’,	watashi-ra:	de	mite-ru	koto	o	mina	sh’ (…)
RM [mt]	EXO	1P-PL	ESS	see-(DUR)	thing	ACC	all	
RM [en]	*Ah, what we observe (here) is all (told to him)*							(…)
Naka [v]								あー、全部、
Naka [v]								A:, zenbu,
Naka [mt]								EXO everything
Naka [en]								*Oh, he knows*

[53]					**s450**	**s451**
RM [v]					• • •	ただ
RM [v]					• • •	Tada
RM [mt]						nonetheless
RM [en]					• • •	*However,*
Naka [v]	知って	（はん）	です	か。		
Naka [v]	shitte-	[(han)]	desu	ka.		
Naka [mt]	know-	DUR.FRM NML	VPRT.FRM	INT		
Naka [en]	*about everything?*					
	[= haru n, formal Kansai Var for “iru n”]					

[54]			**s452**
RM [v]	そろばん はj/ はじいてる	から	ね。
RM [v]	[soroban haj/hajiite-ru]	kara	ne.
RM [mt]	use-(DUR) an abacus	CAUS	FP
RM [en]	*they are calculating the cost and the profit, you know.*		
Naka [v]			わかり
Naka [v]			Wakari-
Naka [mt]			understand-
Naka [en]			*I understand.*
	[idiomatic expression for ‘to calculate the cost and profit’]		

[55]	**s453**	**s454**
RM [v]		あのー、 経営企画
RM [v]		Ano:, keiei-kikaku
RM [mt]		EXO management planning
RM [en]		*Uh, in the management planning*
Naka [v]	ます。 わかります。	
Naka [v]	masu. Wakari-masu.	
Naka [mt]	VSUF.FRM understand-VSUF.FRM	
Naka [en]	*I understand.*	

[56]		**s455**								
RM [v]	の	方	で	そろばん	はじいてる	からー。	要	は	こん	
RM [v]	no	hō	de	soroban	hajiite-ru	kara:.	Yō	wa	kon	
RM [mt]	GEN	direction	LOC	use-(DUR)	an abacus	CAUS	in short		this	
RM [en]	*division, they are profit-oriented.*						*I mean they*			

[57]											
RM [v]	だけ	う / 売り上げ	を	落として	で	も、	こん	だけ	の	利益	
RM [v]	dake	u/uriage	o	otoshite-	de	mo,	kon	dake	no	rieki	
RM [mt]	amount	sales outcome	ACC	lose-	even if		this	amount	GEN	profit	
RM [en]	*are doing, you know, it's like (they are thinking about) what is needed for*										

[58]										
RM [v]	を	確保する	ため	に	は	どう	いう	あれ	や	っちゅう
RM [v]	o	kakuho-suru	tame	ni	wa	dō	iu	are	[ya]	[tchū]
RM [mt]	ACC	keep	in order to			how	'as meant'	that	VPRT	'as meant'
RM [en]	*keeping such and such profits even if the sales outputs go down.*									
									[Kansai Var]	*[=to iu]*

[59]							**s456**						
RM [v]	の	あれ	を	やってる	から。	•	既	に	これ	から	は	営業部	
RM [v]	no	are	o	yatte-ru	kara.	•	Sude	ni	kore	kara	wa	eigyōbu	
RM [mt]	NML	that	ACC	do-(DUR)	CAUS		already		this	from	TOP	sales division	
RM [en]						•	*We are already in such a situation in*						

[60]								
RM [v]	も	マーケ	も、	経営企画		と、	共生し	
RM [v]	mo	māke	mo,	keieikikaku		to,	kyōsei-shi-	
RM [mt]	also	marketing	also	management	planning	COM	cooperation-do-	
RM [en]	*which both sales and marketing divisions must cooperate with the*							

[61]							
RM [v]	ながら、	施策	を	進めて	いかん	と	や
RM [v]	nagara,	shisaku	o	susumete	ik-an	to	[ya]
RM [mt]	during		take steps-		have to go		VPRT
RM [en]	*management planning division to plan the strategies.*						
							[Kansai Var]

[62]			**s457**	**s458**	**s459**					
RM [v]	ね。	• •	ね？	((1,5s))	その	絡み	が	ある	から	ね。
RM [v]	ne.	• •	Ne?	((1,5s))	Sono	karami	ga	aru	kara	ne.
RM [mt]	AUG		you know		its	involvement	NOM	exist	CAUS	FP
RM [en]		• •	*You know.*	((1,5s))	*It's because of this reason.*					

[63]	**s460**	**s461**						
Naka [v]	((2s))	ま、	こないだ	勉強し	に	行った	やつ	で
Naka [v]	((2s))	Ma,	konaida	benkyō-shi	ni	it-ta	yatsu	de
Naka [mt]		well	the other day	study-do	to	go-PF	guy	ESS
Naka [en]	((2s))	*Well, our guy who had a training course the last time knows*						

[64]

Naka [v]	も	やっぱり、	ケース単価	を	落とす	の	が
Naka [v]	mo	yappari,	kēsutanka	o	otosu	no	ga
Naka [mt]	also	as one can expect	unit price of case	ACC	reduce	NML	NOM
Naka [en]	*well already that the lost of profits is mostly caused by cutting*						

[65]

Naka [v]	一ばーん、	利益	の	損失	に	当たる	とかいうー		の	が
Naka [v]	ichiba:n,	rieki	no	sonshitsu	ni	ataru	to	ka iu:	no	ga
Naka [mt]	most	profit	GEN	loss	DAT	correspond	or so		NML	NOM
Naka [en]	*the unit price of cases or so.*									

						s462	**s463**
Naka [v]	いろいろ	わかってます		から	ね。	((1,5s))	ま
Naka [v]	iroiro	wakatte-masu		kara	ne.	((1,5s))	Ma
Naka [mt]	various things	know-(DUR)-VSUF.FRM		CAUS	FP		well
Naka [en]						((1,5s))	*Well,*

[67]

Naka [v]	百円	二百円	値引き	する	の	が	一番	怖い
Naka [v]	hyaku en	nihyaku en	nebiki-	suru	no	ga	ichiban	kowai
Naka [mt]	100 Yen	200 Yen	price reduction-	do	NML	NOM	most	risky
Naka [en]	*it is certainly the most risky thing to discount 100 or 200 Yen each,*							

[68]

					s464			
Naka [v]	話	です	けど	ね。	まあ	よう	わかる	ん
Naka [v]	hanashi	desu	kedo	ne.	Mā	[yō]	wakaru	n
Naka [mt]	story	VPRT.FRM	CONS	FP	well	well	understand	NML
Naka [en]	*however….*				*Well, I understand the problem very*			

[Kansai Var for "yoku"]

[69]

Naka [v]	です	けど。
Naka [v]	desu	kedo.
Naka [mt]	VPRT.FRM	CONS
Naka [en]	*well, however…*	

On research on contact situations

Jiří V. Neustupný
(translated by Patrick Heinrich and Roman Schorr)[1]

Abstract (Patrick Heinrich)

This paper is divided into two parts. First, it introduces the concept of contact situation, indicating the necessity of including it in research on Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL). The concept of contact situation is defined and its specific features for foreign language learners and native speakers are discussed. It is concluded that advanced learners of Japanese must make conscious efforts to move away from contact situations. The second part of the paper introduces research methods for studying contact situations. The method of problem analysis is suggested to be the approach best suited for expanding existing research methods, such as error analysis or foreigner talk. Language learning strategies can be explored along the lines of problem analysis. It is argued that research on JFL should not stay restricted to the classroom, but should also study imbalances in language learning processes, consider ways of dealing with such imbalances, reconsider the role of the native speaker as model speaker for foreign learners, and address language ideological notions on the part of language teachers.

1. Research on contact situations as the basis of JFL

If the objective of Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) is to make foreign speakers use Japanese, it should certainly be of great value to study how foreign speakers actually use the language. This should probably be the starting point of JFL, and, moreover, also its goal. In other words, if we start by researching the situations in which foreigners use Japanese and what communication problems occur, then we might, for the first time, be able to establish effective measures to deal with these situations. However, until recently, no systematic research into the ways foreigners actually use the target language has been conducted, neither in general language education nor in JFL.

[1] This paper was originally published as chapter 8 titled *Sesshoku bamen no kenkyū ni tsuite* [On research on contact situations] of the following monograph: Jiří V. Neustupný (1995): *Atarashii nihongo no tame ni* [Towards New Perspectives in Japanese Language Teaching]. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten.

The contributions by Monash University scholars Ozaki, Skoutarides, Yoshimitsu, Kubota and Masumi in the special edition of *Nihongo kyōiku* [Journal of Japanese Language Teaching] 45 (1981) provide for some kind of new perspective, in that they share the feature of attempting *on the basis of data to systematically look into the conditions in which Japanese is actually used* by foreigners (Kubota 1981; Masumi 1981; Ozaki 1981; Skoutarides 1981; Yoshimitsu 1981). In spite of the fact that these attempts did not produce entirely satisfactory results, as the research was pioneering and, therefore, still fragmentary, I nonetheless believe that, from now on, similar approaches to those in this special issue must be developed in the field of JFL. In the present paper, I will first introduce several new concepts necessary for research on foreigners' communication, and then briefly report on the aims of the five papers published in the special edition of the *Nihongo kyōiku* 45.[2]

2. On the concept of "contact situation"

To start with, I would like to emphasize that, more often than not, situations in which foreign speakers participate are specific linguistic situations. It goes without saying that there is no distinctive boundary between Japanese and foreigners, but we might nevertheless define "foreigners" here as "people with limited Japanese communication skills". As a rule, the first contact that foreigners have with the Japanese language is in the classroom, which is one type of "contact situation" (which we could also call "foreigner situation"), and foreigners' participation is usually limited to contact situations for several more years. As long as foreigners are not perceived by native speakers as "native level speakers", the situations they participate in will inevitably be contact situations. These contact situations and "native language situations" (where all speakers are native speakers) differ substantially with regard to a number of distinct features. Since language teaching has, until today, exclusively aimed at native language situations, it must be said to have been unrealistic in its attitude. Along these lines of thought, three points relevant to current JFL ought to be added to its research agenda.

(1) Clarifying the characteristics of contact situations and teaching them to foreign language learners.
(2) Making learners utilize the characteristics of contact situations.
(3) Teaching learners ways to move away from contact situations.

[2] This paper has benefited much from suggestions made by Hata Hiromi and Ozaki Akito. I would like to express my gratitude to them.

2.1. Specific features of contact situations – the case of foreign speakers

Let us consider how the concept of contact situation can actually be defined. The mere participation of a foreigner in a given situation does not inevitably create a contact situation. In order to become a contact situation, the communication must include particular features which do not occur in native language situations. When looking at concrete contact situations, two types of specific features in communication can be observed. Firstly, features *on the part of the foreign speaker*, and, secondly, features *on the part of the native language speaker* in the same situation. Generally speaking, as the communication proficiencies of foreign speakers are limited, they can only communicate inadequately, and they themselves have a clear awareness of these limitations. Native speakers, on the other hand, are aware of the limited proficiencies of foreign speakers, which make them adjust their own communication accordingly. In more precise terms, the following three types of specific features of contact situations can be identified on the part of foreign speakers:

(1) Features related to the foreign speakers' expectations and plans prior to the realization of an utterance.
(2) Features related to the problems foreign speakers face after an utterance has started, and the treatment of these problems.
(3) Features related to the foreign speakers' awareness after the realization of an utterance (for instance, the evaluation of the effects of their communication).

2.1.1. Expectations of problems

Foreign speakers' expectations, intentions and so on concerning communication processes differ clearly from those of native speakers. One typical problem is that foreign speakers anticipate that they may not be able to communicate successfully, and therefore, from the very start, refrain from communication about certain issues. A further example, on the level of the lexicon, is the avoidance of using a particular word in ongoing communication, because the word is too difficult for the speaker to pronounce properly. In my data collection, I have a concrete example of a foreign language learner who failed several times to distinguish between *ojisan* [uncle] and *ojīsan* [grandfather] and therefore completely avoided these words in an interview. While we can assume that such phenomena, consciously or unconsciously, frequently occur in contact situations, there is still hardly any research about them.

Let us call cases in which speakers take definite measures in order to protect themselves from problems they expect to arise in the course of communication (such as inappropriateness) "pre-corrections". Pre-cor-

rections can also be observed in native language situations, but their frequency and quality differ from those in contact situations. In the case of communication amongst native language speakers, there are many pre-corrections concerning issues such as whether the standard language should be used, the style to choose or how to express something in polite language. However, in contrast to foreign speakers, self-monitoring of basic grammatical rules cannot be observed in native language situations. Consequently, at least a certain part of the various measures for pre-corrections in contact situations would not be understood in native language situations. For instance, the procedure of checking the correctness of one's own speech as it occurred in Ozaki's data collection would in all likelihood lead to misunderstandings in native speaker situations.

2.1.2. When problems have emerged

Above, I have considered specific features of contact situations before utterances are realized. In the following discussion, I will consider features of contact situations after an utterance has been completed. Foreign speakers are confronted with numerous language problems as soon as speech acts have been initiated. While it can be observed that foreign speakers are using the rules of Japanese, this does not imply that they have acquired all the rules. Consequently, in cases where foreign learners cannot deduce rules appropriate for the given situation from the rules they have already acquired, they select means such as the following to manage language problems.

(1) Applying rules of their native language just as they are (this issue has been emphasized in contrastive analysis).
(2) Creating new rules which differ both from Japanese and the respective native language (this process has been noted by scholars studying inter-language).
(3) Communicating without cultural, that is, linguistic, constraints by using as few grammatical rules as possible. For example, one instance is the case of simply lining up words in complete absence of any grammatical rules (this phenomenon is the focus of scholars claiming pidginization by foreign speakers).

Some of these means may lead, by chance, to correct expressions in Japanese. However, in most cases, foreign speakers communicate that they themselves expect such utterances to be incorrect, or they simply communicate the incorrect use as such. In situations like this, a correction process frequently sets in and in-corrections or post-corrections occur.

In-corrections do not involve mistakes on the surface level, because speakers notice some inappropriateness in their intended utterance and

implement a correction themselves. However, fillers frequently occur, and phenomena such as pauses and gaps can be noted. Post-corrections, by contrast, are corrections of mistakes which have actually materialized on the surface level. The most common instance is the correction of an unsuitable word. In the same way as pre-corrections, in- and post-corrections are not features restricted to contact situations. Native speakers, too, are frequently confronted with problems of expression, and thus self-correction or other-correction is implemented. Nevertheless, there are also features of correction processes that are restricted to contact situations. For example, the rather unnatural utterance "could you say it once more" (*mō ichido itte kudasai*) is exclusive to contact situations. How "could you say it once more" can be replaced by a more natural-sounding expression is a rather difficult issue. One of the reasons is that, in native language situations, instances of such utterances directed to one's superiors are rare. Furthermore, in a number of contact situations that end up in a communicative deadlock, for instance, in the classroom, silence is used as an indicator of such deadlock. In contact situations, silence serves as a request for help from the participating native speaker. However, this function is absent in native language situations, because silence carries different meanings there.

2.1.3. After the conclusion of communication

Foreign speakers' language awareness after communication, for example, the evaluation of their own language use, also has a close relation to JFL. Material examining foreign speakers' language awareness after the conclusion of discourse in which they have participated has elucidated how influential and detailed such awareness is. This is not to say that awareness of one's own language does not exist in native language situations, but it is so slight there that it cannot be compared to contact situations. Foreign speakers' expectation of errors; errors as such; pre-, in- and post-corrections; and relative lack of reflection on communication processes as a whole are distinctive features of contact situations. Among these issues, research in JFL has only taken up errors as a research topic. It has hardly paid any attention to the issues of structures of language awareness and correction processes.

2.2. Specific features of contact situations – the case of native speakers

Linguists and language educators have not paid sufficient attention to the fact that native language speakers often adjust their speech in situations in which foreigners participate. However, research on foreigner talk,

begun by Ferguson (1971), has confirmed that such adjustments are a universal feature. The concept of foreigner talk has been derived from the model of baby talk, but while baby talk is used by adults and infants alike, foreigner talk is usually confined to the language that native speakers use when addressing foreigners. In an unpublished paper in 1976, I hypothesized that Japanese foreigner talk had the following characteristics.

(1) A particular use of pronouns (for instance excessive use of *watakushi* [I] and *anata* [you] etc.).
(2) Restricted use of polite language (for instance, substantial simplification of polite language).
(3) Use of children's vocabulary (frequent use of vocabulary used in children's talk or of language used in language textbooks in the lower grades of elementary school).
(4) Use of loan words (for instance, *burikku* [brick] instead of *renga* [brick]).
(5) Use of foreign language (native speaker switch to English or another foreign language without using Japanese).
(6) Use of gestures (for instance, gestures indicating the size and shape of objects).
(7) Restrictions with regard to conversation topics (for instance, avoiding abstract topics or jokes).
(8) Networks formed with a third person as mediator (addressing utterances to a Japanese third party without addressing the foreign speaker directly).

If the existence of foreigner talk in Japanese is confirmed on the basis of empirical data, then foreigner talk inevitably becomes an important characteristic of contact situations. As stated above, all situations in which foreign language learners have contact with the Japanese language are contact situations (or classroom situations as a variant thereof). Thus, Japanese language use by Japanese in such situations is of great significance for research in JFL. While the concept of foreigner talk is certainly a very useful research tool, it is clearly inadequate when it comes to capturing all features of native speakers' language use in contact situations. The reason is that native speakers usually take at least the following three points into consideration.

(1) They expect problems in communication with foreign speakers of Japanese and may therefore implement pre-corrections on a larger scale than research on foreigner talk has revealed so far.
(2) They implement in- and post-corrections on a large scale, because they monitor their own and foreign speakers' language use after the start of an utterance (until now, only some kinds of post-corrections have been the object of research in foreigner talk studies).

(3) After completion of an utterance, native language speakers' critical awareness of the contact situation frequently differs from that of speakers in native language situations.

While using the concept of foreigner talk exhaustively, I believe that it is also vital to study impartially the specific features of native language speakers in contact situations more comprehensively.

2.3. Utilizing the specific features of contact situations and moving away from contact situations

The specific features of contact situations offer, in various senses, precious material for JFL. On one hand, some of the features of contact situations with foreign language learners at beginning or intermediate levels play a negative role in constituting models of unnatural language, for example, through the excessive use of personal pronouns. On the other hand, there are also features which fulfil positive roles in language acquisition. For example, constantly monitoring their own language and implementing pre-, in- and post-corrections will, in effect, result in foreign language speakers' improvement of their own language proficiency. However, in present day JFL, exercises, drills and general instruction focusing on how one's own language can be monitored and how incorrect utterances can be corrected are inadequate. I believe that it is valuable to teach systematically to beginning and intermediate level students the specific features of contact situations. In case of concern about possible misunderstandings, it is also necessary to provide instruction to foreign learners, so that, for example, they can make native language speakers more aware of contact situations and hence encourage them to simplify their language. In other words, it is favourable for foreign language speakers to know the extent to which they evoke their own foreignness to native language speakers, without being too gauche towards them.

However, when moving from advanced level to native-like level language proficiency, the specific features of contact situations become a particularly heavy burden. At this stage, it becomes necessary to move away from contact situations. This is because it is tiresome for participants to constantly monitor their language and to be unable to focus on the content of communication itself. Secondly, there is the problem that, as long as native speakers continue to use foreigner talk, foreign language learners cannot take this language as a model of regular Japanese. Thirdly, there is also the problem of Japanese speakers attaching the label "foreign language speaker" to foreign participants if they vigorously communicate their foreignness through unnatural language use. Foreign-

ers speaking Japanese frequently complain about not being treated on a par by Japanese speakers. However, at least one reason for such unequal treatment, that is, being treated *as a foreigner*, is caused by the specific features of contact situations. If the foreign language participants had the skills to reduce the "impression of contact situation", which arise through their participation, we might assume that such inequalities would also decrease.

3. Research methods for contact situations

As a method of studying the essence of contact situations one might first think of tests. While tests such as acquisition or proficiency tests can indeed be used to some extent, the role of the native speaker in test situations is usually limited, even in cases of contact situations. Furthermore, because these language situations have distinctive features, one cannot simply infer from a test to the essence of a normal communication situation. A further method that comes to mind is that of error analysis. Error analysis is, without doubt, a powerful tool and therefore beneficial. In issue 45 of *Nihongo kyōiku* [Journal of Japanese Language Teaching], both Yoshimitsu and Kubota used this method. However, numerous shortcomings can be pointed out in standard error analysis. First of all, in most cases of error analysis, only language system errors (including syntax, lexis, phonology and orthography) are taken up as the object of analysis, while the *communicative elements* that are the object of study in sociolinguistics are not sufficiently considered. The problems that foreign speakers encounter are, however, not limited to grammar problems. Who communicates what, where, to whom, how, via which channel, and so on are important issues. The reasons for attaching the label "foreign speakers" are not merely the result of errors of the language system. Rather, "foreigners" are people who address others, who do not expect to be addressed, who say unexpected things, who do not say things one would expect, who laugh, talk and are silent in inappropriate ways. If the objective of JFL was simply to educate "strange foreigners" (*hen na gaikokujin*) who do not produce ungrammatical language, then it might be appropriate that research on contact situations would also be focused on the correction of grammatical errors. If, however, JFL aims at enabling foreigners to communicate as regular speakers on an equal footing with Japanese, then research into contact situations must also include communicative rules as a significant topic of research. Ozaki's paper in the special edition of *Nihongo kyōiku* is very thought-provoking in this respect.

Another shortcoming of standard error analysis lies in the fact that it tends to be restricted to only *the part of the problem which appears on the language surface*. It is, however, not the case that all functional obstacles encountered by foreign speakers are manifested as errors on the surface. As mentioned above, speakers expect specific communicative obstacles in advance, which quite often prevent them from making errors. There are, furthermore, instances of sentences that are unobjectionable on the surface level but that do not communicate the content intended by the speaker. In my video data, there is an example of a foreign speaker suddenly moving his legs during his utterance. At this point of his utterance, no linguistic problem could be detected. In a follow-up interview, he explained that he moved his legs at this particular point because he noted that he had communicated something which ran completely counter to his initial intentions and that he was indecisive as to whether he should correct this at this point. This constitutes a case of an obstacle (problem) of language use which does not appear on the surface of the utterance.

Furthermore, error analysis has until now one-sidedly focused only on the foreign speaker. It is thus no exaggeration to state that it has almost completely ignored the role of the native speaker in contact situations. As discussed above, however, it is usual that native speakers implement pre-, in- and post-corrections and that they apply the technique of foreigner talk. These issues should certainly also be considered along with problems on the part of the foreign speaker. Consequently, a broader method than that of error analysis ought to be used when analysing the various problems occurring in contact situations. There already exists the approach of *problem analysis* as a suitable method. The main characteristics of problem analysis are the following

(1) It includes all participants in communicative acts and all communicative rules as objects of study.
(2) It collects instances in which participants depart from rules of native situations and analyses them.
(3) It documents identifications of "inappropriateness" by participants.
(4) It elucidates how participants treat "inappropriateness" (whether they merely note inappropriateness or whether they implement some kind of correction).
(5) It examines how participants mutually interact in the process of identifying and dealing with deviations or inappropriateness.
(6) In the case of a correction process, it examines what correction rules have been applied. It studies, for example, whether self-correction or other-correction has occurred; pre-, in- or post-correction; whether the correction refers to one part of an utterance only, to the language

system as a whole, or whether the correction process has led to a particular language system (for instance, foreigner talk).

(7) It examines the result of the correction process.

Needless to say, the approach of problem analysis is not limited to contact situations. Its application range is exceptionally broad. It is a suitable method for native language situations, for language problems in general, and also for contact situations. It is therefore important to develop it into a powerful method for understanding contact situations. The follow-up interview is an indispensable technique for problem analysis. This technique is already partly used in error analysis. However, in the data collection for error analysis no consideration has been given to examining the awareness of all the participants in detail over the whole period of time. Without this examination of participants' awareness, in other words, without follow-up interviews, it is impossible to elucidate many problems that occur in contact situations.

4. Research on contact situations of the Japanese language

Certainly, not every paper in the special issue of *Nihongo Kyōiku* 45 treats "contact situations" and "problem analysis" in the form depicted above. If, however, one conceives the contributions in this special issue as one entity, the following features which unify the method of analysing contact situations can be recognized.

(1) Problems of both foreign speakers and native speakers are considered (albeit with a focus on the former).

(2) Both grammatical and non-grammatical problems were considered (the latter are, however, limited to Ozaki's paper).

(3) Data have been collected from regular conversations in contact situations, and, in the case of Masumi's paper, from actual classroom situations (in the case of Kubota only, the data are somewhat close to a test).

(4) Either error analysis (Yoshimitsu, Kubota) or problem analysis (Ozaki, Skoutarides) has been applied.

Ozaki's paper departs from the almost exclusive focus of traditional JFL on the grammatical proficiency framework. It examines how problems (obstacles) can be treated without sounding "un-Japanese" when speakers are confronted with problems expressing themselves. It can be assumed that such proficiency is an important issue for advanced language learners progressing from contact situations to native level language situations. In present day JFL, the rules of steering conversations are not an issue that has been much reflected upon. However, I believe that in JFL

in future, the extent to which advanced language learners can acquire this sort of proficiency by themselves, or whether it is necessary for language teachers to teach this constructively in the classroom, will become an important consideration.

In his paper, Skoutarides shifts the viewpoint towards native speakers in contact situations. As a first attempt to study Japanese foreigner talk, this article is bound to draw much attention. On the premise that the characteristics of Japanese foreigner talk which appear in Skoutarides's data turn out to be general in nature, these data have the potential to demonstrate that the Japanese used by native speakers in contact situations (including the Japanese of language teachers in the classroom) cannot easily be used as a model for foreign language learners. This issue is so significant that it would fundamentally unsettle – both from a practical and a theoretical point of view – current ideas about the role of the native speaker in Japanese language education.

Yoshimitsu and Kubota's analysis of data on how pitch accent and the stroke order of Chinese characters are acquired is pioneering. Admittedly, pitch accent and stroke order play only a restricted role among the means to transmit meaning in communication, but in contact situations they are quite crucial elements. This is the case because pitch accent errors mean that the label "foreign speaker" is attached to foreign speakers. In the case of stroke order, the problem might be less pressing at beginner and intermediate levels. However, at the stage where foreign speakers start writing characters in running style, mistakes with regard to balance and connection of the strokes play a role similar to that of pitch accent errors. If no solid data are collected on the extent to which advanced Japanese language learners acquire correct pitch accent and stroke order, measures for improvement cannot be established. There is, however, an additional problem with regard to pitch accent as well as to stroke order. Exceptions aside, pitch accent and stroke order are only taught at the beginner level in present-day JFL. However, the rules of pitch accent and stroke order acquisition are rather complex issues governed by general strategies, standard rules and individual rules. Consider the following examples.

(1) For instance, general strategies are (a) the pitch accent nucleus is attached to the second last morpheme (for example: *nihon dai*ˀ*gaku*, *uchi de*ˀ*wa*). (b) Writing from left to right (for example 川).

(2) With regard to standard rules, (a) words including *ken*, *gun*, *shi*, *machi* (prefecture, county, city, town) have the accent attached in accordance with the strategy of "second-last morpheme" (for instance: *Akita*ˀ*shi*) and (b) the stroke order for 皮 is in accordance with the strategy "from left to right".

(3) With regard to individual rules, (a) the pitch accent of words including *mura* (village) is flat (for example *Kodachimura*) and (b) in the case of 方 the right stroke is written first with regard to the last two strokes.

It goes without saying that, in many cases, these three categories cannot be clearly divided and one has to conceive them as a continuous scale rather than as three independent categories. Being on a continuous scale, the question of in what combinations language learners acquire general strategies, standard rules and individual rules is crucial. This is a significant theoretical issue which calls for empirical research with concrete data from contact situations. While Yoshimitsu and Kubota do not provide for solutions to the extent that they describe combination patterns, they nonetheless present conclusions relating to separate detailed acquisition, and, at the same time, provide a contribution towards this end.

In Masumi's contribution, the object of research has been the classroom situation as one particular category of contact situation. The behaviour of foreign language learners in classroom situations, that is, behaviour in accordance with fixed teaching methods, can basically be considered as one type of correction behaviour. In other words, language teaching can be regarded as *correction rules* that systematically provide speakers who do not know the language with methods of managing communication problems.

So what exactly are the correction behaviours which *in fact* occur in the classroom? While various kinds of correction processes can be distinguished within language teaching theory, for example, in accordance with the grammar-translation method or the audio-lingual method, it is unclear what the main reason for choosing such a variety of a correction process is. The question of which teaching method should be applied in the classroom is of course the ultimate issue. Nonetheless, I would argue that it is at times important to leave aside the viewpoint "how it should be" and to look descriptively at "how it is". In this context, Masumi's paper is instructive.

The concept of "contact situation" and its significance for various concrete research tasks has been described above. Although this concept is not merely for the purpose of language teaching, it has been pointed out that it is an indispensable tool for language teaching. Without doubt, the more the various problems in contact situations are studied, the more JFL will profit thereby.

5. Analysis of contact situations and JFL

To conclude, let us attempt to draw some general conclusions from the five papers in the special issue of *Nihongo kyōiku* 45.

(1) The acquisition of Japanese is not merely a result of classroom education.

As the data collected by Ozaki and Kubota make clear, foreign language learners acquire to a considerable extent rules of Japanese not taught or emphasized in the classroom. Since, however, the acquisition of rules is deficient in some of these cases, some kind of countermeasure in the process of Japanese language education might be desirable. Furthermore, the issue of which elements of Japanese are omitted from the language courses, and under what circumstances, is one that can only be resolved by analysing a large amount of data from contact situations.

(2) Rule acquisition is unbalanced, except for a few learners; some acquire more general strategies, while others learn more standard or individual rules.

As evidenced by the research results of Ozaki, Yoshimitsu and Kubota, Japanese language learners acquire many language rules. Nevertheless, they acquire only parts of individual rules (the accent pattern of individual words, stroke order of Chinese characters), standard rules and general strategies. Therefore, I believe, it is essential to compensate imbalances in the process of language education.

(3) A reconsideration of guidance in language learning on how diverse correction rules could render Japanese conversations more conversation-like is crucial.

Through Ozaki's research results we recognize that some advanced language learners acquired a considerable proportion of the correction rules necessary for advancing conversations smoothly. Since these are acquired incompletely, I suggest that the necessity of making corrections, in particular, the case of self-correction rules, should be a goal of JFL.

(4) It is essential to reconsider the role of native speakers as language models in contact situations.

The existence of Japanese foreigner talk has been demonstrated by Skoutarides' research. In the future, it might be necessary to further clarify the status of teacher talk by Japanese language teachers in the classroom. If the existence of foreigner talk and teacher talk is recognized, we can anticipate the emergence of various problems concerning the role of the native speaker as a language model in contact situations. Once we have insights into the factors which influence the

emergence of foreigner talk, then native speakers as well as foreign speakers can use these insights in order to advance conversations smoothly.

(5) Because the methodology of teaching Japanese is frequently based on certain attitudes acquired unconsciously by language teachers, it is not easy to change this methodology merely on the basis of language textbooks and exercise selection.

This, to sum up, is the conclusion of Masumi's paper. Speakers, even those not formally trained in language teaching, have fixed attitudes towards the practice of language teaching. This "system", which might be called "folk language teaching methods", can be altered to a certain extent through language education training at university or similar institutions. Nevertheless, if one accepts the general validity of Masumi's conclusions, an unexpectedly firm perception of teacher behaviour and basic attitudes remains, even in cases of fairly long-term (one year) and intensive training. Clarifying the origins of these "folk language teaching methods" is yet another important task of future research.

I believe that the more clearly it is recognized that problem analysis in contact situations should serve as a starting point in JFL in future, the more JFL can avoid its present state of arbitrariness and voluntarism, and the more it can be based on a rigorous empirical basis.

6. Postscript (Patrick Heinrich)

Many of the points Neustupný raised in this seminal paper have been explored in numerous papers and monographs since the original publication of this paper in 1995. Contact situation (*sesshoku bamen*) is today a well-established concept in JFL studies in Japan and in Australia, the two countries where Neustupný has mainly taught. The best overview on the impact that the concept of contact situation had in JFL is Neustupný's *Festschrift* on the occasion of his 70th birthday (Miyazaki and Marriot 2003). It includes papers on the theoretical developments and concrete applications of the concept of contact situation and explorations of the diversity of contact situations, as well as studies on language management in the classroom. The research methods introduced here are further developed in Neustupný and Miyazaki (2002). The special issue on "Language Problems of Japan" of the *Japanese Journal of Language in Society* edited by Neustupný (1999) is informative with regard to the breadth, influence and visions of Neustupný's research. Both established and young researchers draw on Neustupný's concept of contact situation

today, such as, to only name a few, Fairbrother (2000), Fan (1992, 1999, 2006), Kō (2003), Kubota (2000), Muraoka (1999, 2000, 2006) and Marriott (1993, 2000). In other words, language management in contact situations has grown into an essential field of JFL, and one that scholars such as those mentioned above continue to explore and develop.

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Teaching Japanese interaction as a process of language management

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Abstract

This paper demonstrates an attempt of Teaching Japanese as Foreign Language (TJFL) at a private university in Japan as a model built on the grounds of the language management framework (Neustupný 1985a, 1985b; Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). According to this framework, language problems do not necessarily surface but remain significant in the process of management which typically commences with deviation from norm, and then goes through stages such as noting and evaluation of deviations, planning and implementation of possible adjustments. It is suggested in the paper that due to (1) the diversity of norms other than the Japanese native norms available for the learner; and (2) the existence of factors other than language in the narrow sense to be considered even if Japanese native norms are selected, a real interaction experience among learners through the target language in contact situations is difficult to be achieved naturally or automatically. These noted deviations provoke the design of a Japanese curriculum which aims to teach foreign students how to interact with the Japanese through the Japanese language. In this paper, problems necessary to be treated in the planning stage (e. g. how to define the scope of TJFL for interaction), adjustment stage (e. g. how to teach Japanese interaction through the means of activities), implementation stage (e. g. how to administer a Japanese course for such purpose in practice) are discussed. It is expected that through a systematic procedure of teaching and learning of Japanese interaction, learners will not only acquire the norms for interacting with the Japanese (i. e. through interpretation activities and exercise activities) but also become competent in using the norms for interaction (i. e. through performance activities) and this will eventually assist the learners to establish and design their own norms for interacting with the Japanese in real life.

1. INTRODUCTION

In society, social norms are presumed and social behaviors according to such norms are acknowledged. Similarly, language norms are not only purely linguistically enforced rules but also expected to be implemented by individual users and violations are dispreferred. In contact situations, as indicated by Neustupný before, all participants necessarily use norms as a yardstick from which all deviations are measured, and to which evaluation of behavior is firmly bound (Neustupný 1985b). In recent studies within the framework of language management, it has been widely discussed and reported that communication problems arise in contact situations more readily than in native situations not only because participants involved in such situations presumably possess a rather different set of "native norms", but also because the interaction itself is potentially built on the basis of various other norms such as so-called "contact norms", "dual norms", "universal norms", "global norms" (Marriott 1990; Muraoka 2002; Fairbrother 2003; Fan 2003; Neustupný 2005). More specifically, while most norms used for communication in native situations are shared by the participants and thus usually remain covert, it is obvious that norms which can be used in contact situations are to be negotiated, and as a result other than unshared norms, at least a part of the underlying shared norms and native norms become overt and/or intensified and this directly leads to a series of much more complex processes for the management of problems surfaced. The diversity of norms available in contact situations can be observed in the following self-introductions made by Japanese language learners.

Case 1: J: *hajimemashite, Tajima desu. dōzo yoroshiku onegai shimasu.*
F: *hajimemashite, Jonson desu. dōzo yoroshiku onegai shimasu.*
Case 2: J: hi, *konnichi wa, Yūko desu.* Please call me Yūko.
F: *konnichi wa, Pītā Jonson*. (offering handshaking)
Case 3: F: *hajimemashite, onamae wa*?
Case 4: F1: *watashi wa Chūgoku kara kita Chin Ken to mōshimasu.*
F2: *hajimemashite, watashi wa Nyūjīrando kara kita Arison desu.* (laugh)

It is apparent that Japanese norms were used in Case 1 in which formulaic greetings for self-introduction (*hajimemashite* and *dōzo yoroshiku onegai shimasu*) and surnames (*Tajima* and *Jonson*) were exchanged. Norms of the foreigner, most likely an American in Case 2 and a Chinese in Case 3, seem to have be applied since language behavior such as a more casual greeting *konnichi wa*, use of first names (*Yūko*), initiating questions (*onamae wa*?) contributes to positive politeness (Brown and Levinson

1978) and is considered to be favorable among Americans and Chinese in first time meetings.[1] In Case 4, in spite of a comparably formal introduction with the use of honorific expression (*mōshimasu*), the formulaic greeting *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* was not exchanged. According to Fan (1999), omission of a part of Japanese norms as contact norms (i. e. norms only applicable in the contact situation concerned) is a common feature in third-party language contact situations where no native speaker is involved. It is important to point out here that, regardless of the large amount of potential problems due to the diversity of norms in contact situations, interaction in such situations is not necessarily to be problematic in nature. As a matter of fact, foreign participants in cases such as above often enjoy meeting and being able to interact with other people through the Japanese language they know.

There is no doubt that foreigners are loaded with problems when communicating with Japanese, and various types of Japan literacy (Neustupný 1995a, 2000) are crucial in order to achieve and maintain successful interaction in contact situations. From the point of view of language planning and second language education, it is thus of great importance to identify problems potentially confronted by Japanese language learners and to provide possible solutions with resources accessible within the institutional environment. In the present paper, I shall demonstrate an attempt of Teaching Japanese as Foreign Language (TJFL) at a Japanese private university as a model built on the grounds of the language management framework (Neustupný 1985a, 1985b; Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; Jernudd 1993). The focus of discussion will be placed on the role of activities as an adjustment procedure for TJFL within the process for building up a Japanese curriculum as management of language problems. It is hoped that this study can provide insight into problems of interaction in contact situations and possible treatments of such problems in institutional education.

2. TJFL AND THE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT THEORY

The language management theory was first introduced in the early 1980s as a tool for the study of language problems particularly in contact situations. According to Neustupný (1995b), the treatment of language problems within the language management framework is different from that in the traditional language planning paradigm at least in the following ways, namely, (1) scope of language problems, (2) possibility for

[1] Discussions can be found in Gu (1990), Azuma (1997) and others.

solving language problems, (3) levels of language problems, (4) agents of language problems, (5) process of language problems, and (6) universality of language problems. The main points are summarized in Table 1 below.

Tab. 1: A theoretical comparison of the paradigms of language planning and language management (Neustupný 1995b: 71)

	Language planning	**Language management**
Scope of language problems	Mainly focus on problems related to the development and application of various language varieties	Cover language problems including those related to language education
Possibility for solving language problems	Believe that problems can be solved with appropriate policies	Emphasize that problems which cannot be solved (temporarily or permanently) should also be attended
Levels of language problems	Mainly focus on problems related to language use in a narrow sense	Emphasize that in order to solve language problems, other than language use in the narrow sense, related sociolinguistic problems and socio-cultural problems should also be attended
Agents of language problems	Mainly taken at the national level	Multiple levels, from the national level to the conversation level among individual language users
Process of language problems	Mainly focus on surfaced language problems. The process of language problems starting from the discourse level has not been emphasized	Analyze language problems at various stages, i. e. deviation from norms, noting of deviations, evaluation of deviations, planning of adjustment, implementation of adjustment plans
Universality of language problems	Language problems in different societies are basically treated in the same way	The paradigm of language problems is socio-cultural specific and thus different treatment is necessary

As it is clear in the above table, the language management framework emphasizes that language problems which should be attended are not limited to problems of language use in the narrow sense, which have been one of the main concerns of language teachers and language learners. In addition, some language problems may not surface (e. g. in the form of errors) but remain significant at various stages in the process of treatment. The most basic process of language problems as suggested by Neustupný includes the following five stages. They are: (1) deviation from norms, (2) noting of deviation from norms, (3) evaluation of devia-

tion from norms, (4) planning for the adjustment of deviation from norms, and (5) implementation of plans for the adjustment of deviation from norms.

In the following sections, I shall outline a Japanese curriculum designed and implemented by applying the above-mentioned language management theory. The attempt was first made in the Japanese Language and Culture Program (*Ryūgakusei Bekka*) at Kanda University of International Studies (KUIS) in Chiba, Japan in 2000 when the author became the director of the program. The curriculum developed is still in practice and has continuously been refined.

3. The noting stage: the problem with how to interact with the Japanese

While the learning environment is crucially important for second language learning, it would be unrealistic to expect that once a language learner gains an opportunity to live in an environment where the target language is spoken, he or she will "naturally" or "automatically" acquire the language and eventually become proficient to interact with native speakers. One of the main reasons is that, as mentioned in the beginning of this paper, interaction in contact situations is difficult in nature due to the diversity of norms available and the complicated management processes on the basis of such norms. Another reason which seems to be equally significant is that language learners in reality are not necessarily placed in the position of getting involved in interaction with native speakers through the target language. As a result, it is apparent that problems with interaction in contact situations still remain even if the base norm selected for interaction is native norm, as in the case of second language teaching and learning. The fact that interaction is not necessarily acquired "naturally" or "automatically" is obvious among Japanese learners who study overseas in Japan. For instance, Japanese learners in Japan typically confront one or more of the following types of problems which may hinder their contact with local Japanese and, consequently, their acquisition of the Japanese language and literacy for interaction.

(1) The problem of developing and maintaining a personal Japanese social network

Several factors may contribute to this problem. Firstly, although most of the Japanese learners in Japan are tertiary students over the age of 18, very few of them possess a personal social network with Japanese people before they arrive (Tanaka 2000). In other words, it is necessary

for them to establish a totally new network after their arrival in Japan. Secondly, many Japanese learners study in Japan through short term language programs (e. g. exchange students) and the time for developing personal social network is limited. Thirdly, with the advanced automation systems in the Japanese society, Japanese learners can survive daily life without relying on interpersonal contact. Finally, same as other foreigners in Japan, Japanese learners can easily get into contact with their own family and friends via telephone and emails. International and local news can also be obtained in English or many other languages through the internet. It should be correct to say that all these social factors support Japanese learners to live in the Japanese environment without having direct interaction with the local Japanese people.

(2) The problem of developing and maintaining a Japanese language network

With the widespread of English education in Japan, communication with local Japanese people without relying on the Japanese language has become more accessible. Indeed, many Japanese learners, particularly those who have strong features of a westerner, will not be surprised to be approached by Japanese in English. While English remains a strong foreign language in the Japanese society and is always seen as a means for the achievement of globalization, many Japanese will believe that it is necessary to communicate with foreigners in English, regardless of whether they are from an English or non-English speaking background. The problem of maintaining a Japanese language network still remains even if a Japanese learner is successful in developing a personal network with Japanese. Japanese learners, especially those from western countries, may find it more difficult to make new friends as their Japanese level becomes more advanced. Some other learners are not satisfied with their Japanese counterparts who do not intend to develop topics in depth or use sophisticated Japanese.[2] As a matter of fact, it is not easy for many Japanese learners studying in Japan to have "real interaction" using Japanese other than with their Japanese instructors and fellow students in the Japanese program they are enrolled in.

(3) The problem of inadequate non-grammatical competence

Needless to say, for successful interaction with local Japanese through the target language, Japanese learners will need to know more than merely the language in its narrow sense. As widely pointed out in

[2] Murakami (2005) discusses the social network and development of friendship among Japanese learners from America.

recent studies related to teaching Japanese as foreign language, so-called Japan literacy with integrated grammatical and non-grammatical competence, such as the ability to manipulate sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules in the Japanese society, is crucial (Neustupný 1995a; Muraoka 2000). Unfortunately, in the traditional paradigm of TJFL, the non-grammatical part of competence of Japanese has yet received sufficient attention (Fan 2006).

(4) The problem of avoidance

Although the goal of going to Japan is to study the Japanese language, Japanese learners in Japan are open to design and to control his/her language use. As an extreme case, a Japanese learner can choose not to use Japanese at all outside the Japanese classroom for reasons such as avoid exposing his/her identity or inviting unnecessary problems (Yokota 1991). The degree of using Japanese for interaction with Japanese is opted to be managed by the learners depending on their personal needs, interests, personality and other social factors.

The arguments above support the views that interaction is not easy to be acquired automatically or naturally and that language problems cannot be resolved without a systematic procedure of teaching and learning. This problem was noted and taken as the starting point of the entire language management process for the development of a new Japanese curriculum at KUIS. In other words, the goal of the Japanese curriculum was set as how to interact with the Japanese through the Japanese language.

4. The planning stage: defining the scope of TJFL for interaction

As far as the policy makers of a language program are concerned, the problem regarding to how to interact with the Japanese is not only noted but also evaluated as inadequate and thus relevant treatment (i. e. management) has to be made. In order to establish a Japanese curriculum which can assist learners to acquire necessary ability when facing such problems, it is important at the planning stage to define the scope of the curriculum for teaching Japanese which "works" when learners interact with Japanese native speakers. In this section, I shall briefly introduce the design of (1) participants of the interaction, (2) authenticity of the interaction, and (3) perspectives of the interaction.

4.1. PARTICIPANTS OF THE INTERACTION: WHO ARE THE JAPANESE?

When designing a program for teaching Japanese interaction, it is necessary to make clear to both the teachers and the learners involved: "interacting with whom?" As for the Japanese program at KUIS, the counterparts of the Japanese learners are set to be "ordinary Japanese people who use the Japanese language in their daily life." This may sound insignificant but it is important to raise consciousness to the fact that there are "special Japanese," who are very familiar with foreigners and foreign languages, and/or who do not rely on using Japanese in their daily life. From the point of view of a Japanese learner, Japanese teachers and volunteers are more likely to be in the group of "special Japanese" in the way that they are sensitive to the Japanese language and they can talk about their own language. Existing literature on foreigner talk, for example, has suggested that unlike the special Japanese, ordinary Japanese deal with foreigners in a somewhat different manner. For instance, they are usually not used to the deviated pronunciation and usage of Japanese and thus tend to ask more often for clarification. In addition, they have a more distant feeling towards foreigners and as a result they tend to use more honorifics. Also as an inexperienced communicator with foreigners, they in general possess less repair strategies and issue more unintended topics and code-switching.

It should be mentioned here that the identity of "special Japanese" may change if they release their roles and approach the foreigners as an ordinary Japanese person. In the case of Japanese teachers, they may be viewed by their students as "ordinary Japanese" in small talks at the beginning of a class, consultation during the orientation period, and chats at parties and traveling together during excursions.

Regardless of being special or ordinary, the interaction between Japanese and foreigners constitutes a "contact situation." As widely studied in recent years, the interaction and language management in contact situations are fundamentally different from that in native situations in which no foreign factors are significant. Language policy makers should not neglect the fact that features of contact situations remain even if some of the foreign factors appear to be less apparent or cannot be observed on the surface (e. g. overseas students from Asian countries with a high proficiency in Japanese) and this should receive sufficient attention when designing the curriculum for Japanese learners.

4.2. Authenticity of the interaction: how real should it be?

When planning for teaching Japanese interaction, it is also necessary to put a special note on "real interaction" since some cases can be considered as "pseudo" or "artificial" interaction designed for the purpose of teaching and learning. Interaction as the goal of language teaching and learning, from my point of view, should include also the type of interaction which is subjectively perceived by the learner involved as "real" or "actual" and not merely interaction which can be observed by outsiders. In this sense, classroom activities such as role plays or pair work are useful to enhance interaction using Japanese but may not necessarily be perceived as a real interaction by the learners. It should be correct to say that only the learner involved can tell whether an interaction has been a real experience or not although his/her counterparts in the situation can usually perceive the case.

Before we turn to look at the perspectives of the interaction, let me also add here that a real interaction for a language learner is not necessarily to be achieved with a natural setting and thus can, in theory, be obtained within the institutional environment. In more detail, a natural setting may encourage but does not guarantee a real interaction (e. g. playing *mamagoto*-housekeeping in a well-equipped modern kitchen does not result in a real cooking experience), and a rather artificial setting does not necessarily discourage real interaction (e. g. a rock-paper-scissors *janken*-game actually determines the order of players in a toy kitchen).

4.3. Perspectives of the interaction: some basic assumptions

Needless to say, teaching Japanese interaction will not be successful without clearly defining what interaction means. According to previous literature in the area of sociolinguistics (e. g. Hymes 1972), interaction is characterized by the following factors.

(1) Interaction has a purpose

The purpose for interaction is usually determined by the language user himself/herself such as transmitting a message, making a request, expressing feelings, maintaining human relationships, making fun and others (Jakobson 1960). Sometimes a language user may interact with a goal which is imposed by the society and/or directed by other people. Voting, giving a self-introduction, answering a telephone call, refusing an invitation are cases of this kind.

(2) Interaction involves participants other than the speaker

It is true that a language user can interact with himself/herself such as writing diaries and making confessions. However, it is more common

in daily life to interact with other people. The counterparts may be a single person (e. g. personal tutoring) or in a group (e. g. attending a lecture); distant (e. g. making telephone or writing emails to a friend) or close (e. g. conversation during dinner); once only (e. g. asking a stranger for direction) or continuous (e. g. joining extracurricular activities).

(3) Interaction involves the use of language
Although some of the purposes of interaction can be achieved through non-verbal channels (e. g. playing sports, games), language remains a powerful and efficient tool for human communication. In most societies in the world, interaction is achieved through either the spoken or the written channel of a language. As for language programs, interaction should be regarded as "speech events" in various "speech situations" (Hymes 1972).

(4) Interaction involves language and/or substantial behavior
While many types of interaction in daily life can be achieved through only language (e. g. making a speech, a telephone call, giving a lecture, writing a letter, reading newspaper), it is not uncommon to find some types of interaction which are accompanied by substantial behavior in cases such as conversations at a dinner party (e. g. talk while eating and drinking), or instructions at a sports event (e. g. giving instructions while playing). When designing a language program, the type of interaction should be considered.

(5) Language behavior for interaction is constrained by the situation
Appropriate language behavior for achieving a goal through the interaction with other participants in a situation essentially means more than accurate pronunciation and selection of vocabulary and construction of sentences. A successful interaction through language requires not only the competence of applying appropriate linguistic rules but also related sociocultural and sociolinguistic rules which make the language work.

5. THE ADJUSTMENT STAGE: ACTIVITIES AS A MEANS FOR TEACHING JAPANESE INTERACTION

In the discussion above, it is suggested that both teaching and learning of a second language can be regarded as a language management process which commences with language problems and aims for the removal of problems. In the case of designing a Japanese curriculum for foreign students with the goal of teaching and learning Japanese interaction, problems related to interacting with the Japanese are noted, and

in correspondence to the noting of such problems (= deviation from norms), a series of language teaching and learning procedures involving evaluation, planning and adjustment for their removal will become possible. The enforcement of various types of so-called "activities" inside and outside classrooms can be taken as an adjustment procedure for teaching Japanese interaction. Since the term "activity" has been used in various ways especially in the area of second language acquisition, it may be relevant to add a brief description of what "activity" is taken here.

5.1. What is an "activity"?

The concept of activity is important in the areas of linguistics and applied linguistics. Vygotsky's activity theory (Vygotsky 1980, 1986), Levinson's activity types (Levinson 1979) are among some of the influential frameworks. The term "activity" has been sometimes used interchangeable with "task". However, as pointed out by Coughlan and Duff (1994), unlike "task" which can be defined as "a kind of behavioral blueprint provided to subjects in order to elicit linguistic data," "activity" comprises (Coughlan and Duff 1994: 175) "the behavior that is actually produced when an individual or a group performs the task." They further state that "it is the process, as well as the outcome, of a task, examined in its sociocultural context."[3] Along with the sociocultural views in previous studies such as Hymes (1972), Goffman (1974), Levinson (1979), Appel and Lantolf (1994), Neustupný (1995a) and Muraoka (2003), the term "activity" is taken here as the frame of sociocultural behavior of a language user in a speech situation which involves language use with locally determined goals, expectations and interpretations in accordance to his/her own socio-history.

From the psycholinguistic point of view, it has been claimed in existing Second Language Aquisition literature that language performance of a learner resulted from specific pedagogical tasks can be predicted with some degree of certainty (Ellis 2000). Moreover, some tasks are potentially closer to the presumed performances of language learners, which in turn would facilitate language acquisition (Pica, Kanagy and Falodun 1993). Therefore, it can be assumed that the experience of systematic activities performed in language classrooms assists learners' framing of sociocultural activities. Under the framework of language management, strategi-

[3] Recent discussions on the connotations of activities, tasks and exercises can be found in Ellis (2003).

cally constructed activities serve as an important adjustment procedure in the process of the management of potential language problems.

As far as the design of activities is concerned, the following two points seem to be of most importance and should be taken into consideration.

(1) The distinction of designer's and learner's activity

As Appel and Lantolf (1994) have pointed out before, performance in a task depends crucially on the interaction between individual and task, rather than on the inherent features of the task itself. In reality, it is obvious that "although teachers have the overt power to set the agenda, learners also have considerable power to accept, reject and change the intended design of activities" (Murphy 1993; Spence-Brown 2003). For this reason, attention should be given to the fact that pedagogically designed activities will elicit language performance which constitutes the framing of activities to be interpreted and approached by the learners, not necessarily by the designers, in completion of the adjustment procedure.

(2) The distinction of real and realistic performance

Since the goal of the entire language management process is the acquisition of real interaction (see Section 4.2), real activities perceived by the learners should be included, if not pre-dominant, among the pedagogically designed activities. Neustupný (1995a) advocates that activities should be real, rather than realistic, interaction and that it is important to distinguish superficially interactive exercises and authentically interactive performances. According to Neustupný, pedagogically designed activities can be categorized into three types, namely, "interpretation activities", "exercise activities" and "performance activities". In Section 5.2 below, I shall give a brief introduction of the three types of activities mentioned above.

5.2. THREE TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

5.2.1. Interpretation activities (IA, or kaishaku akutibitī)

Interpretation activities are designed to facilitate a learner's understanding of language use necessary for sociocultural activities through direct or indirect provision of knowledge. In the traditional grammar-translation paradigm, interpretation activities have been dominant and mostly teacher-based. For instance, instructions, explanations given by the teacher in the form of a lecture, an introductory session (*dōnyū*) or a follow-up session (*fukushū*) are the most common forms taken for IAs. It is correct to say that IAs still remain important in recent approaches for second language teaching and their development is prominent. In many language

programs nowadays, learners are placed to take a more active role in order to gain new knowledge. Conducting interviews, project works (learner-based IAs), peer-reading and group discussions (interaction-based IAs) are some of the popular activities.

5.2.2. *Exercise activities (EA, or renshū akutibitī)*

While interpretation activities characterize the grammar-translation paradigm, exercise activities are indispensable in the audio-lingual paradigm in which learner-centered second language education is in the spotlight. Exercise activities are typically designed to facilitate a learner's skills of language use necessary for sociocultural activities on the basis of the knowledge gained through various IAs. Unlike IAs which activate the process of evaluation when learners are searching for new meanings, EAs encourage the process of correction which allows learners to acquire new skills from mistakes. From the learners' point of view, some EAs are no more than routines (e. g. repetitions, dictations, copy writing) while some EAs are very close to natural interaction (e. g. role plays, rehearsals, simulations). It is important to note that activities which on the surface appear to be very natural may still remain an exercise and not a real interaction experience for the learners. Since most of the social and linguistic factors for the interaction (e. g. the goal, participants, language used, non-grammatical and substantial behavior) are pre-arranged by the teacher and learners are not required to re-frame them according to their own judgment, learners in this type of EAs can usually "interact" without much pressure psychologically and it is not uncommon to find unexpected changes of interaction goals, abrupt abortion of interaction halfway, unmatched evaluation towards interaction (e. g. laugh over errors, repetitions of correct expressions). Similar to IAs, EAs can be teacher-based (e. g. flash cards), learner-based (e. g. rehearsal of speech) and interaction-based (e. g. pair-work).

5.2.3. *Performance activities (PA, or jissaishiyō akutibitī)*

Unlike interpretation activities and exercise activities which are fundamentally pedagogical-goal-oriented in nature, performance activities are designed to facilitate a learner's ability to make the knowledge earned in IAs and the skills acquired in EAs work so as to achieve an interaction with a real-world goal. It is not exaggerated to say that in the traditional paradigm of second language education, activities other than pedagogical-goal-oriented types are not emphasized, if not totally neglected. It has been mainly the learners' responsibility to use the knowledge and skills learnt from the language program in daily life social activities although

they are often "advised" and "encouraged" by their teachers to do so outside the classroom. In order to foster authenticity, PAs are usually conducted with the help of participants other than the usual teacher (e. g. visitor sessions) or a change of the setting (e. g. home visits). It is necessary to add, however, that PAs are also possible with the normal teacher in the normal classroom as long as the learners perceive the activity a real interaction experience and not an exercise (e. g. small talk, classroom instructions, after-class consultation). In addition, since PAs are usually designed to place the learners in a position in which they need to manipulate social and linguistic factors according to their own judgment of framing a real interaction, learners often find more pressure psychologically even if they are well-prepared in IAs and EAs. In the case of unsuccessful interaction, linguistic repairs (e. g. restatements, requests for clarification) and emotional reactions (e. g. upset, embarrassment) can be observed.

In the following section, I shall introduce an attempt of implementing the above-mentioned theoretical approach for teaching Japanese interaction in the Japanese Language and Culture Program at KUIS.

6. The implementation stage: an introduction of the course "Japanese in context" (*Jissen Nihongo*)

6.1. Curriculum design

Departing from the theory of language management, the curriculum of the Japanese Language and Culture Program at KUIS was designed as follows.

(1) Goal-setting

The goal of Japanese language and teaching in the program was set as "TJFL for interaction" (*intāakushon no tame no nihongo kyōiku*). More specifically, the program aims to provide Japanese learners training for being able to actually interact with the Japanese people in Japanese. In order to achieve this goal, various types of contact situations possibly confronted by the learners during their stay in Japan are systematically analyzed and integrated into the program, and teaching and learning activities are encouraged for the acquisition of competence for actual interaction in such situations with the Japanese.

(2) Scope of Japanese language teaching

In view of the fact that linguistic ability in the narrow sense, such as the production of complicated sentences in accurate pronunciation, can support nothing more than parroting, the scope of Japanese lan-

guage teaching in the program is set to cover also the sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of the language for natural interaction as an adult language user.

(3) Types of courses

To support different needs among individual learners for their interaction with Japanese, three types of Japanese courses are designed and offered. Using the terms suggested by Neustupný (1995a), they can be regarded as (a) "Japan Literacy III" education: focuses on linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence; (b) "Japan Literacy II" education: focuses mainly on sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence with a minimum of linguistic competence; (c) "Japan Literacy I" education: focuses mainly on sociocultural competence.

Japanese in Context, or *Jissen Nihongo* as it is known to the students, is a course designed for "Japan Literacy III" education. It is a half year course which typically runs for 14 weeks in one semester. Students meet four times a week with one and a half hours in each class period (or one *koma* in the Japanese university system). In 2006, five levels (zero beginners to intermediate) were offered and a total of 56 overseas students in the Japanese program were enrolled in this course (see Table 2 below). Each level is taught by one native Japanese instructor. In addition, although the majority of students in this course are native speakers of English, the media for instruction in class is in principle Japanese.

Tab. 2: Background of students enrolled in "Japanese in Context" [*Jissen Nihongo*] course

	America	**Brazil**	**Canada**	**England**	**Indonesia**	**Total**
Level 1	12	0	1	1	0	14
Level 1.5	13	1	0	0	1	15
Level 2	8	0	0	1	0	9
Level 3	11	0	0	2	0	13
Level 4	5	0	0	0	0	5
Total	49	1	1	4	1	56

6.2. Course description

In the orientation session held at the beginning of each semester, students who intend to take *Jissen Nihongo* are provided with the following course description:

"This course is designed to introduce Japanese at different levels necessary for students to communicate with native speakers in the

Japanese context. More specifically, classes in each courses are structured to develop students' competence in the following three aspects: (1) Linguistic Competence for vocabulary, pronunciation and levels of speech; (2) Sociolinguistic Competence for using the language according to Japanese communication norms: e. g. knowledge of the Japanese politeness system, typical contact topics, strategies for handling expressions and comprehension problems; and (3) Sociocultural Competence for presenting themselves as a member in the Japanese society: e. g., knowledge of facts about Japan such as cycles in daily life, patterns of entertainment, hierarchy in family and work domain, social organization of contemporary Japanese society. Students will be introduced four or five topics based on the students' needs. Each topic will be taught in two or three weeks, which includes an introduction of related sociolinguistic and linguistic items; explanation and drills of necessary linguistic items; kanji and grammar quizzes; preparation of a performance activity interacting with Japanese people; administration of the performance activity; and summary of contents and follow-up assignments. Throughout the entire period of *Jissen Nihongo*, attendance and participation in all activities is particularly emphasized. Students are encouraged to use the university facilities such as the Self Access Learning Centre (SALC), the Media Education Centre, library, and canteens as resources."

Students will also receive a more detailed syllabus guide of their respective level in the first class from the instructor.

6.3. Syllabus design

As mentioned in the course description above, in each level of *Jissen Nihongo*, four to five topics, preferably topics of interest and importance to the students, are selected and a performance activity for each topic is designed in order to assist students to utilize relevant linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge they learnt in class so as to strengthen their competence for the interaction with Japanese. According to students' learning progress (i. e. zero beginners to intermediate), the scope of basic grammatical and non-grammatical items to be taught and the assessment policy in each level are indicated by the Japanese program. Teaching plans such as selection of topics, types of PA, teaching materials and teaching methods, however, can be determined by the instructors as long as it is relevant and efficient. For this reason, no particular textbook or reference book is fixed for each level. In the current *Jissen* Level 1 class, for instance, the following five topics are taught based on existing and self-developed teaching materials (Kikuchi 2006).

Tab. 3: Topics and PAs of *Jissen* Level 1

	Topic 1	**Topic 2**	**Topic 3**	**Topic 4**	**Topic 5**
Name of topic	*gaishoku* [Eating out]	*wakaranai mono ya kotoba* [Things and words you don't know]	*ryokō* [Traveling]	*kyōshitsu de no katsudō* [Activities inside classroom]	*nihon no mukashibanashi* [Japanese old stories]
Number of *koma* for this topic	7	9	9	8	7
Theme of the PA	Open a restaurant with special menus	Compile a dictionary of signs	Make a speech about your trip	Teach Japanese to do origami	Perform a play on *jūnishi* [the twelve horary signs]
Type of PA	Visitor session	Visitor session	Visitor session	Visitor session	Visitor session

As illustrated in Fan (2005), a typical flow of classroom activities for each topic is as follows:

Tab. 4: A flow chart of classroom activities for *Jissen Nihongo*

	Class time devoted to each topic: 12 hours (or 8 class periods) in 2–3weeks
Interpretation Activities (IA) ↓	① Explanation of sociocultural elements related to the topic ↓ ② Explanation of grammar, vocabulary and other linguistic elements related to the topic, practice through various tasks ↓ ③ Interaction assignments over the weekend (e. g. interviewing host family members, survey, making journals)
Exercise Activities (EA) ↓	↓ ④ Reviews of linguistic elements. Practice of listening comprehension ↓ ⑤ Quiz
Performance Activities (PA) ↓	↓ ⑥ Preparation for Performance activity ↓ ⑦ Performance activity with class visitors ↓ ⑧ Follow up of Performance activity (e. g. self-evaluation, reports)
Follow up	↓ ⑨ Reviews of vocabulary, kanji writing, and grammar ↓ ⑩ Reading comprehension tasks

6.4. PERFORMANCE ACTIVITIES: AN EXAMPLE

Needless to say, the design and implementation of performance activities (PA) vary according to the learners' Japanese ability, goals of the topic (e. g. what kind of grammatical and non-grammatical items are to be taught), background and readiness of the visitors involved, among others. As an example, let me here introduce a performance activity which was designed and carried out as a part of *Jissen* Level 1 in 2005.[4]

This PA was carried out in the latter half of the course for the topic "Activities inside classroom" (see Table 3 above). The teaching plan prepared by the instructor included the followings.

(a) Overall objectives for this topic: to understand classroom instructions. To be able to give instructions and explanations for making something.
(b) Discourse functions: how to give instructions, how to give explanations, how to make an offer, how to give permission, how to say no.
(c) Grammatical items: *-nai*, *-naide kudasai*, *-te*, *-de*, *– temo ii desu ka*, *-tewa ikemasen* for verbs, adjectives, and nouns).
(d) Topic of the PA: "*nihonjin ni origami no tsukurikata o oshieru*" (Teaching Japanese to do origami).
(e) Tasks for the overseas students: to teach the Japanese visitors how to do origami.
(f) Tasks for the Japanese visitors: listen to the overseas students' instructions, ask questions, confirm and ask for confirmation.

The following is an excerpt of classroom interaction recorded in the seventh class of *Jissen* Level 1. Four students in Group 4 (A, B, C, D, all Americans) were trying to teach the class visitors (V1, V2, V3, all Japanese undergraduate students) how to make a balloon using the origami paper.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE VISITOR SESSION:	
Overseas students:	A, B, C, D (all Americans, beginners)
Japanese visitors:	V1, V2, V3 (all undergraduate students)
Japanese instructor:	K
1 K：	はい、じゃあ次の人どうぞ。*(Okay, the next person please)*
・・・	
	[B posted up the cardboard on which he has written down the instructions for doing origami]
2 A：	みなさん、おはようございます [笑い]。*(hello everyone, good morning [laugh])*
3 Vs：	おはようございます。*(Good morning)*
4 A：	私たち、私たちのグループは・風船、風船を作ります。みなさんは風船をツカッタことがありますか。[笑い] これからいっしょにつく・作りましょう。*(we, our group will make balloons. Have you made balloons before?)*

[4] This performance activity was originally introduced in Fan (2005: 92–94).

PARTICIPANTS IN THE VISITOR SESSION:	
Overseas students:	A, B, C, D (all Americans, beginners)
Japanese visitors:	V1, V2, V3 (all undergraduate students)
Japanese instructor:	K
5 Vs：	[nodding]
6 A：	[笑い] じゃ、作りましょう。紙を一枚折ってください。*([laugh], okay let's make it! Please fold one paper.)*
7 Vs：	[the visitors followed the instructions and started to fold.]
8 B：	次に・下に折ってください・・[大きい模造紙で半分折る]・・次は、左に折ってください・・・[模造紙を左に折る]・・開いて・・三角に折ってください・・・[模造紙を三角に折る]・・できましたか。・・裏返して・・三角に折ってください・・・[模造紙を三角に折る。C が B を手伝う]・・できましたか。*(next, fold downward. [He folded the cardboard paper in half.] next, fold towards the left. [He demonstrated by folding toward the left.] open it… then fold into a triangle. [He folded his paper into a triangle.] Have you got it? … turn to the other side, then make a triangle… [He folded his paper into a triangle. C helped D] … Have you got it?)*
9 C：	次に両端を上に・え・え・折ってください・・・[模造紙の両端を折る。D が C を手伝う]・・・上のはじを真ん中・真ん中に・折ってください。*(Then the two ends up… e, e, fold it up… [She folded the two ends up. D helped C.])*
10A：	[At this moment, A was trying to check whether V 1 was doing alright. He laughed.]
11C：	上の両端を下に折ってください。*(Fold the two upper ends downward.)*
12A：	[At this moment, A tried to check whether V 1 was doing alright or not and helped.]
	こう、こう。[紙を V 1 に折ってあげる] *(Like this, like this. [A folded the paper for V1.])*
13V 1：	あ、あ、はい。[V 1 があまりうまく行かないようで恥ずかしそうに笑う。V 2 に聞く。] *(Haa, okay. [V1 did not get it well and she was a bit embarrassed and laughed. She asked V2.])*
14A：	[V 2 に向かって]わかりますか。*([turning to V2 and said] do you know how to do it?)* [V1 and V2 checked again. A tried to help.] ここ、中に。*(Here, put it inside.)*
15V 2：	ああ。*(oh I see.)*
16V 1：	これは？ *(how about this?)*
17A：	そうそう。*(yeah yeah)*
・・・	
18C：	[笑う] 両端を・・中に折ってください。*([laugh] the two ends… put them inside.)*
・・・	
	[D helped C]
・・・	
	[B was trying to help V1 by folding the paper for her. At the same time A was also trying to help V2 and V3.]
19A：	（・・・）
20V 1：	[V 2 に向かって] やったことある？ *([Turning to V2 and said] have you made this before?)*
・・・	
21All：	[笑う] *([laugh])*

PARTICIPANTS IN THE VISITOR SESSION:	
Overseas students:	A, B, C, D (all Americans, beginners)
Japanese visitors:	V1, V2, V3 (all undergraduate students)
Japanese instructor:	K
22D：	裏返して両端を上に折ってください。・・・もう一度両端を真ん中に折ってもう一度ください。*(Turn to the other side and fold the two ends upward… Again, fold the two ends to the center again.)* *[While D was explaining, C pointed with her fingers to the Japanese instructions written on the blackboard.]*
23D：	両端を上に折ってください・両端を真ん中に折ってください・・・両端を下に折ってください・・・両端を中に入れてください。*(Fold the two ends upward, then fold them to the center… again fold them downward.)* *[D passed her work to A with a "hai" and A tried to set the balloon.]*
24A：	今ふくらませてください。*(Now you can blow it up.)*
25Vs：	[ふくらませる]　あ、できない [笑う]。*([blowing] oh, I can't make it [laugh].)*
26A，B：	[ビジターを手伝う] *([A and B tried to help the visitors.])*
・・・	
	[V 3 was the first to finish and she played with the balloon she made.]
27A，B：	できあがりました！ [笑う] *(I made it! [laugh])*
28Vs：	[clapping hands.]

Although only simple words and structures were used in the above conversation, it is not difficult to discover many important features of "actual interaction" between the overseas students and the Japanese visitors, which cannot usually be observed in traditional Japanese classrooms.

(1) Despite their limited proficiency in Japanese which hinders communication with unknown or unprepared items, the overseas students did not rely on code-switching but made an effort to interact with the visitors using only Japanese.
(2) The overseas students made an effort to apply their knowledge of Japanese learnt particularly for the PA by integrating knowledge they earned previously in order to achieve their interaction goals (i. e. teaching the visitors how to do origami), e. g. greeting (turn 2), confirming (turn 8, 14), closing up (turn 27).
(3) Japanese was used not only with the Japanese visitors but also with fellow students, e. g. after Turn 23 student D passed her work to student A with a *hai* (~here).
(4) Although both the overseas students and the Japanese visitors were aware of the fact that they could communicate more efficiently, they did not try to solve communication problems in English.
(5) Japanese was used among the Japanese visitors (e. g. in turn 20 V1 turned to V2 and asked if she had made origami balloon before or not) and it is expected that this was overheard by the overseas students.

(6) More importantly, the overseas students "really" taught the Japanese visitors how to make origami balloons.
(7) In addition, through listening to the overseas students' explanations and asking them "real" questions, all of the Japanese visitors finally learnt how to make origami balloons which they had not known before.

As demonstrated in the above example, with well designed and structured pedagogical activities such as interpretation, excercise and performance activities, a real sociocultural interaction experience can be expected even among Japanese learners at the beginner level and in a rather unnatural setting (i. e. visitor session). From the point of view of second language acquisition, I believe that it is a crucial process for learners to make sense and keep alive the Japanese provided in the program (i. e. to actually use Japanese native norms for interaction), and that this process will eventually assist learners to establish and design their own use of Japanese when interacting with Japanese speakers in real life as adult language users (i. e. apply Japanese native norms together with other norms for interaction in contact situations).

7. Concluding remarks

In this paper I have outlined a theoretical approach of teaching and learning Japanese interaction on the basis of the language management theory. It is suggested here that the entire adjustment process commences with the identification of problems as interacting with the Japanese through the Japanese language in contact situations. The goal of a Japanese language program is seen as the removal of these problems and a series of planning and adjustment procedures can be implemented. As far as adjustment procedures are concerned, activities made accessible for learners inside and outside classroom are of most importance. It is believed that systematically constructed activities in TJFL programs will assist learners in framing their language behavior for the participation of sociocultural activities in real life and this in turn will facilitate their acquisition of Japanese in a wider sense. In the latter part of the paper, I have also introduced an attempt applying such an approach for teaching Japanese interaction at a Japanese university.

For future development of Japanese programs which emphasize language use for interaction, it is obvious that other than asking how Japanese interaction should be taught through the development of various types of activities, it is equally important to further our understanding of what is actually happening when foreigners interact with Japanese with

real sociocultural purposes. As exemplified in the beginning of this paper, interpersonal interaction in the contemporary postmodern society is much more complicated than a native speaker can imagine. Norms other than native norms may be used and subsequent problems may arise. How should a Japanese learner orient himself/herself when interacting with Japanese before he/she elects the use of language? Further studies into the mechanism of interaction involving foreigners in contact situations are inevitable for the teaching and learning of Japanese interaction in the future.

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Acquisition of Japanese pitch accent by American learners

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Abstract

Native speakers of Tokyo Japanese distinguish accented versus unaccented pitch patterns in their production and perception. However, accentual patterns are typically not explicitly taught in JFL classes. This study investigated whether intermediate American learners of Tokyo Japanese had acquired accentual patterns merely from Japanese input without formal instruction focusing on accent. It was found that the learners failed to produce or perceive prescribed pitch patterns at a higher accuracy rate than chance level (56 percent correct in production, 46 percent correct in perception). They tended to produce all words as accented. It was shown that the segmental structure of words affected the accuracy of native and non-native subjects' performance in production and perception tests. Specifically, non-syllabic morae negatively affected the production accuracy of unaccented pitch patterns in both native-speaker and learner groups. In the perception task, however, this effect was found only in the learner group. These findings suggest that (a) the prosody of the accentual patterns is not acquired by learners implicitly, at the intermediate level at least, and (b) teaching of accentual patterns should emphasize how those patterns vary in words with non-syllabic morae, as well as in unaccented words. The presentation of accentual patterns as either rising or falling may be an oversimplification that might contribute to a stronger foreign accent. Additionally, it was found that, contrary to expectations, the performance of native speakers was not perfect in the test (81 percent correct in production, 59 percent correct in perception). Given the variability found among native speakers, objectives for Japanese instruction should not aim for perfect accuracy in the production and perception of accentual patterns.

1. Introduction

To teach or not to teach pitch accent? That is the question that teachers of Japanese as a second language ask themselves. In popular Japanese textbooks, used in schools and colleges in North America (for example, *Genki*,

Nakama, *Yōkoso*), one can find brief explanations of the Japanese accentual system. On one or two pages, it will typically be stated that there are two types of accentual patterns in Tokyo Japanese, accented and unaccented. In accented patterns, the pitch is falling after an accented mora. In unaccented patterns, the pitch is rising to a plateau in the first mora of a word. Mora is introduced as a tone-bearing unit, and each mora in a word is associated with either a high or low tone.

Such textbook descriptions are based on a traditional Japanese phonological representation of pitch patterns as HL or LH, where H stands for a high tone and L for a low tone, and the pitch pattern of a word is represented as a sequence of high and low tones (Haraguchi 1999; Shibatani 1990; Vance 1987). Textbooks give examples of homonyms that are different only in their accentual patterns ("Accent Type" hereafter), as in [háʃi] 'chopsticks', [haʃí] 'bridge' and [haʃi] 'edge'. Those examples are illustrated by phonological sequences of tones (for example, HLL, LHL, LHH, in the case of the different *hashi* followed by the particle *ga*) and sometimes by graphs visualizing those phonological tone sequences. Information on how the pitch patterns are phonetically manifested is not offered in textbooks or teacher manuals.

Acoustically, pitch is a perceptual correlate of the fundamental frequency (F0) of a sound wave. The human ear can perceive pitch as relatively high or low, and in production, the distinction between accented and unaccented pitch patterns is made in terms of F0 contours. It has been shown in previous empirical research that the traditional phonological representation of pitch patterns where each mora is associated with high or low tone is not true, because F0 contours do not exhibit such sequences (Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). Therefore, by providing only a phonological description of the pitch patterns, textbooks set an unnatural goal for students.

To explore textbooks' practices further, even though a phonological explanation of the Tokyo Japanese accentual system is often given, most textbooks do not mark accents in their vocabulary sections or dialogues. As a result, students forget about the existence of pitch accent in Japanese, let alone practice accented and unaccented patterns. Introduction of the pitch-accent contrast thus depends solely on the goodwill of an instructor. According to my observations, instructors most often do not teach or emphasize accentual patterns, except for pointing them out sporadically in homonyms (for example, [ip:ai] has a falling HLLL pattern in [ɯdon íp:ai] 'one bowl of udon' and a rising LHHH pattern in [ɯdon ip:ai] 'lots of udon'). There are numerous reasons for excluding accentual contrast from lessons. To name but a few here: incorrect production of Japanese accentual patterns does not impede comprehension of students' utteranc-

es in context; the number of minimal accentual pairs in Japanese is small; pitch contrast in Japanese is viewed as an easier prosodic feature than tone contrast in, for example, Mandarin; mastering of constructions and their functions is prioritized in the popular approach of communicative language teaching.

The question one might ask therefore is whether students acquire accentual patterns of Tokyo Japanese naturally, in the course of being exposed to the target language in the classroom or in other Japanese speaking contexts. In the process of the first language acquisition, young native speakers of Japanese are not taught accentual patterns explicitly. Nevertheless, adult speakers can perceive pitch accent and produce both accented and unaccented pitch patterns (see, for example, Fujisaki, Ohno and Tomita 1996; Kubozono 1987; Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). Therefore, the question arises as to whether accentual patterns do have to be taught explicitly in foreign language learning, or whether they can simply be acquired from input.

Ayusawa (2003) offered a comprehensive review of previous studies on the acquisition of the Japanese pitch accent that were conducted for over 30 years, from 1972 to 2003. Those studies differed in terms of the participants' backgrounds and methodology, and their results were not consistent. In production, accentual patterns had been analysed in free speech samples of learners and in elicited dialogues. Ayusawa (2003: 52) found that methodological issues did not allow us to generalize from the first type of production studies. As for elicitation studies, they revealed that learners failed to acquire correct accentual patterns of nouns in their production, regardless of their native language background, length and type of exposure to the Japanese language. In perception, a lot of studies were carried out using *Tōkyōgo akusento kikitori tesuto* [A Perception Test of Accent in Tokyo Japanese], in which participants were asked to mark the location of the accent for accented words and leave unaccented words unmarked. In those studies, the average accuracy of identification of the accent location by learners of Japanese varied from 41 percent to 87 percent. However, the interpretation of the results is difficult, because (a) the average accuracy of Japanese native speakers in this task was not close to 100 percent, and (b) participants who did not study Japanese (such as music majors) performed as well as learners of Japanese in this task (Ayusawa 2003). Therefore, one might wonder if this test is valid for accessing the acquisition of pitch accent. The question of the acquisition of Japanese pitch accent was addressed in this study again, using different methodology. Elicitation of nouns in a sentence frame was used for the production test, and a discrimination task was used for the perception tests. It was examined whether intermediate learners of Japanese who

had not been consciously learning or practicing pitch-accent contrast were able to produce and perceive it.

If students are capable of distinguishing pitch-accent contrast in their production and perception, the next question to ask is whether there is an effect of the segmental structure of a word on their performance. A mora is a tone-bearing unit in Japanese, but not all morae have the same segmental structure, and this factor ("Mora Type" hereafter) may affect the production and perception of tones. A prototypical Japanese mora is represented by one orthographic symbol in Japanese *kana* writing, and it is syllabic. It has a (C)V structure, where C stands for a consonant, and V stands for a vowel. There are, however, three types of non-syllabic morae (Imada 1989; Kubozono 1999; Shibatani 1990): the first part of a geminate consonant /C:/, the second part of a long vowel /V:/, and a moraic nasal /N/. These morae are final in bi-moraic heavy syllables of Tokyo Japanese – CVC(:), CV: and CVN, respectively.

The segmental structure of a phrase-initial word appears to affect production of accentual patterns by native speakers. It has been observed in previous research that some Japanese unaccented phrases with phrase-initial heavy syllables do not start from a low tone, and thus violate the "initial lowering rule" proposed earlier for Tokyo Japanese (Hattori 1954; Wietzman 1970; Poser 1984 as cited in Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988; Tanaka and Kubozono 1999). It was also reported that initially accented words had the same F0 pattern across the accent type, whereas unaccented words did not (Ishihara 2003; Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988; Sugito 1982; Venditti 2005). Specifically, unaccented CVCVCV and CVC:V words have a rising F0 contour (referred to hereafter as Type 1), whereas unaccented CV:CV and CVNCV words have a flat (or slightly falling) F0 contour (referred to hereafter as Type 2) (Shport 2003, 2006). The F0 contours of these two groups of words were different in terms of the inter-moraic and intra-moraic F0 movements.

Similarly, in second language acquisition research, it has been reported that non-syllabic morae affect the production of accentual patterns (Andreev 2002; Hirata 1993; Minagawa-Kawai and Kiritani 1998; Tsurutani 1996) and identification of the pattern of unaccented words (Ayusawa 2003; Nagano-Madsen 1992). Andreev (2002) observed that, regardless of the student's intention to produce a word as accented or unaccented, the outcome was heavily influenced by the syllabic structure of the word. Ayusawa (2003) summarized that, in the perception test, learners often identified non-syllabic morae as accented, even when they were explicitly instructed that the pitch accent could not occur on such morae. To my knowledge, no study has been conducted to examine the effect of all four possible mora types in bi-moraic syllables (CV, CVC, CV: and

CVN) on the two types of accentual patterns (accented and unaccented) in production and perception. This study aimed to fill this gap by examining the interaction between Accent Type and Mora Type.

A final issue that this study addressed was that of a possible correlation between perception and production of accentual patterns. Ogawara (1997) reported a statistically significant correlation between the perceptual ability to identify accentual patterns in L2 learners' own speech and their production of those patterns. It was concluded that, if students could identify accentual patterns in their own speech, they could produce patterns accurately, and vice versa. However, there was no further experimental research to support this result. One of the reasons for the lack of experimental evidence might be the uncertainty about what the perception mechanisms of one's own speech are, and what would be a valid task through which to access self-perception. This study examined perception of pitch-accent contrast in others' speech and its correlation with production for particular types of tasks.

To summarize, this study investigated the production and perception of pitch patterns by American learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL learners hereafter) for words with varied segmental structure. The following three hypotheses were tested.

(1) Intermediate JFL learners who are not explicitly taught Tokyo Japanese accentual patterns produce and perceive them less accurately than native speakers of Tokyo Japanese.
(2) Non-syllabic morae negatively affect JFL learners' production and perception of accentual patterns.
(3) A correlation between the accuracy in the production and perception of patterns exists in JFL learners' data.

2. Participants and Materials

2.1. Participants

Two groups of speakers volunteered to participate in this study: (1) an experimental group of 16 American JFL learners at the intermediate level, and (2) a control group of 16 Japanese native speakers. There were eight male and eight female speakers in each group, and their ages varied from 17 to 40 years of age. All JFL learners were students at the University of Oregon enrolled in the third-year Japanese language course. Eleven students had studied Japanese in high school before. Twelve students had been to Japan with lengths of stay not exceeding 12 months. All the JFL learners reported that they had not had any formal instruction in Japa-

nese accentuation prior to this study. Three students had learned a tone language (Mandarin) in a classroom setting, but for no more than one year.

Although the length of exposure of students to the Japanese language varied, they formed a homogeneous group in terms of their listening and speaking proficiency. To establish this, students' listening comprehension scores in the third-year course tests were analysed. Furthermore, seven native speakers of Tokyo Japanese were recruited to holistically rate the foreign accent of students' production on a scale from one to seven, where one corresponded to "foreign-accented" and seven corresponded to "native-like". The interrater reliability coefficient of native speakers' judgements was 0.85 ($p<.05$), indicating that the judges agreed with each other to a high degree in their ratings. Both listening-comprehension scores and foreign-accent scores were normally distributed, and their variation did not exceed two standard deviations. It can thus be concluded that the JFL learners had similar levels of Japanese proficiency and could be treated as a homogeneous group of speakers for the purposes of the study.

Japanese native speakers took the same production and perception tests as the JFL learners in order to ensure the reliability of the experiment. They reported in a questionnaire that they used Tokyo Japanese on a daily basis, and never used other dialects. All of the speakers were raised and lived in prefectures where Tokyo-type Japanese dominates, according to the *NHK Accent Dictionary of the Japanese Language* (1998): Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, Aichi, and Sapporo. Therefore, we can safely assume that the participants spoke the Tokyo-type variety of the Japanese language.

2.2. Materials

48 real Japanese words were selected for the experiment: 24 words with the pitch-accent on the first mora and 24 unaccented words (Table 1). The accentual type of the words was verified with the help of the *NHK Accent Dictionary of the Japanese Language* (1998). In cases when a word had more than one acceptable accentual pattern, the pattern that Japanese native speakers used more frequently in the pilot study was chosen as the target one.

All stimuli were three-mora words with a CV-X-CV structure that varied in the segmental type of the word-medial mora (X). In each accent type, CV<u>CV</u>CV, CV<u>C</u>:V, CV:<u></u>CV and CV<u>N</u>CV structures were represented by six words each (see Table 1). Thus, the second mora was either a prototypical CV, or one of the non-syllabic morae.

The phonetic environment of the stimuli was controlled as strictly as possible with regard to the vowel quality and the voicing of consonants. Half of the stimuli had the structure Co-X-kV (words 1–3 in each cell of Table 1); the other half of the stimuli had the structure Ce-X-kV (words 4–6 in each cell of Table 1), where X is a varied word-medial mora. Thus, either [o] or [e] preceded the second mora and the voiceless velar stop [k] followed it, with one exception, [koŋgo] 'hereafter'. Word-initial consonants were voiceless obstruents /t/ or /k/ with two exceptions, [hoŋki] 'seriousness' and [ho:ka] 'arson'.

Table 1: Stimuli words

	CVCVCV	**CVC ː V**	**CV ː CV**	**CVNCV**
Accented	1. kókoku 故国 'homeland' 2. tónoko との粉 'polishing powder' 3. kósaka 小阪 '(name)' 4. tétsuko てつ子 '(female name)' 5. téruko てる子 '(female name)' 6. tébako 手箱 'box'	kók:o 国庫 'treasury' kók:a 国家 'state' tók:a 特価 'bargain price' kék:ɯ 結句 'poem's last line' kék:i 決起 'rouse to action' ték:i 適期 'good timing'	tó:ka 等価 'equivalence' kó:ka 校歌 'school song' kó:ko 公庫 'municipal treasury' té:ki 定期 'regular' té:ko 艇庫 'boathouse' ké:ko 稽古 'practice'	kóŋki 今期 'this term' kóŋka 婿家 'husband's family' kóŋkɯ 困苦 'suffering' téŋka 天下 'whole country' téŋkǫ 典故 'authentic precedent' kéŋka 県下 'prefecture'
Unaccented	1. kokʲakɯ 顧客 'patron' 2. kohakɯ 琥珀 'amber' 3. komakɯ 鼓膜 'tympanum' 4. tenɯki 手抜き 'negligence' 5. temaki 手巻き 'hand-rolled' 6. terako 寺子 'pupil'	tok:a 徳化 'moral influence' tok:i 突起 'projection' kok:i 国旗 'national flag' tek:a 鉄火 'gunfire' tek:i 鉄器 'ironware' kek:a 結果 'result'	ho:ka 放火 'arson' to:ka 透過 'penetration' ko:ka 降下 'landing' ke:ka 経過 'development' ke:ki 景気 'market' ke:kɯ 警句 'epigram'	koŋki 根気 'patience' koŋgo 今後 'hereafter' hoŋki 本気 'seriousness' teŋka 点火 'ignition' teŋkɯ 転句 'revolving phrase' keŋka 喧嘩 'quarrel'

Note. C = consonant; V = vowel; N = moraic nasal. Words are given in the IPA transcription.

In order to control for the familiarity of the stimuli, most stimuli used in the study were words rarely used in everyday conversation. Both groups of participants were thus asked to produce words they did not necessarily know or use frequently. It was therefore assumed that similar mechanisms were employed by both groups in the production of accentual patterns of the target words on the basis of accent-type graphs (see the procedure below). In both production and perception tasks, the same 48 stimuli were used.

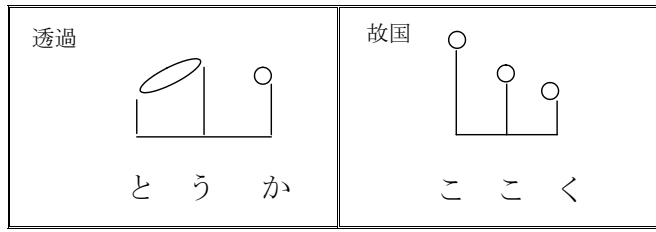
3. Procedure and Analysis

3.1. Production Test

In the production experiment, the target words were randomized and presented to the speakers on stimuli cards, with one word per card (Figure 1). The representation of accentual patterns of words was adopted from Matsuzaki *et al*. (as cited in Hirata 1999: 102 and Kawano 2004). Each small circle represented one mora (Figures 1a and 1b), and ellipses represented two-mora syllables where the syllable coda was a non-syllabic mora (Figure 1a). The relative pitch of each syllable was shown by its height relative to other syllables. Two pitch patterns were represented on graphs: a rising, or unaccented, pattern (Figure 1a) and a falling, or accented, pattern (Figure 1b).

Fig 1: Samples of the stimuli cards

a) b)

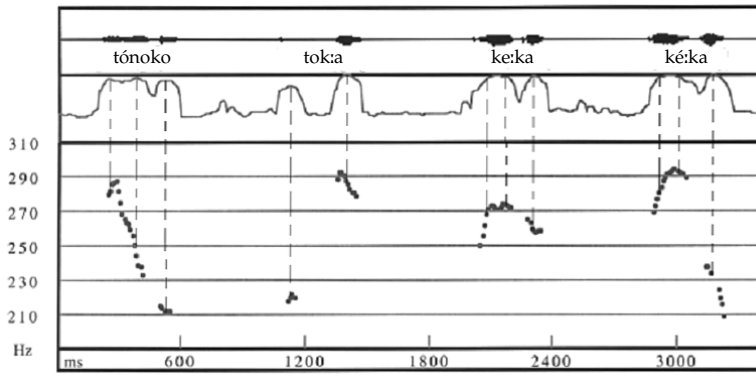


Word readings in the Japanese orthography (*hiragana*) were printed under the graphs. Appropriate Chinese characters (*kanji*) appeared at the upper-left hand corner of a card in order to establish the desired degree of familiarity of a word for native speakers of Japanese. For example, the word [to:ka] has the meaning 'the tenth day' when written with the characters 十日 and the meaning 'penetration' when written with the characters 透過 . Undoubtedly, 'the tenth day' is much more frequently used than 'penetration'. To establish an association with the less frequently used meaning 'penetration', the characters 透過 were printed on the card.

All speakers read brief explanations regarding the Japanese accentuation system, the graphic representation of pitch patterns and the production test task. The explanations were similar to what one can find in Japanese textbooks (see the introduction section of this paper). Plenty of examples (written and recorded) were provided along with the task

instructions. After a short practice with the stimuli cards, the speakers were instructed to read the words embedded in the carrier sentence *Jíʃo ni ____ ga arimasen* 辞書に_____があります 'There is no _____ in the dictionary' at their normal speaking rate. They were allowed to self-correct themselves.

Fig. 2: Measurements of F0 in the data



Speakers' production of the target words (768 tokens) were tape-recorded in a quiet room, digitized with the 22050 Hz sampling rate, and analysed using the speech analysis software MacQuirer, SCICON R&D, INC. The fundamental frequency (F0) was recorded for each mora of the target words by using pitch-contour displays. In CV syllables, as in [tónoko] (Figure 2), the F0 values were measured in the steadiest parts of the vowels, according to the intensity display. In CVː and CVN syllables (as in [keːka] and [kéːka]), the F0 of the first mora was measured in the first quarter of the syllable, and the F0 of the second mora was measured in the last quarter of the syllable according to the waveform displays. No F0 measurements were taken for the second mora of CVCː syllables (as in [tokːa], Figure 2), because geminate obstruents manifest in phonetic silence. Therefore, only two F0 values were recorded for words with geminates, whereas three F0 values were recorded for all other words.

To make the devoicing of word-final vowels [i] and [ɯ] less likely, the target words were followed by the voiced obstruent [g] in the sentence frame *Jíʃo ni ____ ga arimasen*. This notwithstanding, some speakers still devoiced [i] and [ɯ] so that their F0 could not be measured. Tokens with only one F0 measurement (for example, words with geminate consonants where the last vowel was devoiced, as in [toːkʲi̥]) constituted 0.7 percent of the data and were not included in the analysis.

After the F0 values were recorded, the difference in F0 between the first and the third morae (Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$) was calculated for each token (see examples in Table 2). This measure estimated an overall pitch pattern of each word. A positive value of Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ indicated that the pitch was falling across the word, whereas a negative value indicated that it was rising across the word. In the latter case, the word's pitch pattern was undoubtedly unaccented. However, in the former case, it was necessary to assess whether the pitch fall was sharp enough to consider the word as accented.

Tab. 2: Accuracy assessment of the pitch patterns produced by a female speaker

Tokens	**μ1 (Hz)**	**μ3 (Hz)**	**Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ (Hz)**	**Produced**	**Expected**	**Score**
tonoko	270	250	20	unaccented	accented	0
kéŋka	281	233	48	accented	accented	1
tokːa	221	289	–77	unaccented	unaccented	1
kéːka	280	212	68	accented	unaccented	0
99 %-lower bound Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$			36			

In order to make such judgements, the lower value of the 99 percent confidence interval of the positive Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ was calculated for each individual speaker. This measure allows us to say with a high degree of confidence how steep the F0 fall across a word should be for each speaker to consider its pitch pattern as being accented. Consider as an example one female speaker's data in Table 2. The lower-bound Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ value of the 99 percent-confidence interval, which served as a cutoff value for accented and unaccented words in the data of this speaker, was 36 Hz. If the Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ of a particular token was higher than 36 Hz (e. g. [kéŋka] and [kéːka] in Table 2) the token was considered with 99 percent certainty to be accented. Otherwise, it was considered to be unaccented (for example, [tonoko] and [tokːa]). Lastly, the pitch patterns of words produced by the speakers were compared with expected pitch patterns, and judged as being accurate (1) or inaccurate (0).

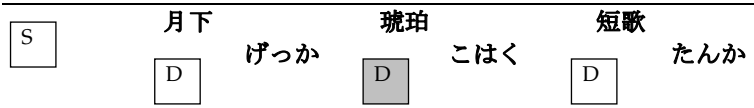
The average cutoff Δ $F0_{\mu1-\mu3}$ value between accented and unaccented words was 63 Hz for female and 44 Hz for male native speakers, and 56 Hz for female and 41 Hz for male JFL learners. It may be roughly estimated that the accent F0 fall was around 60 Hz for females and around 40 Hz for males, regardless of their L1.

3.2. Perception Test

It has been established in previous perceptual studies that a change in fundamental frequency is directly related to a change in pitch (Ladefoged 2001: 166). In this study, it was assumed that a listener's ability to perceive F0 contours of words was directly related to his or her ability to perceive the pitch patterns of those words as accented or unaccented.

In the perception test, the subjects listened to 48 word sets. Each set consisted of three isolated words: one target word (see Table 1) and two distracters having the CV-X-CV structure (Figure 3). In the test worksheets, each word was written in Chinese characters (*kanji*) and Japanese orthography (*hiragana*). The pitch pattern of the target word differed from those of the distracters. For example, in Figure 3, the target word [kohakɯ] 琥珀 'amber' is unaccented, whereas the other two words have accented pitch patterns. The subjects were asked to listen to the stimuli set and blacken out the word which they perceived as having a different pitch pattern from the other two words (AXY-discrimination task). Problem sets were presented to the listeners only once, with two-second intervals between words, and with six-second intervals between sets. Subjects' answers were judged as being correct (1) or incorrect (0) in each set.

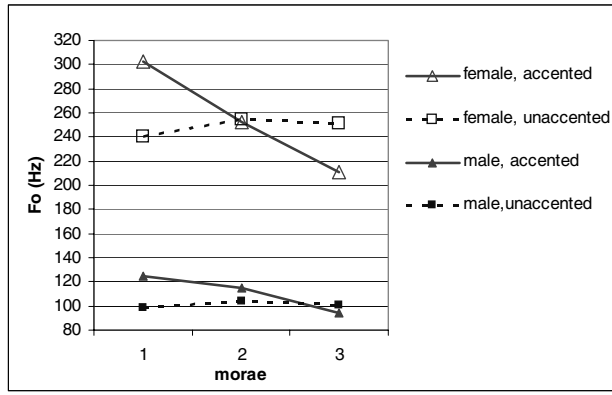
Fig. 3: Sample of the AXY discrimination task.



S = the same pitch pattern in all three words; D = a different pitch pattern from other two words.

Words produced by one female and one male native speaker of Tokyo Japanese were used to compile the perception test materials. 48 stimuli presented in Table 1 and 96 distracters having the same CV-X-CV structure were recorded. To establish the validity of the words as the test stimuli, the F0 of each mora in the target words was measured and the F0 contour of each word was analysed. Averaged F0 values of words are plotted in Figure 4. Pitch patterns in female and male production exhibited the expected phonetic cues for distinguishing accented and unaccented words, that is, falling vs. rising or flat patterns. Each individual production had an expected pitch pattern as well. The perception test stimuli thus had valid pitch patterns to be used in the AXY discrimination task.

Fig. 4: The mean F0 values of the external perception test stimuli



In the test, half of the stimuli sets were produced by the female speaker, and the other half were produced by the male speaker. The order of presentation of the sets was counterbalanced. A perception test followed a production test with at least a two-week interval between them.

4. Results

Factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) is a statistical procedure that was used to examine the possible effects and interactions of factors controlled in this study by comparing mean accuracy scores for all word types. The production and perception scores of the subjects were submitted to two separate ANOVAs with three factors: (1) Native Language, (2) Accent Type, and (3) Mora Type. The Native Language factor had two levels: native speakers and JFL learners. The Accent Type factor also had two levels: initially accented and unaccented words. The Mora Type factor had four levels corresponding to four types of words with different segmental structure: CVCVCV, CVC:V, CV:CV, and CVNCV words.

A significant effect of Native Language was found for both production [$F(1,1520)=118.68$, $p<.0001$] and perception [$F(1,1520)=30.94$, $p<.0001$] scores. Consequently, since native speakers and JFL learners produced and perceived pitch patterns with significantly different accuracies, their data were analysed separately in the following Accent Type x Mora Type ANOVAs and pairwise comparisons (Tukey HSD tests) comparing mean F0 values in all word types. An alpha level of 0.05 was used for all the statistical tests, indicating that the probability that a significant result was yielded by chance was only 5 percent.

4.1. Production Test Scores

As was expected, native speakers produced pitch patterns more accurately than JFL learners, 81 percent vs. 56 percent respectively. Because the scores of the students were slightly above 50 percent, their performance, on average, was at chance level. In other words, their accurate productions of pitch patterns could have been the result of chance rather than proficiency. The performance of the native speakers of Tokyo Japanese was clearly above that of chance, but, surprisingly, they did not have close-to-perfect scores.

Fig. 5: The mean percentage of correct answers for each word type in the production test

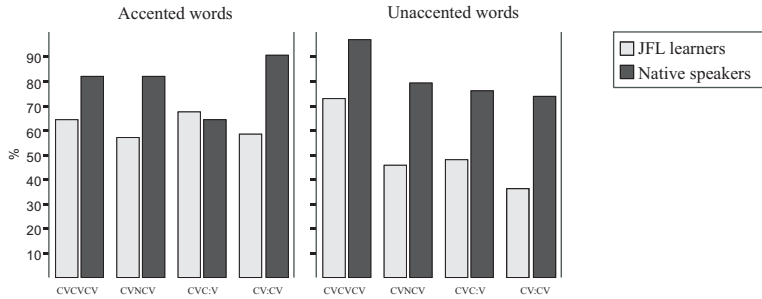


Figure 5 shows the percentage of words produced with correct pitch patterns with regard to native language, accent type and mora type. Overall, native speakers produced approximately the same percentage of accented and unaccented words correctly: 80 percent and 82 percent, respectively. The graphs show that the scores of native speakers seem to be affected more by mora type rather than by accent type. For accented words, 82 percent of CVCVCV words, 82 percent of CVNCV words, 65 percent of CVC:V words, and 91 percent of CV:CV words were produced with correct pitch patterns. For unaccented words, 97 percent of CVCVCV words, 79 percent of CVNCV words, 76 percent of CVC:V words, and 74 percent of CV:CV words were produced with correct pitch patterns. The accuracy of pitch patterns in accented words with geminate obstruents and unaccented words with non-syllabic morae yielded the lowest score, below 80 percent.

An Accent Type x Mora Type ANOVA on production scores of the native speakers revealed a significant effect of mora type [$F(3,760)=8.16$, $p<.05$] and its interaction with accent type [$F(3,760)=6.70$, $p<.05$]. The effect of accent type, on the other hand, failed to yield a significant level.

Pairwise comparisons of mean accuracy scores for all word types within the accentual patterns revealed that the score for accented words with geminates was significantly smaller than the scores for other accented word types. The score for unaccented CVCVCV words was significantly higher than scores for unaccented words with non-syllabic morae.

As for JFL learners' production scores, Figure 5 suggests that unaccented words with non-syllabic morae were produced less accurately than accented words with non-syllabic morae. The percentage of correct scores in unaccented versus accented words was 46 percent vs. 57 percent in CVNCV words, 48 percent vs. 68 percent in CVC:V words, and 37 percent vs. 58 percent of CV:CV words. However, unaccented words of the CVCVCV structure were produced with better accuracy than accented words of the same structure, 73 percent and 65 percent, respectively.

An Accent Type x Mora Type ANOVA on the production scores of the JFL learners yielded significant effects of accent type and mora type, [$F(1,760)=10.24$, $p<.05$] and [$F(3,760)=7.05$, $p<.05$], respectively. The interaction of factors was also significant [$F(3,760)=3.87$, $p<.05$], and this was explored in subsequent pairwise comparisons of mean accuracy scores for all word types within the accentual patterns. Among all the word types, only unaccented CVCVCV words were significantly different from unaccented words with non-syllabic morae. Specifically, the difference was 31 percent between unaccented CVCVCV and CVNCV words, 32 percent between unaccented CVCVCV and CVC:V words, and 45 percent between unaccented CVCVCV and CV:CV words, $p<.05$.

In summary, native speakers produced pitch patterns with higher accuracy than JFL learners, except for accented words with geminates. Both groups of speakers produced pitch patterns of unaccented CVCVCV words more accurately than patterns of unaccented words with non-syllabic morae. This result supported previous research findings that non-syllabic morae negatively affected correct production of pitch patterns of unaccented words (Aoki 1990; Oguma 2000). However, this did not hold true for accented words. Therefore, hypothesis 2, that non-syllabic morae negatively affect the production of pitch patterns by JFL learners, was only partially supported by the empirical evidence of the present study.

The performance of native speakers was not perfect, as it was not close to 100 percent correctness, except for a few word groups. Several explanations of this result come to mind. One is that the stimuli in this study were not frequently used words, and the low familiarity of the stimuli influenced the scores of native speakers. Another explanation might be that the real-life pitch accent norms differ from those given in the *NHK Accent Dictionary of the Japanese Language* (1998), or that accent norms became ambiguous

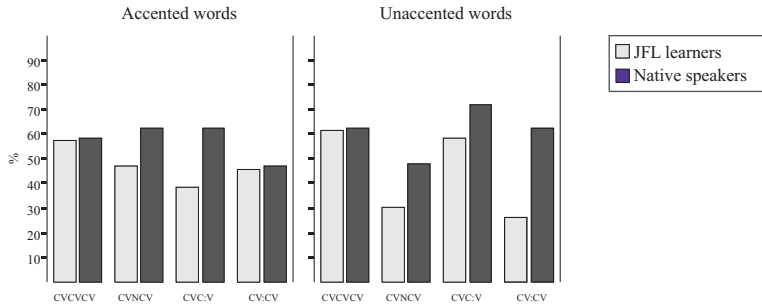
among speakers of the Tokyo dialect, especially in the case of accent-contrastive pairs like [téki] 適期 'good timing' and [teki] 鉄器 'ironware'. Yet another possibility is that individual variation in native speakers overcomes pitch accent norms. Additionally, the production task in the experiment was not ecological, because native speakers do of course not have pitch pattern graphs in front of their eyes when they produce pitch patterns in natural speech. Thus, such factors amounting to the "unnaturalness" of the task might have influenced the native speakers' performance.

4.2. Perception Test Scores

Native speakers performed significantly better than JFL learners in the perception test: 59.4 percent and 45.6 percent of correct responses, respectively, $p<.05$. In contrast to the production task, both groups of the speakers performed at close to a chance level (50 percent) in this task.

Figure 6 shows the percentage of pitch patterns correctly discriminated by native speakers and JFL learners. For accented patterns, native speakers correctly discriminated 58 percent of CVCVCV words, 63 percent of CVNCV words, 63 percent of CVC:V words and 47 percent of CV:CV words. For unaccented patterns, 63 percent of CVCVCV words, 48 percent of CVNCV words, 72 percent of CVC:V words and 63 percent of CV:CV words were discriminated correctly. There was no evidence that accented words were discriminated better than unaccented words. The lowest scores were observed in accented words with long vowels and unaccented words with moraic nasals.

Fig. 6: Percentages of correct answers in the perception test



The overall scores of the native speakers were higher than the scores of JFL learners, except for CVCVCV words and accented words with long vowels, where the scores were approximately the same. As Figure 6

depicts, scores for accented words with long vowels were similar because native speakers performed worse for accented words with long vowels than for other accented words, not because JFL learners performed better for this group of words.

An Accent Type x Mora Type ANOVA on the perception scores of the native speakers yielded similar results to the analysis of variance on their production scores, in that the effect of Mora Type and its interaction with Accent Type were significant, [$F(3,760)=2.73$, $p<.05$] and [$F(3,760)=3.43$, $p<.05$], respectively. But the effect of Accent Type failed to yield a significant level. The interaction was examined in subsequent pairwise comparisons of mean accuracy scores for all word types within the accentual patterns. Only one significant difference in the scores was found, namely, unaccented words with geminates were discriminated significantly better (by 24 percent) than unaccented words with moraic nasals, $p<.05$.

As for the JFL learners' scores for accented words, 57 percent of CVCVCV words, 47 percent of CVNCV words, 39 percent of CVC:V words and 46 percent of CV:CV were discriminated correctly. In the case of unaccented words, the numbers for correct discrimination stand at 61 percent of CVCVCV words, 30 percent of CVNCV words, 58 percent of CVC:V words and 26 percent of CV:CV words. Figure 6 suggests that non-syllabic morae negatively affected the perception of pitch patterns by JFL learners, whereas the segmental structure of words had no effect on the perception scores of the native speakers.

Similarly to native speakers' results, in JFL learners' perception scores, the effect of Mora Type was significant [$F(3,760)=9.28$, $p<.05$], as was its interaction with Accent Type [$F(3,760)=7.07$, $p<.05$]. Accent Type, on the other hand, turned out to be non-significant. Pairwise comparisons of word types revealed that:

(1) accented CVCVCV words were discriminated 19 percent better than accented words with geminates, $p<.05$;
(2) unaccented CVCVCV words were discriminated 31 percent better than unaccented words with moraic nasals, and 35 percent better than words with long vowels, $p<.05$;
(3) unaccented CVC:V words were discriminated 28 percent better than unaccented words with moraic nasals, and 32 percent better than unaccented words with long vowels, $p<.05$.

These results thus support hypothesis 2 of this study, that non-syllabic morae negatively affect perception of pitch patterns by JFL learners.

4.3. Correlation between Perception and Production

In order to examine a possible correlation between production and perception, the Pearson correlation coefficients between scores of both tests were calculated for native speakers, JFL learners, and each individual speaker. The correlation was significant in the native speakers' data (r =.07, p<.05), but not in the students' data. Correlation coefficients in some individual speakers' data were also significant, but they were very small. They ranged from r=.65 (the biggest correlation between production and perception scores of a female native speaker) to r=-.27 (correlation between production and perception scores of a male native speaker). Small correlation coefficients revealed that there was no meaningful relationship between the correctness of answers in the production and perception tests, although some of them reached statistical significance.

There are several possible explanations for the absence of a meaningful correlation between production and perception scores. First, production and perception of pitch accent may be two different processes not related to each other. People who produce Japanese pitch patterns correctly do not necessarily have an ability to distinguish them in their perception, and vice versa. Secondly, it might be the case that the nature of the production and perception tasks was different, and not ecological: in real speech, speakers do not produce pitch patterns according to graphs, and do not have to discriminate between pitch patterns, except for a limited number of homonyms.

5. Discussion

This study revealed that the task performance accuracy was affected by the segmental structure of words more than by the accentual type of words. Regardless of the native language, pitch patterns were discriminated poorly in both accented and unaccented words. This contradicts the results obtained in the studies of Nagano-Madsen (2002) and Nishinuma *et al*. (1996), who found that unaccented words were identified significantly better than accented words. Although a discrimination task was used in this study and an identification task was used by Nagano-Madsen and Nishinuma *et al*., the discrepancy of results cannot be solely explained by methodological differences. For example, Funatsu and Inouchi (1997a, 1997b) used the identification task as well in their perception test, but they did not find a significant effect of the accentual type on the accuracy of the pattern perception, thus supporting the results of the present experiment.

Perception scores were affected by the mora type for both groups of speakers, in particular with regard to pitch patterns of unaccented words. In CVCVCV words JFL learners discriminated pitch patterns as well as native speakers did, but non-syllabic morae negatively affected their performance. The question thus arises as to why the segmental structure of words affects the perception of JFL learners' pitch patterns. It has been shown that unaccented CVCVCV and CVC:V words have different F0 contours from unaccented CV:CV and CVNCV words (Shport 2003, 2006). One explanation could thus be that, if learners straightforwardly associate the unaccented pattern with the rising pitch contour, they will have difficulty in discriminating or identifying the pattern in unaccented words with long vowels and moraic nasals that have relatively flat F0 contours. On the other hand, they will identify patterns of CVCVCV words and words with geminates better, because they have a rising F0 contour. Indeed, JFL learners tended to better discriminate the accentual type of CVCVCV words than that of words with non-syllabic morae, whereas native speakers did not show such a tendency.

This finding is important from the pedagogical point of view, because even when the pitch accent is marked in the textbooks consistently (as in, for example, *Japanese for Everyone* and *Japanese: The Spoken Language*), it is marked very simplistically, assuming that accented pitch patterns are falling and unaccented pitch patterns are rising, regardless of the segmental structure of words. In other words, congruity of the accent-type pitch pattern is assumed, which is not the case for unaccented words in Tokyo Japanese.

How pitch patterns should be taught is a complex issue, because current phonological models do not necessarily lead to phonetically correct accentuation. Phonetic reality of the pitch pattern depends both on the presence of an accent and on the segmental structure of a word and its syntactic position. Hasegawa (1995) gave another example of textbook explanation of accentual patterns which might lead to unnatural pronunciation. When a lexically accented vowel is devoiced as in [ʃí̥ki] "four seasons", it does not, contrary to a textbook explanation, have a higher pitch than that of the flanking vowels. Also, when an unaccented vowel is devoiced, as in [háʃi̥ ga] "chopsticks-Nominative", it cannot be lower in pitch than the flanking vowels. Yet another phonetic manifestation of pitch realization is F0 "peak delay" in accented heavy syllables (Ishihara 2003; Sugito 1982). Hasegawa (1995) concluded that simplified phonological presentation of the pitch-accent contrast as rising vs. falling pitch patterns was insufficient for its successful acquisition. Without phonetic details, a textbook explanation can confuse students and lead to incorrect accentual pattern production. Hasegawa therefore suggested that learn-

ers should focus on imitation of native speakers' prosody, rather than trying to reproduce it from textbook pages. This recommendation can be easily incorporated into the classroom following the audiolingual approach, that is, classrooms where "native-speaker-like pronunciation is sought" (Richards and Rogers 2001: 156). However, in the framework of communicative language teaching, where the goal is simply comprehensible pronunciation, Hasegawa's recommendation is not applicable.

To summarize, the results of this study reveal that American learners of Japanese encounter the following problems in acquisition of pitch accent:

(1) learners tend to produce all words as being accented, with falling F0 movement, and
(2) learners tend to produce and perceive pitch patterns of words with non-syllabic morae (moraic nasals, geminates, and long vowels) incorrectly.

It was also found that there was no correlation between perception and production in both L1 and L2. In other words, better production does not imply better perception of pitch patterns and vice versa. Production and perception of suprasegments of speech appear to develop independently from each other. This result calls for further investigation into this issue. The further examination of acquisition of the Japanese pitch accent is motivated not only by the lexical contrastive function of the accent, but also by the role it plays in the prosodic system of Japanese. It was shown in previous research that prosodic contours are affected by the manifestation of the pitch accent, for example, the place and duration of the pitch rise in questions depends on the accentual type and the segmental structure of the question-final word (see Ayusawa's research on intonation 2003). Thus, to achieve a native-like intonation, the acquisition of pitch accent is necessary.

The methodology used in the production and perception tests constitutes a limitation of this study. It remains unknown at present which methods are more valid and reliable for the assessment of production and perception of suprasegments such as pitch accent. To investigate why the test scores of native speakers were far from perfect, an examination of whether the task formats influenced the scores might be beneficial. One could, for example, compare native speakers' performance in a reading task or discourse, where pitch patterns are not graphically represented, and their performance in a card task, where pitch patterns are graphically represented. Another possibility could be an accent identification test with a subsequent comparison of the results with those of an AXY-discrimination test. One could furthermore try using more familiar tokens instead of the unfamiliar ones used in this study. Using different methods might lead to better scores of learners in tests.

6 Conclusions

This study found that intermediate learners of Japanese who were not taught accentual patterns of the target language failed to produce or perceive them at a higher accuracy rate than the chance level. Overall, they tended to produce all words as being accented, with falling F0 movement. It seems that learners of Japanese cannot acquire Japanese pitch accent from input only, without explicit instructions and practice, after only two and a half years of studying the language at least. However, if accentual patterns are taught, they cannot be simplified as rising and falling pitch contours only. It was shown that learners are less accurate in the production of unaccented patterns of words with all non-syllabic morae, and in the perception of unaccented patterns of words with long vowels and moraic nasals. This suggests that teaching of the accentual patterns should also emphasize how those patterns vary in words with different segmental structures. Finally, this study found no relationship between production and perception accuracy, which suggests that practicing discrimination of pitch patterns might not help to improve students' L2 prosody.

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Reference introduction in speech and gesture – a comparison of Dutch and Japanese

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Abstract

This paper compares the manner in which native speakers of Dutch and Japanese use linguistic devices as well as gestures to introduce referents in narratives. Based on Givón's (1983) principle of topic continuity, the analyses examine story-retelling narratives produced by native speakers of Dutch (N=12) and Japanese (N=15). Of particular interest is the impact of morphological and syntactical characteristics of the language spoken on the choice of linguistic devices and the production of gesture in marking the information status of animate characters. The results reveal both a universal principle and cross-linguistic variation in reference introduction in two modalities. It is concluded that speech and gesture are tightly linked in marking the information structure of discourse, which is guided by universal pragmatic principles and language-specific properties that characterize the manner in which information status is mapped onto form.

1. Introduction

In producing narrative, speakers are required to convey information about referents and events clearly so that meaningful messages can be decoded efficiently by listeners. In order to facilitate the process, speakers indicate whether the information carried by a referent at the time of utterance is new, given, presupposed or not. Although the discourse-pragmatic principles underlying the marking of the information status have been found to be universal, languages vary in the devices available to indicate the relevant information status. This paper examines the influence of language-specific properties of the language spoken on the choices of linguistic devices used to mark the information status of animate characters, and the production of gestures that occur in synchrony with speech.[1]

[1] The present chapter derives from a larger study investigating how foreign language learners cope with introducing and maintaining reference in narrative discourse by means of speech and gesture (Yoshioka 2005).

2. MARKING OF INFORMATION STATUS IN DISCOURSE

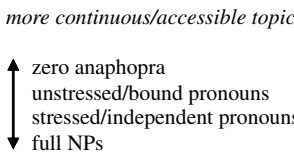
Languages provide various linguistic devices to mark the information status of a referent in discourse. One such device is referring expressions. When speakers refer to the same entity in narratives, the choice of referring expressions shifts, as shown in Example (1):

(1) There was a boy. One day he found a frog, and (ø) named it "Froggie".

In this English example, three referring expressions "a boy", "he" and a zero-anaphora (ø) are used to refer to the identical character. The question of how these devices are used to express the information structure of discourse by speakers of different languages has been pursued by a number of scholars. Various views and notions have been proposed (for example, Ariel 1988; Chafe 1994; Clark and Haviland 1977; Givón 1983, 1984; Halliday and Hasan 1976).

We will briefly review Givón's (1983, 1984) position here. Givón argues that a topic continuing from the preceding clause will be more predictable, and, as a result, may be easier for the listener to process than new or re-introduced topics. Givón presents the "quantity universal", which states that "more continuous, predictable, non-disruptive topics will be marked by *less marking material*; while less continuous, unpredictable/surprising, or disruptive topics will be marked by *more marking material*" (Givón 1984: 126, italics in the original). Figure 1 is the graphical representation of this principle.

Fig. 1: Topic continuity and referential forms (based on Givón 1983)



The quantity universal has been investigated in various languages, and there is general consensus on this view in the literature (e. g. Clancy 1980; Givón 1983; Hinds 1983). For instance, full NPs (noun phrases) (more marking material) are more likely to be used to introduce referents than pronouns or zero-anaphora (less marking material) in both English and Japanese.

However, languages vary in the availability and the possibilities of the use of certain referring expressions. In most of the Indo-European languages, nominal determiners, such as definite and indefinite articles, are obligatory and are used to distinguish the information status of a referent. Observe the following example:

(2) A boy had a dog and a frog. The frog was kept in a jar.

In (2), when "frog" is newly introduced, it is marked by an indefinite article as "a frog". Upon the second mention, the same referent is marked with a definite article as "the frog". The two articles clearly distinguish the information provided by the two NPs as new and given. However, such local (at the word level) newness marking by article systems is not a universal practice. In languages such as Polish, Chinese, Japanese and Finnish, these devices are not available. Accordingly, other means of marking the information status of referents are adopted. In Japanese, numeral classifiers such as *hiki/piki*, a counter for animals, may be utilized in the place of an indefinite article, although its use is not obligatory. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the information status of a referent in Japanese narrative may be reflected in the choice of post-positional particles. Studies report that the nominal particle *ga* in Japanese is associated with the introduction of a referent (for example, Hinds 1983; Maynard 1987).

Referring expressions are not the only devices used to mark the information status of a referent. They can be combined with optional clause structure variations. It has been claimed that the position of information in a clause is governed by a universal principle: new information is likely to be placed towards the end of utterances and the given information towards the beginning (e. g. Lambrecht 1994). In order to realize this principle, speakers may use various clausal constructions such as existentials or inversions, as these allow newly introduced referents to appear towards the end of utterances. For instance, with the use of so-called "dummy subjects", the referents in (3) and (4) are introduced post-verbally (that is, away from the beginning of the utterances) in English and Dutch respectively. Inversions, as in (5), may also be used to introduce referents post-verbally.

(3) There is an owl living in a tree.
(4) *Er zit een kikker in een pot*.
there sit a frog in a pot
"There is a frog in a jar"
(5) The boy looked into a hole, and out came an owl.

Studies show that the post-verbal position is often preferred for the introduction of new referents in narrative discourse (Hickmann *et al*. 1996; Hickmann and Liang 1990).

While Givón's view is based on the horizontal distance between the present and the last mention of a referent in discourse, the choice of referential forms may also be influenced by differences in the referential importance of characters. For instance, Chafe (1994) shows that protagonists are more likely to be introduced with proper names than peripheral characters in narratives.

Thus, reference to entities, in particular animate entities, in narrative discourse is governed basically by two factors: one concerns the continuity/predictability of topics, which may be expressed by the choice of referring expressions or the use of clausal constructions. The other concerns the importance of characters. However, cross-linguistic variation is observed in the way referents are introduced, owing to the grammatical characteristics of the language spoken.

3. GESTURE IN DISCOURSE

The newness of a referent is marked not only linguistically but also by gesture. Here, we focus on gestures that accompany speech. These co-speech gestures, or simply gestures, are mostly produced without any conscious effort on the part of the speaker, yet expressions in speech and gesture have been found to be temporally, pragmatically and semantically integrated (see, for example, Kendon 2004 and McNeill 1992 for reviews).

In the present work, the definition of gesture is restricted to the movements of hands and arms in order to achieve some communicative intent. Although gesture has long been studied as a part of non-verbal communication, the focus of such research has been on what is expressed by bodily behaviour that is not expressed in speech. In contrast, a new line of research has developed over the last two decades that investigates how speakers use speech in coordination with gesture to express meaning in various aspects of language use. A number of views have been presented concerning the possible functions and the mechanism of gesture in speech production and interaction (e. g. Goldin-Meadow 2003; Kendon 2004; Kita 2003; McNeill 1992, 2000).

Within research on gesture, of importance to the present investigation are a series of studies conducted by McNeill and his colleagues. They

have investigated the production of gesture in relation to the information structure of discourse, reporting that speakers are more likely to produce gestures when a referent is introduced than later in the narrative when the information carried by the referent is no longer new (McNeill 1992; Levy and McNeill 1992). McNeill (1992) explains the higher frequency of gesture production for new information than given information in terms of Givón's aforementioned quantity universal. The basic assumption underlying McNeill's view is the same as that adopted by Givón: when the information/topic is unpredictable and non-continuous (new), the speaker will provide more material through both speech and gestures. Previous findings support this view, providing evidence that the newly introduced referents are more likely to be accompanied by gestures than those already introduced (e. g. Gullberg 2003; Levy and McNeill 1992; McNeill 1992).

4. Characteristics of Dutch and Japanese

There are some essential differences between Dutch and Japanese in morphology and syntax that may influence the choice of linguistic devices used by the speakers to mark the introduction of referents. As shown below, the amount of information encoded in referential expressions differs in the two languages. The essential differences between the two languages relate to the availability of articles and pronouns, the possibility of using zero-marking, and the amount of information encoded in nouns and verbs.

As one of the Indo-European languages, Dutch has various finite verbs, rich verb inflections, articles and a complex pronominal system. As with other Germanic languages, the use of articles is obligatory. Dutch articles encode (in)definiteness and common gender (*de*, *het*), while pronouns encode number, gender and case-marking. In contrast, Japanese shares typological characteristics with Altaic languages, such as agglutinating verb morphology and a lack of grammatical gender (Iwasaki 2002). Japanese does not have an article system or authentic third-person pronouns. The equivalents of "he", "she" and "they" are absent in Japanese (Kuno 1973).

In Dutch, the use of zero-anaphora in the subject role is constrained by its grammar. Its use is limited to finite coordinate clauses. In contrast, the use of zero-anaphora is pragmatically driven in Japanese. In Japanese, a so-called pro-drop language, the grammatical subject does not have to be expressed. Generally, contextually retrievable information is often marked with zero-anaphora.

It is generally assumed that Dutch has an underlying SOV word order with an obligatory verb-second rule for the main clause (Koster 1975). Dutch verbs encode number and gender. The basic word order of Japanese is also SOV. However, while variations do occur by scrambling, items being right-dislocated to the position after the verb are very rare. Unlike Dutch verbs, Japanese verbs do not encode number or gender.

Given the aforementioned structural differences between Dutch and Japanese and the close interrelationship between speech and gesture, we will examine the impact of these differences on bi-modal reference introduction. Thus, the present study addresses the following questions.

(1) Do native speakers of Dutch and Japanese reveal cross-linguistic variation in the manner in which they introduce referents in speech?
(2) Is the cross-linguistic variation reflected in the production of gesture?

5. DATA

In order to examine the questions, we collected video recordings from 15 Dutch and 15 Japanese speakers. The task used for the data elicitation was retellings of a word-less picture book, *Frog, where are you*? (Mayer 1969), containing 24 separate frames. It is a story about a little boy and his dog who go out in search of the boy's pet frog, which has escaped from a jar. They experience various adventures on the way and are finally reunited with the frog. The value of wordless storybooks in eliciting narratives has been established in previous cross-linguistic studies (e. g. Berman and Slobin 1994; Hickman and Liang 1990). *Frog, where are you?* was considered suitable for the question addressed for the present study, as many animate referents are introduced in the story.

With respect to the procedure of data collection, the participants were videotaped individually in a room that had a video camera set up prior to the session. As the narrator came into the room, they were given a printed copy of the story and asked to memorize the storyline as thoroughly as possible so that they could retell it to a third person who did not know the story. No time constraint was place on memorizing the story. When the participants decided that they were ready, they retold the story to a native listener. The listener's task was to listen to the story, and ask questions if necessary.

The framework adopted for data analysis can be described as one based on recency or distance (Givón 1983). In the current analysis, an

introduced referent is defined as the first mention of the referent in the narrative. For the analysis of speech data, we also take into consideration the centrality of the characters in the story. McGann and Schwartz (1988) use features such as degree of agency, frequency of appearance and first appearance to distinguish major from peripheral characters. We will adopt these features in identifying the importance of characters in narratives.

With respect to coding, each introduction was coded for the manner in which the information status of a referent is marked at the local level (the word level, such as the choice of referential expressions) and the global level (the location of the newly introduced referent in reference to verbs). The coding of gesture data focuses strictly on the frequency of gesture that accompanies the first mention of animate characters. We did not take into account the form of gesture (see Discussion concerning this point).

6. Results

6.1. Crosslinguistic analysis of reference introduction in speech

6.1.1. Local and global marking of reference introduction

There were a total of 215 cases of introductions of animate characters: 87 in Dutch and 128 in Japanese. In the Dutch data, the combination of indefinite article and a noun phrase (NP) was observed in all cases of reference introduction. For instance, in (6), a Dutch indefinite article *een* "a(n)" is used to mark the information status of the referent as "new".

(6) *Een uil komt uit.*
a owl come out
"An owl comes out"

The position in an utterance is also used to mark the introduction of a referent in Dutch narratives. When speakers mention a referent for the first time, they place the referent in the post-verbal position in 80 percent of the time, as in (7). In (7), the newly introduced referent, *een uil* [an owl], appears post-verbally.

(7) *En daar komt dan een uil uit*
and there come then an owl out
"Then there, an owl comes out"

Thus, Dutch native speakers mostly use grammatical means (indefinite articles and syntactic position) to mark the information status of referents as "new".

In contrast, Japanese speakers are not equipped with the grammatical means to mark the introduction of referents as clearly as in Dutch narratives. For instance, although Japanese speakers, like Dutch speakers, also use NPs for reference introduction, the NPs themselves do not necessarily mark the referent as new because Japanese lacks articles. In fact, NPs are also used when referents are re-introduced into narratives (Yoshioka 2005). The nominal particle *ga* has been claimed to be associated with the introduction of referents (Hinds 1983). In the present study, 53 percent of the newly introduced referents are marked by this particle. However, it is not necessarily the case that *ga* only marks the information status of a referent. There are other cases where *ga* is used. For instance, *ga* is preferred in subordinate clauses irrespective of the information status of the referent in subject role. In (8), the boy and the dog represent given information.[2]

(8) *Shonen to inu ga okitara, kaeru ga inakunatteimashita*
boy and dog NOM wakeup: COND frog NOM exist: NEG-become-ASP:PAST
"when the boy and the dog woke up, the frog had gone"

Given its multiple usages, *ga* is thus not strictly a marker of the newness of a referent. Furthermore, given that Japanese is a strict verb-final language, the post-verbal position is not used to introduce referents.

Instead, Japanese speakers frequently use pragmatic means to mark newness. Two linguistic means are observed in the data. One is the use of the discourse confirmation marker *ne*, and the other is the repetitive mention of the introduced referent. For instance, in (9), the speaker uses the discourse confirmation marker *ne* after the first mention of a referent, as if to attract the listener's attention to what has just been mentioned. In such cases, the listener frequently responds linguistically by uttering a short confirmation, as in (9). Sometimes the listener may respond gesturally by imitating the action of the speaker, or by a combination of both linguistic and gestural responses.

(9) *nanka otoko no ko ga ne*
INJ male GEN child NOM PP
un
Yeah
bin no naka ni kaeru o katteta no
jar GEN inside DAT frog ACC keep-ASP:PAST SE

[2] The abbreviations used in the examples throughout this paper are: TOP=topic marker, ACC=accusative marker, TE=te (conjunctive) form, PAST=past, AUX=auxiliary marker, COP=copula, ADV=adverbial form, ASP=aspect marker, SE=sentence extender, GEN=genitive case marker, INJ=interjection, NP=noun phrase.

"Well, a boy, you see"
"yeah"
"kept a frog in a jar"

The Japanese native speakers also frequently repeat the introduction of new referents, as if to firmly establish their identities. In (10), the first mention of a referent is followed by the repetitive mention of the same referent in the following utterance.

(10) *Otoko no ko to sono inu ga iru no ne*
male GEN child and that dog NOM exist-NONPAST SE PP
Otoko no ko to inu ga ite
Male GEN child and dog NOM exit: TE
"There is a boy and ehm, a dog, you see"
"There is a boy and a dog, and"

It is worth noting that these pragmatic means to mark the newness of referents in Japanese are observed more frequently when the main characters are introduced than the peripheral ones. No repetitive reference introduction was observed in the Dutch data.

6.1.2. Importance of characters and reference introduction

The literature suggests that the semantic/syntactic roles assumed by animate characters upon their introductions may be influenced by the relative importance they assume in a story. It has been reported that the subject in a clause tends to express (1) information that is not new or (2) new but trivial (Chafe 1994). Put differently, referents with less importance are more likely than those with more importance to assume the subject role. Accordingly, the present data are analysed in terms of the syntactic roles assumed by newly introduced referents.

The importance of characters in the present study is measured by the number of appearances in the story and by whether the first mention of the referent is likely to be accompanied by a proper name or a classifier, based on the analysis by McGann and Schwartz (1988). According to these criteria, the referent with the highest referential importance is the "boy". This referent is the only character that appears in all of the 24 different pictures that constitute the story. There are two other characters that assume relatively important roles, the "dog" and the "frog", both pets of the main character. The former is important because it goes on a search for the lost frog with the main character. The boy, dog and frog constitute the main characters. The rest of the animate characters that appear in the story are considered peripheral. There are six possible peripheral characters to be mentioned, although some speakers omitted some of them from their narratives.

Table 1 compares the syntactic roles assumed by the newly introduced main and peripheral characters in Dutch and Japanese narrative.

Tab. 1: Comparison of syntactic roles assumed by the newly introduced animate characters in Dutch and Japanese narratives

	Main characters		Peripheral characters	
	subject	**Non-subject**	**subject**	**non-subject**
Dutch	18 %	82 %	51 %	49 %
Japanese	69 %	31 %	57 %	43 %

The results reveal that, although the two groups of speakers similarly prefer to introduce peripheral characters in the subject role, differences are observed with respect to the manner in which the main characters are introduced. The main characters in the Dutch narratives tend to assume the "non-subject" role (82 percent), the expected pattern according to the literature. In contrast, Japanese speakers prefer to introduce the main characters in the "subject" position of a clause (69 percent). These referents assume the subject role in existential constructions, as in (11).

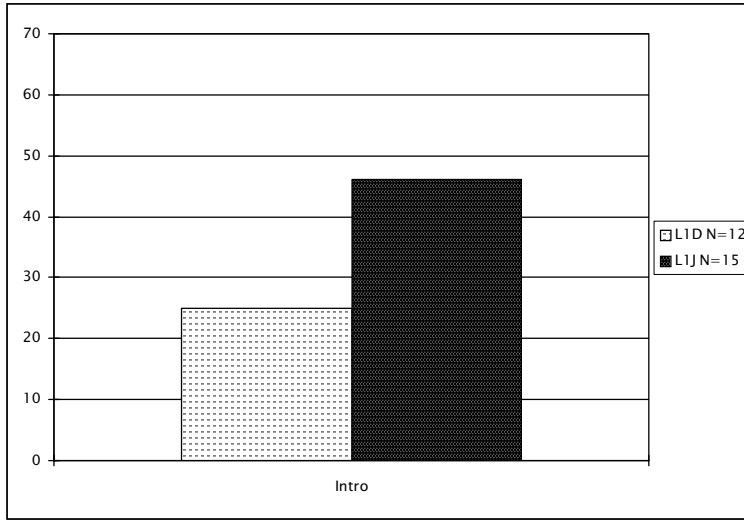
(11) *Otoko no ko to inu ga ite*
male GEN child and dog NOM exist:TE
"There is a boy and a dog"

In (11), the two main characters, the boy and the dog, together assume the subject role of the verb of existence, *iru* [to be]. Note that the introduced animate referents are marked by the nominal particle *ga*. The assignment of the subject role to the newly introduced main characters, despite the universal principle that new information is likely to be placed towards the end of utterances, seems to be motivated by the need of Japanese speakers to distinguish the perceived importance of the various characters by the linguistic means available. Further discussion will be provided later. The frequent use of *ga* for the main characters has been noted in previous research (Nakahama 2003).

6.2. CROSSLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF REFERENCE INTRODUCTION IN GESTURE

There were a total of 82 gestures produced accompanying the introduction of animate characters in Dutch and Japanese narratives: 22 in Dutch and 60 in Japanese. 25 percent of the introductions of the new referents in Dutch narratives are accompanied by gestures, while the figure for Japanese is 46 percent (Figure 2).

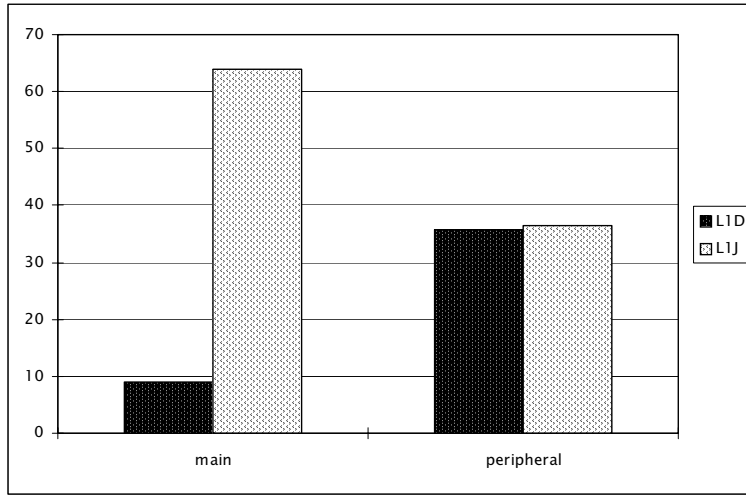
Fig. 2: Frequency of gesture accompanying the first mention of animate characters in Dutch and Japanese narratives



The frequency of gestural accompaniment of the first mention of referents is further analysed for the main and peripheral-characters. Figure 3 shows the frequency of gesture accompanying the first mention of these referents in the Dutch and Japanese narratives.

Figure 3 shows that around 35 percent of the first mentions of the peripheral characters are similarly accompanied by gesture in both Dutch and Japanese narratives. In contrast, differences are observed in gestural marking of the main characters. Whereas the Dutch speakers in the present study rarely produced gesture accompanying the first mention of the main characters (around 10 percent), the corresponding ratio for the Japanese groups is over 60 percent. In other words, more than half of the first mentions of main characters in Japanese narratives are marked not only in speech but also by gesture. On the other hand, Dutch speakers rarely mark the newness of the main characters in gesture.

Fig. 3: Frequency of gesture accompanying the first mention of main vs. peripheral characters in Dutch and Japanese narratives



7. DISCUSSION

The current study was conducted to examine the manner in which speakers of Dutch and Japanese refer to newly introduced animate characters in speech and gesture. Based on the theoretical framework of recency of topic maintenance (Givón 1983), the data were examined focusing on the manner in which Dutch and Japanese speakers mark the information status of referents in both speech and gesture. The results reveal that Dutch speakers prefer to use grammatical means, that is, the use of an indefinite article and the post-verbal position, to mark the information status of a referent as "new". On the other hand, Japanese speakers prefer to use pragmatic means, such as repetition and the use of the discourse particle *ne* [~right?], to mark the information status of a referent. The repetition of the introduced referents in Japanese narratives is in accordance with previous findings (Clancy 1980). Furthermore, the results also reveal that, while Dutch speakers prefer to introduce the main characters in the non-subject position in the clause, Japanese speakers tend to use the subject position for the same purpose, despite the fact that this position is usually assumed by the given topic (Chafe 1994).

The observed differences in the preferences between Dutch and Japanese speakers may be due to the grammatical properties of the two languages. For instance, the availability of dummy subjects and the possibility of inversions in Dutch allow speakers to manipulate the syntactic roles assumed by introduced referents, and accordingly, to distinguish their information status linguistically. If needed, such constructions are used to mark the introduced referents as "new". In contrast, Japanese speakers do not have such options, because of the lack of dummy subjects and the relatively strict verb-final word order. Thus, they may resort to other means to mark the information status of a referent.

The most interesting case is the introduction of the main characters. Although it is possible in Japanese to assign the non-subject role to a referent upon its introduction, this requires placing a given topic in the subject position. At the very beginning of a story, where the main characters are likely to be introduced, this strategy is rarely adopted. Instead, the nominal marker *ga* is frequently used to mark their information status. The results of the present analyses suggest that, in Japanese narratives, the very beginning tends to carry important information about protagonists. If that is the case, it is safe to assume that both the speaker and the listener may allocate extra attention to reference introduction at the very beginning of narratives. We speculate that this allocation of extra attention may be reflected in the production of gesture accompanying the introduction of the main characters in Japanese narratives (see below for further discussion on this point).

With respect to gestural introduction of referents by Dutch and Japanese speakers, the results reveal similarities as well as differences. In accordance with the previous literature (McNeill 1992), the first mentions of animate characters are accompanied by gesture in both groups, although not all the introductions are accompanied by gesture. Furthermore, Dutch and Japanese speakers similarly produce gestures marking the introduction of peripheral referents around 35 percent of the time. However, differences are observed with respect to gestures accompanying the introduction of the main characters. While Dutch speakers rarely produce gestures in such cases, the trend is opposite in Japanese narratives, where more than 60 percent of the first mentions of the main characters are accompanied by gesture.

The crosslinguistic variation observed in gestural reference introduction has an interesting implication about the relationship between speech, gesture and language. If gesture is produced independently of speech, it can be expected that, regardless of the language spoken, the frequency of gesture production should show no cross-linguistic variation. This holds particularly true for this study, given the fact that all narrators read the

same wordless picture story as input. However, the results suggest otherwise, thus offering support for the view that speech and gesture are tightly linked in language use (Kendon 2004; McNeill 1992, 2000). However, this does not explain the crosslinguistic variation observed in the results. A question remains as to what might cause the difference.

One plausible explanation for this crosslinguistic variation concerns the differences in morphology between Dutch and Japanese. As mentioned above, Japanese lacks article systems and the active use of pronouns. Once a referent is introduced as an NP, the same referent in the subsequent utterances can only be referred to either by another NP or by a zero-anaphora (ø). When the latter form of reference is used, the identity of the intended referent becomes highly ambiguous to the listener, as the surface linguistic forms provide little help in Japanese, in which verbs do not encode number or gender. In such cases, contextual clues are the sole means for the listener to correctly identify the speaker's intended referent.

Given that main characters are more likely to be referred to with zero-anaphora than the peripheral ones, one of the tasks Japanese speakers have is to ensure that the identities of the main characters are firmly established in the mind of the listeners at the beginning of a narrative so that they will be able to correctly identify the intended referent when the form of reference is subsequently switched from NP to zero-anaphora. For the purpose of attracting the attention of the listener to the newly introduced characters, pragmatic means such as repetition or the use of the discourse marker *ne* may be highly effective. Similarly, gesture accompanying the mentions of such characters may also prove useful. This may be the reason why the Japanese speakers in the present study frequently produced gestures accompanying the first mention of the main characters. However, with respect to peripheral characters, there is less need to produce such gestures, because these characters are less likely to be referred to by zero-anaphora over a stretch of utterances. Hence, the frequency of gesture was lower.

In contrast, Dutch speakers may not feel such an urgent need to establish the identities of the main characters at the very beginning of the story, as they are provided with many different attenuated linguistic forms which help the listeners to correctly identify the intended referents. This may explain the low frequency of gesture in the data, in particular for the main characters.

Thus, the present results reveal that, although gestures accompanying the introduction of referents may be guided by the principle of the quantity universal (Givón 1983), as previously claimed (McNeill 1992), the frequency of gesture production may vary crosslinguistically. This raises

a question that might be of interest to all those who are involved in Japanese language teaching, that is, what does being a "native" speaker entail? In our daily practice of language teaching/learning, teachers strive to ensure that their learners attain proficiency with "native speakers" as their ideal target. Nativeness is usually defined in terms of phonology, lexicon, morphology, syntax and pragmatics of language use. However, the present findings suggest that defining native speakers only in terms of the quality of speech may be too limiting. This is an exciting line of inquiry that needs further investigation.

In addition, the results suggest that gestures may draw attention to certain words in the flow of utterances. Speakers use their body parts (for example, pointing, gaze, the use of the torso) to signal referents to the listener. Whether or not that signal is picked up by listeners is a question that is beyond the scope of the present study. However, if the listeners do pay special attention to words that are highlighted by gesture, this technique may prove useful in the classroom. For instance, when using a black (or white) board in a classroom, teachers tend to point to an item written on the board. The effect of pointing may be enhanced if the pointed item is also expressed in speech simultaneously.

Lastly, one aspect of gesture that is not examined in the present study concerns the form of gesture. Although no systematic investigation was performed, observations were made that gestures vary in their forms when they accompany the introduction of animate characters. Whether the form of gesture is in any way related to the components of narratives, such as the nature of the story, or the importance of a character, or to the characteristics of the language spoken, is a question that cannot be answered at this moment. However, it is an interesting direction for future research.

The present study investigated the manner in which speakers of Dutch and Japanese introduce referents in speech and gesture. Although gestures have long been associated with the idea of non-verbal bodily behaviour, the present results show that speech and gesture are tightly linked in marking the information structure of discourse, which is guided by universal pragmatic principles and language-specific properties whose impact is reflected in the two modalities of expressions.

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The case particle *ni* and its acquisition

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Abstract

The acquisition of the particles among adult learners of Japanese has been one of the interests among the researchers of Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL). The focus of this study is the case particle *ni* that has many functions and thus shows variations in the acquisition process. In search of a systematic explanation for it, the following issues are discussed in this paper. (1) A comprehensive and objective functional classification of *ni* is pursued on the basis of Muraki's Predicate Model (1986, 1991) which results in thirty-six functions for *ni*. (2) These thirty-six functions are applied to Myers-Scotton's (2002) 4-M model and Abstract Level model to test their hypothesis which states that an early system morpheme is acquired earlier than a late system morpheme. The results of eighty-eight questionnaires support this hypothesis, but the models cannot explain why the acquisition rates form a continuum-like distribution instead of a dichotomy between early and late system morphemes. (3) The Prototype Theory hypothesizes that those parts of speech which are considered prototypical in a target language (TL) are easier to acquire. Theoretical prototypes seem to support the hypothesis, and psychological prototypes are in the process of being studied in order to verify the results of theoretical prototypes.

1. Aim of this present study

Apart from differences in detail, many researchers on particles agree that the process and progress of acquisition vary, depending on the functions of the particles (Ikuta and Kubota 1997; Imai 2000; Kin 1996; Kubota 1993; Nakagawa 1995; Sakoda 1998; 2002; Yagi 1996). That is, even a single particle is acquired differently, if the functions are different, and the case particle *ni* is one of the best examples of this. Even though *ni* is catogorized into various functions from the perspective of syntax (e. g. Muraki 1991; Rickmeyer 1995; Waki 2000), as well as that of cognitive linguistics (e. g. Moriyama 2005; Sugai 2000; Sugimura 2002; Yamanashi 1994), it is still a far cry to say that these classifications are applied to a certain model

or theory in order to unravel the acquisition order of *ni*. That is, analyses of the functions of *ni* in linguistics and research on the acquisition order of the different functions of *ni* in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) are not integrated, except in a few cases (e. g. Moriyama 2005; Wada 2006). Moreover, the classifications of *ni* made by different researchers vary. As a consequence, models and theories in SLA have hardly been tested in the case of *ni*. The purpose of my study is therefore to find a model or theory that can explain the acquisition order of the different functions of the case particle *ni* in SLA. Thus, in this paper, I will test the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model developed by Myers-Scotton (2002) and the Prototype Theory.[1] The former is strongly influenced by semantic syntax, and the latter by cognitive semantics. These models and the Prototype Theory were not developed originally to describe SLA phenomena, but were later applied to them by various researchers. Hence, it is worth testing their applicability by using the particle *ni*. In doing so, the categorization problems or difficulties of *ni* are discussed along the way.

2. CLARIFYING THE FUNCTIONS OF *NI*

To apply *ni* to any model or theory is not at all simple, since there is unfortunately no consensus about how many functions the case particle *ni* has (Sugai 2000: 13).[2] This also leads to difficulties in comparing results of various researchers, because it is often unclear how and why the functions were selected in the way they were. In order to avoid this and to try establishing a functional classification of *ni* as thorough and objective as possible, Muraki's Predicate (*jojutsuso*) Model was chosen (1986, 1991).[3] The basic idea of the Predicate Model is that a predicate (a verb or an adjective) structures a sentence by combining with several actants. The

[1] This part of the paper was made possible thanks to comments from Eric Kellerman, Sugita Yuko and Yoshioka Keiko at the symposium, "Foreign Language Learning in the Age of Globalization" that took place at the University of Duisburg-Essen in March 2006.

[2] It is not correct to say that *ni* itself has a function such as "goal" and "location". Rather, these functions are the result of considering the semantic features of NP *ni* and NP *ga/o* and their relationships, as well as the relationships between them and the verb. The term "function of *ni*" is used for the sake of convenience.

[3] The term, *jojutsuso*, is known as *jutsugoso* in Muraki's article in 1986. Both terms refer to the same concept. This concept, i. e. both terms, is translated into "predicate" in this paper and it strictly refers only to Muraki's *jojutsuso* and *jutsugoso*.

actant has a direct relation to the semantic meaning of a verb, and is usually a noun or its equivalent (Ishiwata 1983). The structure of a sentence is accounted for, therefore, by applying the concept of Predicate. Predicate is the semantic as well as syntactic information that is obtained by considering both the semantic restrictions of nouns and verbs and the case of nouns. The concept was used to make the *Dictionary of Japanese Basic Verbs for Computers IPAL* (Information Technology Promotion Agency 1987a, 1987b, 1997). Since the input has to be very detailed as well as systematic for computers to process Japanese, the following procedures were followed.

Based on four dictionaries, three supra-groups were extracted in order to categorize nouns using syntactic methodologies. These are: "concrete", "abstract" and "diverse". There are eight groups in each of the first two groups. This makes seventeen semantic features of nouns, and all nouns in relation to verbs fall into one of the groups, having that semantic feature that reflects not only syntactic but also semantic elements. Syntagmatic procedures were also followed to extract the semantic features of verbs, and resulted in 24 features. These also reflect both syntactic and semantic elements.

Considering the two aspects above together with nine case particles and sentence structures, 54 predicates were finally sorted out. Of these, 29 are relevant here, since they deal with the particle *ni*.[4] In this paper, they represent 29 functions of *ni*, and using these functions offers two very important advantages. One is that Muraki's categorization of *ni* is, to the best of my knowledge, the most detailed and systematic one, and the other is that the *Dictionary of Japanese Basic Verbs for Computers IPAL* can act as a reference to decide which function a particular *ni* belongs to, since it contains 861 verbs.

The 29 functions of *ni* described by Muraki already seem a large number, but that is not all. There are several other uses noted by Rickmeyer (1995), who treats *ni* based on morphosyntax, and Waki (2000), who also analyses NP-*ni* structures by considering the semantic restrictions of nouns and verbs but deliberately does not deal with several uses. These are the uses of *ni* that occur with a noun independent of a verb, or that are required grammatically, such as in passive and causative constructions. Since the purpose of my study is, as mentioned earlier, to find a model or theory that can explain the acquisition order of the different functions of the case particle *ni*, all possible functions are included. As a result of also taking these aspects into account, therefore, we end up with 36 functions,

[4] For more detailed information about how the 29 functions were decided, see Muraki (1986).

and this extended classification makes it possible to test the models and theories for their applicability more thoroughly, since the more functions there are to test, the more difficult it is for them to be proved positive. Furthermore, this approach can avoid the criticism that the criteria for categorization are not objective enough, because the additional functions are easy to identify based on sentence structure,[5] while the functions named by Muraki have the *Dictionary of Japanese Basic Verbs* as a reference.

The following is the description of the 36 functions, and 34 of them fit into one of the following sentence structures:

(1) N_1 *ga* N_2 *ni* V
(2) N *ga* N_1 *o* N_2 *ni* V

1. Locational Locative: N_2 is the place where N_1 (+con <concrete words>) exists (LL).
1.1[6] LL1 Existence e. g. *aru* [be, exist]
* The numeral 1 means that N_2 *ni* is the second complement in a sentence like (1) above.
1.2 LL1 Phenomenon e. g. *saku* [bloom]
1.3 LL1 Emergence e. g. *deru* [appear]
1.4 LL1 Cognition e. g. *mieru* [can see, be visible]
1.5 LL2 Existence e. g. *nokosu* [leave]
* The numeral 2 represents N_2 *ni* as the third complement in a sentence like (2) above.
1.6 LL2 Possession e. g. *daku* [hold]
1.7 LL2 Emergence e. g. *tateru* [build]
1.8 LL2 Cognition e. g. *hakken suru* [discover]

2. Nonlocational Locative: N_2 is the place where N_1 (-con) exists (NL).
2.1 NL1 e. g. *okoru* [happen]
2.2 NL2 e. g. *miidasu* [find out]

3. Locational Goal: N_2 is the point that N_1 reaches (LG).
3.1 LG1 Movement e. g. *iku* [go]
3.2 LG1 Movement occurring with MT1 (see 9 below) e. g. *iku* [go]
3.3 LG1 Direction e. g. *magaru* [turn]
3.4 LG1 Attachment e. g. *noru* [ride]
3.5 LG2 Movement e. g. *todokeru* [deliver]

[5] For example, if a verb appears in a passive form, N *ni* indicates an agent, and in a causative form, a causee. If N in N *ni* expresses time, it expresses the time of the event described by the verb.

[6] These numbers will be used for reference purposes in the following tables and texts.

3.6 LG2 Direction e. g. *mukeru* [turn, point, direct]
3.7 LG2 Attachment e. g. *tsukeru* [attach]

4. Range: N_2 shows the range in which N_1 carries out the action of the verb (V) (RA).
   4 RA e. g. *katsu* [win]

5. Concern: N_2 is the standard to which N_1 is related (CC).
5.1 CC1 e. g. *niru* [resemble]
5.2 CC2 e. g. *butsukeru* [throw at, knock against]

6. Essive: N_2 exists as the qualification of N_1 (ES).
   6 ES2 e. g. *tsukau* [use]

7. Partner: N_2 is the partner to and from whom things and information move (PT).
7.1 PTn Goal e. g. *ageru* [give]
7.2 PTn Source[7] e. g. *narau* [learn]
   * "n" represents *ni* since there are more particles for this function.

8. Ascriptive: N_2 is the cause of an action of V carried out by N_1 (AS).
   8 AS e. g. *odoroku* [be surprised]

9. Motive: N_2 shows the event after N_1 carried out the action of V (MT).
9.1 MT1 e. g. *iku* [go]
9.2 MT2 e. g. *dasu* [send out]

10. Nonlocational Goal: N_2 is the thing which N_1 (-con) reaches (NG).
10.1 NG1 e. g. *naru* [become]
10.2 NG2 Change e. g. *kaeru* [change]
10.3 NG2 Emergence e. g. *kaku* [write]

11. Attitude: N_2 is the object to which N_1 carries out the action of V (AT).
   11 AT e. g. *amaeru* [get oneself indulged]

[7] With certain verbs, such as *narau* [learn] and *morau* [receive], N *ni* represents the partner from whom things and information move, and is classified as PTn (Partner) Source. That is, even though one of the core semantic functions of *ni* is "goal", this particular *ni* has the contradictory meaning, "source", which is the core meaning of another particle, *kara*. Hence, both *ni* and *kara* in N *kara/ni narau* 'learn from N' have the function of "source". However, Sugimura has another view, saying that N *kara* and N *ni* represent a speaker's different cognitions. The former shows "source" while the latter shows "goal of attachment" (2002). It is an interesting view, but at this point, I will still support the traditional position.

12. Partitive: N_2 is a part of N (PA).
    12 PAgn e. g. *daku* [hold]
    * "g" represents *ga* for N, and 'n', *ni* for N_2.

13. Causative: With causative verb forms and complex causative predicates, N_2 is a causee (CV).
    13 CV e. g. *tsukawaseru* [make someone use something]

14. Passive: in the case of passive verb forms, N_2 indicates an agent (PV).
    14 PV e. g. *nusumareru* [be stolen]

15. Omitted *suru* [do]: when two nominals appear in the form of N_1 *o* N_2 *ni* without being interpreted as valence-conditioned complements to a following verb, *shite*, the gerund of the verb *suru* [do], in adverbial position can be omitted: N_1 *o* N_2 *ni shite* > N_1 *o* N_2 *ni* (OT).
    15 OT e. g. *hyakuman-en o shihon ni (shite) hajimeru* [start something with one million yen as capital]

The following two functions are independent of verbs. Thus, the sentence structure is not limited to (1) and (2).

16. Time: the time of the event described by the verb can be indicated by means of an optional complement, N *ni* (TI).
    16 TI e. g. *nichiyō bi ni* [on Sunday]

17. Semantics of N: the interpretation of an optional complement N *ni* depends on the semantics of the N. Thus, for instance, reason, purpose, condition or general situational descriptions of a verb can be realized as N *ni* (SE).
    17 SE e. g. *sukunaku suru tame ni* [in order to reduce]

The classification of the 36 functions listed above follows in Table 1. Each function itself is already abstracted, but Muraki suggests an even higher level of abstraction, that is, the common attributes shared by certain functions. These are "locative", "goal" and "source", showing the shared semantic functions (Muraki 1991, 2000). Eight Locational Locatives (LL), two Nonlocational Locatives (NL) and Range (RA) belong to the core function of "locative"; seven Locational Goals (LG), Partner (PTn) Goal, two Motives (MT) and three Nonlocational Goals (NG) belong to "goal"; and Partner Source and Ascriptive (AS) belong to "source". Furthermore, "locative" and "goal" are two core semantic functions of *ni,* while the core semantic function of "source" is mainly represented by another case particle, *kara* (Muraki 1991, 2000; Okutsu *et al*. 1986). With this classification of *ni* mainly based on semantic syntax, both the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model and the Prototype Theory are considered.

Tab. 1: 36 functions of *ni*

Numbers	Functions	Core semantic functions
1.1	LL1 Existence (Locational Locative)	locative
1.2	LL1 Phenomenon	locative
1.3	LL1 Emergence	locative
1.4	LL1 Cognition	locative
1.5	LL2 Existence	locative
1.6	LL2 Possession	locative
1.7	LL2 Emergence	locative
1.8	LL2 Cognition	locative
2.1	NL1 (Nonlocational Locative)	locative
2.2	NL2	locative
3.1	LG1 Movement (Locational Goal)	goal
3.2	LG1 Movement occurring with MT1	goal
3.3	LG1 Direction	goal
3.4	LG1 Attachment	goal
3.5	LG2 Movement	goal
3.6	LG2 Direction	goal
3.7	LG2 Attachment	goal
4	RA (Range)	locative
5.1	CC (Concern) 1	
5.2	CC2	
6	ES (Essive) 2	
7.1	PTn (Partner) Goal	goal
7.2	PTn Source	source
8	AS (Ascriptive)	source
9.1	MT (Motive) 1	goal
9.2	MT2	goal
10.1	NG 1 (Nonlocational Goal)	goal
10.2	NG2 Change	goal
10.3	NG2 Emergence	goal
11	AT (Attitude)	
12	PAgn (Partitive)	
13	CV (Causative)	
14	PV (Passive)	
15	OT (Omitted *suru* [do])	
16	TI (Time)	
17	SE (Semantics of N)	

3. About the data

The data analysed consist of a fill-in-the-blank task conducted by 88 native speakers of German who are studying either at the University of Duisburg-Essen or at the University of Düsseldorf in Germany.[8] They are divided into three groups, depending on the length of time they have studied Japanese, that is, the pre-basic stage, the basic stage and the beyond-basic stage.[9] The pre-basic stage group consists of 29 learners who have received instruction in JFL for up to 200 hours (approximately Level 4 of Japanese Language Proficiency Test, JLPT henceforth); the basic stage group has 32 learners with about 360 hours of instruction (approximately Level 3 of JLPT); and the beyond-basic stage group consists of 27 learners with more than 360 hours of instruction (approximately Level 2 of JLPT).

The fill-in-the-blank task used was designed to elicit *ni* in all 36 functions. There are 34 sentences, and each sentence has one to four sets of parentheses for particle(s). In total, there are 78 sets of parentheses, and the subjects were asked to fill them in with appropriate particle(s). The subjects were instructed that it was possible to have more than one particle or no particle at all for a set of parentheses, and that *wa* was not supposed to be used.[10] Each sentence has a verb that is cited as a typical

[8] The question may arise of whether they have yet learned all the items tested for the data. The answer is yes and no. No textbook introduces *ni* in terms of 36 functions. In that sense, the subjects have not learned them. On the other hand, all the vocabulary (especially verbs) and the grammatical structures (causative, passive, etc.) in the task have already appeared in the textbooks, at least for those studying at the University of Duisburg-Essen, and very probably also for those at the University of Düsseldorf, since the selected vocabulary is usually learned at an early stage. The only thing I made sure of for those at the latter university was that they had already learned causative and passive structures, because these structures are usually introduced later in textbooks.

[9] The three level groups, that is, the pre-basic stage, the basic stage and the beyond-basic stage were derived by Klein and Perdue (1993) from their observation of adult learners who learn TLs in natural settings without formal language instructions. These three stages were modified by Wei (2000) to allow for the inclusion of some guided language learning. My classification is based on Wei's adapted version. That is, the level of each stage of Wei's and my classifications is supposed to represent the same or at least similar level.

[10] *Wa* is not a case marker, but a topic marker. In this kind of questionnaire, in which subjects are exposed to only one sentence, its context is not perfectly clear. This may lead to the possibility of the subjects filling in the blanks with *wa* as well as with *ga* and *o*. Since the topic marker *wa* is not the focus of this paper, students were deliberately instructed to avoid its use.

example of each function by Muraki (1991) or Rickmeyer (1995). Based on these verbs, sentences were built using vocabulary that is usually learned in the early stages of learning Japanese. However, since the subjects were from two different universities, and also because further data collection was intended, perfect vocabulary control was impossible. Hence, for each sentence, a matching picture was provided to help the subjects understand the content. All Chinese characters (*kanji*) had their readings provided in the *hiragana* syllabic alphabet. There was no particular time limit for filling in the blanks. Of 78 sets of parentheses, 38 required *ni* as the sole correct particle or as one of the correct particles.[11] The rest, 40 sets of parentheses, required particles other than *ni*, and hence are not the focus of the analysis and are not considered here. However, they played an important role in forcing the subjects to make the correct choice. The sets of parentheses that are correctly completed are considered as evidence of successful acquisition.[12]

4. Testing the 4-M Model and the Abstract Level Model

The 4-M model and the Abstract Level model were developed by Myers-Scotton (2002) along with the Matrix Language Frame model, which was originally designed to explain codeswitching phenomena, but which now attempts universally to explain structural configurations found in language contact situations, such as language attrition, convergence and SLA phenomena. According to these models, conceptually activated early system morphemes are acquired earlier than structurally assigned late system morphemes in SLA. This claim, however, has not been proved by many language pairs apart from English learned by native speakers of Japanese and Chinese; hence, I analysed the corpus of German learners of

[11] Since PTn (goal) and LG1 (Movement) appear twice in the task, the number of sets of parentheses for 36 functions of *ni* becomes 38.

[12] The possibility that students fill in the parentheses with particles randomly and still get them right cannot be ruled out. However, an overview of the data reveals such a risk to be small, since those parentheses for which the students did not know the appropriate particle(s) are left blank. Another point to mention is the effects of the order in which different functions of *ni* are introduced in the classroom. One can naturally assume that, the earlier the items are taught, the earlier their acquisition takes place. Even though this possibility cannot be discarded completely, just a brief look at the data tells us that there must be more to it to describe the different distributions of various functions of *ni*. That is, the percentage order of correctly answered *ni* is not the same as the order in which *ni* appears in textbooks.

Japanese focusing on the particle *ni*. The hypothesis for these models was therefore that *ni* as an early system morpheme is acquired earlier than *ni* as a late system morpheme in JFL.[13]

Out of 36 functions, 16 are early system morphemes, while 20 are late system morphemes.[14] The mean differences between correctly answered early and late system morphemes at each acquisition level are statistically significant: 75 percent and 40 percent, at the pre-basic stage; 78 percent and 47 percent, at the basic stage; and 81 percent and 50 percent, at the beyond-basic stage. It seems safe to conclude that *ni* as an early system morpheme is acquired accurately earlier than as a late system morpheme, and that this holds true throughout the acquisition process.

However, the distribution of the percentages of all *ni* that are correctly answered by the 88 subjects is wide. It does not form a dichotomy between early and late system morphemes, but rather a continuum on which the lowest percentage of an early system morpheme and the highest percentage of a late system morpheme are adjacent to each other. This variation of accuracy rate among the same morpheme groups and the ambiguous border between early and late system morphemes are beyond the scope of the models. That is, the two models lack full explanatory power for the acquisition phenomena at this point, based on the data analysis.

Another finding is that there are four functions whose percentages do not support the acquisition continuum. That is, two of them are late system morphemes stranded in the early system morpheme cluster, while the other two are early system morphemes appearing in the late system morpheme cluster. These four cases were explained by using the concept of transfer from the learners' L1 (first language), German, to L2 (second language), Japanese. Despite the criticism of attributing to transfer those results that do not support a model or a theory, typological differences still need to be considered when dealing with universality.

In the following sections, the Prototype Theory will be considered, which might be able to give a new perspective for interpreting the collected

[13] This terminology is problematic, since the particle *ni* is one morpheme and it cannot be both an early system morpheme and a late system morpheme as if it were two different morphemes (Hohenstein, personal communication). Even though I use the terms when referring to Myers-Scotton's models, therefore, what I mean by them is two different categories.

[14] Since the whole process of testing Myers-Scotton's models is not the focus of this study, the criteria for categorizing the 36 functions into either early system morphemes or late system morphemes, as well as the detailed mechanism of both models and clarification of both early and late system morphemes, are omitted.

data. That is, it may prove not only that the functions which are considered to be prototypical in a TL are easier to acquire (Sugaya 2004: 121), but also that there exists a functional continuity of *ni*, which is causing the continuum-like acquisition rates. Before applying the theory to the acquisition of *ni*, therefore, let us take a brief look at the theory itself.

5. The Prototype Theory

The Prototype Theory is a theory describing human beings' cognition of categories. According to the theory, there are both typical and untypical members within the same category, and the former is a prototype. A category has a radial structure with its centre occupied by prototypical members, and this is called prototype effects (Lakoff 1987). Lakoff also cites Rosch, who did many experiments on prototypes (1987). One such experiment was carried out with Dani (a language from New Guinea) speakers. They have only two basic colour categories: *mili* (dark-cool including black, green and blue) and *mola* (light-warm including white, red and yellow). When they were asked for the best examples of their two colour categories, Dani speakers chose focal (prototypical) colours such as white, red, and yellow for *mola* (Rosch 1973). Furthermore, they were divided into two groups, and one group was taught arbitrary names for eight focal colours, while another group was taught names for eight nonfocal colours. The result was that the names for focal (prototypical) colours were learned more easily (Rosch 1973). This finding has been applied to SLA, and, as stated above, in the Prototype Theory, it is hypothesized that the words' meanings or functions which are considered to be prototypical in a target language are easier to acquire. Hence, defining what constitutes the prototypicality of *ni* and which use is prototypical is the next step to take.

There are two kinds of prototypes. One is a theoretical prototype and the other is a psychological prototype. The former uses linguistic standards such as "concreteness", while the latter uses psychological saliency, called "association arousal", as standards (Tanaka 1990: 101). Tanaka also points out the importance of exploring the overlap between both types, since they are not mutually exclusive (1990: 102). In the following discussion, therefore, the particle *ni* is considered using theoretical prototypes, and the procedures are explained in order to identify psychological prototypes empirically.

To understand Japanese case particles from the Prototype Theory point of view, Yamanashi's concept of the "cognitive" case needs to be introduced (1993, 1995). It is distinguished from the existing deep case.

The deep case reflects factual relations in the world and also those that are based on truth-conditional relations (Fillmore 1968). Muraki's classification is strongly influenced by the deep case. On the other hand, the cognitive case reflects the mental and cognitive processes dynamically and is synthetic, based on multiple points of view (Yamanashi 1995: 164).

One example is the container image schema, originally suggested by Lakoff (1987) and applied to Japanese by Yamanashi (1995). The container schema is one of the kinesthetic image schemas that are present prior to and independent of any concepts (Lakoff 1987: 271). That is, we constantly experience our bodies both as containers and as things in containers. This results in a general cognitive frame in which concrete as well as abstract concepts are captured in the container schema. Let us look at the following six sentences:

(3) LL (Locational Locative) 1 Existence (accuracy rate of 95.5 percent)
*Tēburu no ue **ni** neko ga imasu*. [There is a cat on the table.]
(4) NL (Nonlocational Locative) 1 (accuracy rate of 49.4 percent)
*Moshi nihon to doitsu no aida **ni** sensō ga okotta ra dō shimasu ka*.
[What would you do if war broke out between Japan and Germany?]
(5) LL1 Emergence (accuracy rate of 44.4 percent)
*Sora **ni** tsuki ga demashita*. [The moon appeared in the sky.]
(6) LL1 Cognition (accuracy rate of 44.3 percent)
*Asoko **ni** kōen ga miemasu*. [The park is visible over there][15]
(7) LL1 Phenomenon (accuracy rate of 23.9 percent)
*Ryōshin no ie no niwa **ni** sakura ga sakimashita*.
[The cherry blossom bloomed in my parents' garden.]
(8) RA (Range) (accuracy rate of 7.0 percent)
Doitsu ga sakkā no shiai ni kachimashita. [Germany won the soccer game.]

The core semantic function of *ni* in the six sentences above is "locative", meaning N *ni* shows the place where N *ga* exists. The definition for LL (Locational Locative) in (3) is exactly the same, and it is not at all a problem to perceive *tēburu no ue ni* [on the table] as a container for *neko* [a cat]. A cat exists on the table, which is cognized as a container. For NL1 in (4) as well, *nihon to doitsu no aida ni* [between Japan and Germany] can be perceived as a container in which *sensō* [war] occurs and hence exists. The rest can also be captured in the container schema. *Sora ni* [in the sky] (LL1 Emergence) in (5), *asoko ni* [over there] (LL1 Cognition) in (6), and *ryōshin no ie no niwa ni* [in my parents' garden] (LL1 Phenomenon) in (7) are all containers in which *tsuki* [the moon], *kōen* [the park] and *sakura* [the cherry blossom] exist as a result of appearing, being visible, and blooming, respectively. While the container schema can be applied to all five of them, the concreteness of

[15] This is a literal translation to show the sentence structure. Its more natural equivalent would be "one can see the park over there".

the images differs. As for *ni* of RA (Range) in (8), however, it seems difficult to apply the container schema. With *ni* of RA, N shows the range in which N *ga* carries out the action of the verb. In (8) above, therefore, *sakkā no shiai ni* [the soccer game] shows the range in which *doitsu* [Germany] took the action of *katsu* [win]. My argument is that it is highly abstract, and thus, extremely difficult to perceive *sakkā no shiai ni* [the soccer game] as a container in which *doitsu* [Germany] exists as a result of winning. In short, LL1 Existence is a prototype of *ni* of "locative", and other functions are the category members reflecting the different degrees of concreteness, with RA a very peripheral member if at all. This might have caused the continuum-like distribution of the acquisition rates ranging from 95.5 percent to 7.0 percent instead of a dichotomy, which was beyond the explanatory power of Myers-Scotton's models. However, this needs to be supported by psychological prototypes that are still to be tested in future.

The next example is about another kinesthetic image schema called the source-path-goal schema. It is based on our bodily experience that we start from a place, we end up at a place, and a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the starting and ending points and a direction exist whenever we move anywhere (Lakoff 1987: 275). The following eight sentences have "goal" as a core semantic function.

(9) PTn (Partner) Goal (accuracy rate of 83.3 percent)
Senshū tomodachi ***ni*** *nihon no zasshi o kashimashita*.
[(I) lent my friend a Japanese magazine last week.]

(10) LG (Locational Goal) 2 Movement (accuracy rate of 77.9 percent)
Chichi no obentō o kaisha ***ni*** *todokemashita*.
[(I) took my father's lunch box to the company.]

(11) LG2 Direction (accuracy rate of 74.4 percent)
Otoko no hito wa kao o shita ***ni*** *mukete shinde imashita*.
[The man was dead with his face facing downwards.]

(12) PTn Goal (accuracy rate of 71.4 percent)
Kyōkasho ni machigai o mitsuketa no de sensei ***ni*** *iimashita*.
[Since (I) found a mistake in the textbook, (I) told my teacher (about it).]

(13) NG (Nonlocational Goal) 2 Change (accuracy rate of 63.9 percent)
Isha no yoyaku o getsuyōbi kara suiyōbi ***ni*** *kaemashita*.
[(I) changed the doctor's appointment from Monday to Wednesday.]

(14) LG2 Attachment (accuracy rate of 51.8 percent)
Kanojo wa migi mimi ***ni*** *iyaringu o yottsu mo tsukete imasu*.
[She wears four earrings in her right ear.]

(15) MT (Motive) 2 (accuracy rate of 50.0 percent)
Okāsan wa kodomo tachi o ryokō ***ni*** *dashimashita*.
[The mother sent her children on a trip.]

(16) NG2 Emergence (accuracy rate of 11.9 percent)
Tanoshikatta ryokō no koto o sakubun ***ni*** *kaite kudasai*.
[Please write a composition about a trip that was a lot of fun.]

In (9), it is easy to recognize four structural elements of the schema: "I" as a starting point (source); *tomodachi* [my friend] as an end point (goal); and the movement of *nihon no zasshi* [a Japanese magazine] from me to my friend as a path (a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source and the goal) and a direction (towards the goal). The same is true with (10). *Chichi no obentō* [my father's lunch box] moves from "me" as a source to *kaisha* [the company] as a goal, and this movement of the lunch box can be easily conceptualized as a path and a direction. In (16), however, the goal that *tanoshikatta ryokō no koto* [a trip that was a lot of fun] reaches is *sakubun* [a composition]. It is even more difficult to perceive someone who will write a composition as a source and the movement of *tanoshikatta ryokō no koto* from him/her to *sakubun* as a path and a direction. While *ni* of PTn in (9) and LG2 Movement in (10) are prototypes for *ni* of "goal", therefore, *ni* of NG2 Emergence in (16) is a peripheral member of the category. Other functions are in between, causing the gradations of accuracy rate that seem theoretically to be acceptable. Empirical support is needed by finding out psychological prototypes.

The third example of the cognitive case is the metaphorical and metonymic expansions of the meanings of the nouns preceding the case particles. *Ni* of Time (TI), for example, indicates the time of the event described by the verb, and it seems to be independent of other functions without sharing any core semantic functions. However, a metaphorical expansion offers another way of looking at it, that is, the semantic expansion from location (space) to time. In expressions such as *nagai aida* [for a long time], *mijikai kikan* [short term] and *jikan no tanshuku* [shorter hours], the adjectives, *nagai* [long] and *mijikai* [short], seem to be used for their literal predication. These adjectives are, however, originally used for expressing location or space and have expanded metaphorically to include the abstract concept of "time" (Yamanashi 1993: 56). In the following sentence as well, the period of time is treated metaphorically as a domain in location or space, and the time, *shichi-ji* [seven o'clock], is situated there as a point.

(17) TI (Time) (accuracy rate of 88.6 percent)
Chichi wa asa shichi-ji ***ni*** *kaisha ni ikimasu*.
[My father goes to the company at 7 o'clock in the morning.]

Hence, *ni* is added to *shichi-ji* to show its location in the period of time. By applying the cognitive aspect, therefore, *ni* of TI has an abstracted core semantic function of *ni*, "locative", qualifying it to be one of the theoretical prototypes of the category that seems to be well supported by the high accuracy rate of 88 percent.

There are several theoretical prototypes of *ni*, proposed by various researchers. According to Sugimura (2002: 41), the prototypes of *ni* are "goal" and "attachment point". Yamanashi's (1994: 106–108) prototypical characteristics of *ni* are "proximity", "reachability", "attachability" and "convergency", and Sugai (2000: 15) sums up the four of these with a superordinate concept of "unification", placing them on a continuum that represents the different degrees of "unification". The degree increases from "proximity" to "convergency" via "reachability" and "attachability". Moriyama offers four functions of *ni*: "goal of movement", "origin of movement", "spatial relationship among entities" and "subject of experience", and each function has a radial structure with its centre occupied by prototypical members (2005: 2–9). "Goal", one of the functions, has "persons" as a prototype, and its extensions are "things" and "places", respectively. The function of "goal" also requires "concrete movement" as a prototype, and "abstract movement" and "metaphorical movement" as its extensions, respectively. Therefore, when N *ni* V expresses a concrete movement and N *ni* represents a person, it is the most prototypical case of the function "goal". When a metaphorical movement is expressed with a place, on the other hand, it is the most extended case.

All of these prototypes are, however, theoretical. Whether or not the psychological prototypes support them is still to be tested.

6. Obtaining psychological prototypes and future perspectives

How can psychological prototypes be obtained empirically, then? There are several approaches: the prototypicality judgement, the free production, the response time experiment, the acceptability judgement, the similarity judgement, and so on (Sugaya 2004: 124–125). As stated earlier, the meanings or functions that are considered to be prototypical in a target language are easier to acquire, or those considered to be prototypical in an L1 are transferred more easily into a target language (Sugaya 2004: 121, 127). In the former case, however, there have not only been few studies in JFL, but those that have been carried out also used only theoretical prototypes (Sugaya 2004). In the latter case, Kato (2005) used a prototypicality judgement in his JFL research, and Kellerman's (1978) similarity judgement is well known. In this study, the latter is preferred, since the card sorting task used by Kellerman (1978) makes it possible to sort various functions of *ni* according to the criterion of similarity and can eventually show the interrelationships of different functions of *ni*.

Reflecting Kellerman's (1978) similarity judgement, an online questionnaire has been developed and awaits its pilot study. In this question-

naire, native speakers of Japanese living in Japan will be asked to sort 38 instances *ni*[16] into groups according to similarity of use. The sentences in which *ni* is put are identical to those for which the 88 German learners of Japanese filled in appropriate particles. Instead of having blanks, the subjects for this questionnaire will see the whole sentences with *ni* in question in the parentheses. They can create as many or as few groups as they like, with as few or as many functions as they choose in each group. The underlying idea is that functions will be sorted together according to shared features, and hence, the features that would normally distinguish one function from another will be overlooked. Paraphrasing what Kellerman (1978: 74) wrote, by pooling data from a number of subjects, the number of times a given pair of functions appear together in the same pile can be seen as a measure of similarity of the two items. The higher the number, the greater the subjects judged the similarity of functions.

The results will be processed statistically to see if the prototypicality correlates to the acquisition of *ni* and if psychological prototypes are identical or similar to the theoretical prototypes. If the former point proves positive, a powerful explanation of the acquisition processes of *ni* can be expected. This would be of great help in reconsidering earlier studies on *ni* and in shedding new light on them with a strong empirical base.

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[16] Since PTn Goal and LG1 Movement appear twice in the task, the number of sets of parentheses for 36 functions of *ni* becomes 38.

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"Estimations" in Japanese – some empirical investigations and consequences for Japanese as Foreign Language

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Abstract

Starting from the idea that a change of perspective on function-to-form teaching is necessary for foreign-language learning in general and Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) in particular, this article shows the potential of empirical text analysis for developing function-to-form language teaching materials. In Section 1, the general idea of the function-to-form approach is explained and briefly discussed in relation to the linguistic concept of speech act theory and to contrastive pragmatics. Section 2 discusses the theoretical and methodological background for the empirical text analysis, presenting Hugo Steger's Model of Speech Intentions as a reference model for the analysis of illocutionary force as the term is used in speech act theory, along with a description of the methodological procedure of empirical text segmentation and of ascribing speech intention types to the segmented utterance tokens. Section 3 gives an analysis of an empirical text sample, a Japanese editorial on disarmament talks, and a sample evaluation of the data with regard to the linguistic realization forms of the type "estimation". In Section 4, some conclusions are drawn for the application of functional analysis of this kind to foreign language learning and actual classroom work.

1. The pragmalinguistic question for foreign language learning: "function to form" or "form to function"?

Making "estimations" is one of the central language functions in elaborate discourse activity. Competence in doing this adequately is therefore an important target in foreign language teaching in general as well as in JFL in particular. But the question is how to define this language function and discover what forms of linguistic realization it has in the specific target language in question.

Looking at the actual situation of the methods applied in foreign language teaching, it can be said that the functional approach which emerged in the 1970s has become an established methodological standard. A closer look into actual practice and at language teaching materials, however, shows that this holds true only for language functions which are closely related to a specific situational context, such as greeting, thanking, introducing people or making requests in shopping situations. It appears that it is the situation itself, rather than the language functions, which leads to their introduction into the classroom.

If language functions which are completely or relatively neutral in terms of correlating to particular situations are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that functions such as estimations and evaluations are usually not systematically integrated in the curriculum. Rather, the common knowledge repertoire in foreign language teaching usually runs only in the direction from form to function and neither the other way round, nor in both directions. However, a teacher's competence in the opposite direction, from function to form, is desirable if the education target of doing things through words adequately in the target language is to be dealt with.

The general idea of speech act theory, put forward first by John L. Austin (1975), is that saying something is doing something. This implies that there is always a function beyond the lexical and grammatical elements of a proposition, that is, the intention (the illocutionary point) that the speaker or writer has in mind in saying something.[1]

If these ideas are included in foreign language learning, three fields of application emerge:

(1) the illocutionary force of given utterances

(2) non-verbal contexts

(3) text coherence and text structure

These three perspectives are closely linked to three kinds of problems that students encounter in the course of foreign language learning.

[1] "Intention" refers here to propositional content related intention in the threefold concept of intentional analysis as developed by Strawson (1964), a concept which on the whole has been adopted by Searle, who integrated it into his classic book on speech act theory (Searle 1969). The use of the term "intention" in the sense of the central, proposition-related intention is also to be found in Hugo Steger's model of speech intentions (Steger 1987), which I will use as a reference model in this paper. For details of the model and Steger's terminology, see below. For recent overviews of speech act theory, see, for example, Vanparys (1994), Weigand (2003) and Sadock (2004).

(1) Text complexity: based on the assumption of a broad definition of "text", ranging from minimal texts in the form of one-word-sentences to long texts such as novels, text complexity refers to problems of learning progression, from short and simple form units to longer and more complex units in both speech reception and speech production.
(2) Pragmatic complexity: Steger (1991: 431–434) offers a model of language processing which treats language processing on the level of virtual models in the brain. According to this model, cognitive processes are managed by the interaction of three modules: (a) the lexicon device, (b) the grammar device and (c) the "pragmatic apparatus". This pragmatic apparatus is a governing device which provides the necessary selections from the first two modules, thereby forming pragmatically adequate expressions for specific situations.
(3) Contrastive Complexity: these forms of combination pose difficulties for foreign language learners when they differ from those in their own language. Structures in the target language (L2) that are difficult for the learner if they differ in some respect from the corresponding structures in the first language (L1) fall into the field of "contrastive complexity". However complicated the lexical, morpho-syntactical or pragmatic structure or the form unit may be, if they correspond between L2 and L1, then all that needs to be learned is the elements themselves. In other words, no further information or training about function–form or content–expression correlation is necessary.

This paper explores language functions with regard to their pragmatic complexity and contrastive relevance. It aims to answer questions of how certain language functions, as put forward by speech act theory, are related to virtual linguistic realization forms, that is, to the forms of combinations of lexical and grammatical elements that are actually possible for the expression of a particular pragmatic function. This is done by a sample analysis of a specific linguistic function: estimation. I will further restrict myself by limiting the analysis to one single text, a Japanese editorial, and by focusing the form-function analysis at the level of single function units. Phenomena of text cohesion and illocutionary functions at the level of speech act sequences, paragraphs and the global text are not taken into consideration. Three concrete research questions are addressed:

(1) What are the actual linguistic realization forms of estimations?
(2) Are there any strikingly frequent and/or typical forms of the function in question?
(3) Which forms are "marked" in the sense of contrastive relevance?

Due to the quantitative restriction to just one text and the qualitative restriction to the text type "editorial", the answers to these research questions can only be limited.

Let me add a few words on theoretical and methodological requirements. If single language functions in the sense of illocutionary types are taken into consideration, the model of speech act taxonomy that they refer to needs to be clarified. Secondly, in order to identify virtual realization forms of specific functions, methodological reflection on where and how they can be detected is required. Finally, usage of empirical text material requires explanation of why the text materials used have been chosen, where the elements of a specific language function can be found within the text, what the segmentation principles are, and how to decide what functions are actually expressed by the pieces of utterance segmented. Before turning to the analysis itself, I will address these issues briefly.

2. SPEECH ACT THEORY AND EMPIRICAL TEXT ANALYSIS

A Japanese editorial from 1983 on the topic of disarmament talks between the former Soviet Union and the U.S. was chosen as a text for analysis. Choosing an editorial as the object of analysis has the advantage that this type of text is still compact enough to grasp the structure of the text as a whole while providing sufficient empirical data with regard to the speech act "estimating" (see below). This is because editorials present arguments, which imply the necessity to provide estimations. The taxonomic model for the analysis of types of speech acts used in this paper is that of Steger's (1987) speech intentions model (*Sprechintentionenmodell*). In the following section, I will contrast this to the better-known speech act classification model of John R. Searle (1979).

2.1. CATEGORIES AND TERMINOLOGY

Steger's "speech intention" correlates with Searle's "illocutionary point" of speech acts. It refers to what is intended to be done by the act of saying something. A "speech act" in orthodox speech act theory is termed an "intention act" (*Intentionsakt*) in Steger's model. It is constituted of the defining elements of speech intention, time reference, speaker–hearer identification and speaker–hearer orientation. The category "state of affairs" is not part of this definition, but, on the whole, the notion of speech intention implies the concept of propositional content. In Steger's model,

the typological concept (classification of speech acts on the basis of shared illocutionary points in speech act theory) is the classification of single actual utterance units into virtual types of speech intentions based on shared "intentions".

Steger (1987: I–II) lists the following main types of speech intentions, with additional code numbers for later identification:

(1) On the level of social and communicative relations
    00 establishing, managing, and finishing social and communicative relations
(2) On the level of propositions
    10 requesting to speak or act
    20 stating facts
    30 estimating intellectually (cognitively)
    40 estimating concerning social norms or/and feelings
    50 presenting rationalisations or/and explanations
(3) On the level of actions
    60 acting

In summary, the typological correspondences between Steger's model and Searle's taxonomy appear as follows:

Tab. 1: Types of speech acts and speech intentions

Searle	**Steger**
	00 Establishing, managing, and finishing social and communicative relations
Directives	10 Requesting to speak or act
Assertives	20 Stating facts
	30 Estimating intellectually (cognitively)
	40 Estimating concerning social norms or/and feelings
Expressives	
	50 Presenting rationalisations or/and explanations
Commissives	60 Acting
Declaratives	

As this comparison shows, the Steger system is the more elaborate one. It has an additional dimension of intentions relating to the level of communicative situation and/or the social contact, and Searle's category of "assertives" is split up into three different types. This differentiation proves to be very useful for the analysis of elaborate discourse, especially in the field of argumentative discourse types. Searle's "expressives" correspond to subtypes in Steger's 00-type, and Searle's "commissives"

correspond to "acting" in Steger's model.[2] In favour of choosing the Steger model for the present purpose are its stringent theoretical approach and the classifications, which are easily applicable for an empirical analysis. For the purposes of this paper, I will not go into further theoretical and classificatory details but will concentrate on the types relevant for estimations.

Let us consider the subtypes of type 30 and type 40. Steger's (1987: I–II) subtypes for "intellectual (cognitive) estimations" and "estimations concerning social norms or/and feelings" are as follows:

Type 30: Intellectual (cognitive) estimations
31 cognitive estimations of factual possibility/probability/correctness
32 cognitive estimations of logical truth/verifiability
33 indications of consensus/dissent/indecisiveness

Type 40: Estimations concerning social norms or/and feelings
41 estimation of absolute or relative normality
42 estimation of absolute or relative importance/relevance
43 estimation of absolute or relative quality
44 estimation of absolute or relative aesthetic form
45 estimation of absolute or relative utility
46 estimation of absolute or relative suitability/permission
47 estimation of relatively positive value of feeling or mood
48 estimation of absolutely or relatively negative value of feeling or mood
49 estimation of absolutely or relatively neutral value of feeling or mood

One of the greatest problems of functional text analysis is the methodological question of how to segment the empirical text, that is, how to decide what the smallest units representing a speech act or an act of speech intention are. In the analysis presented in this paper I applied the following rules:

[2] Needless to say, there are other taxonomic models. Vanparys (1994: 285) quotes no less than 42 classification models, and Weigand (2003: 39–56) discusses 41 proposals, some different from those mentioned in Vanparys. The most recent taxonomies are those of Vanparys (1994), Sadock (1994), and Weigand (2003: 72–167). It must not be forgotten that a large number of the topics discussed in speech act theory in the context of speech act types have to do with mood of sentence or utterance respectively. So in my view it is the rich tradition of mood studies in Japanese linguistics that explains the fact that there is no genuine contribution to speech act classification or to speech act theory in general on the part of Japanese linguistics. A contrastive survey of both approaches is Akatsuka and Tsubomoto (1998). As for mood studies in Japanese linguistics, see Adachi (1999), Aihara (1999), and Nitta (2002).

(1) Sentence end was used to mark the borders of speech intentions, that is, subsequent sentences are counted as distinct acts of speech intention.
(2) Subordinate or coordinate clauses within compound sentences were counted as distinct speech intention acts if the propositional content of the clause itself was asserted. In other words, if the scope of the speech intention was the whole sentence, then the parts of this sentence did not count as distinct units. For example, the propositional content of restrictive relative clauses was seen as belonging to that of the main clause, whereas non-restrictive relative clauses were treated as being speech intention acts in their own right.
(3) If a segment was embedded within a sentence which possessed a distinct thema-rhema structure and could thus be regarded as being asserted on its own, it was treated as a distinct speech intention act.
(4) Quotations with a single quoted sentence were counted as one single unit on the whole, because only the quoting expression was considered to be asserted and not the quoted sentence. If, however, the quoted part consists of two or more separate sentences in the sense of rules (2) and (3), then the whole quotation was counted as two or more units.
(5) Single lexical elements expressing a language function different from the function of the sentence in which they occurred were counted as elliptical speech intention acts in their own right.

A further methodological problem which needed to be solved was the question of how to decide what type of speech intention the individual pieces of speech intention acts, segmented by application of the rules listed above, belonged to. For this purpose, the Steger model of speech intentions contains "test phrases"; by applying these, speech intention types can be assigned to empirical speech intention act tokens. See Steger (1987: 6) for the test phrases.[3]

In summary, the following methodological approach was taken:

(1) The text was segmented according to the segmentation rules given above, and the single speech intention act units were numbered. In addition, the paragraphs were numbered continuously. The paragraph numbers are given at the beginning of the paragraph.

[3] It should be noted that this segmentation procedure does not work, however, merely by mechanical application of formal rules to the linguistic tokens in question, but that hermeneutic understanding of what is said is necessary in order to be able to decide what the propositional scope of each speech intention act is.

(2) By application of the test phrases, the type of speech intention realized in the tokens identified by applying the steps outlined in (1) was identified.
(3) The form of the linguistic realization of each speech intention act was identified in order to identify pragmatic cues by which speech intentions are recognized.
(4) The linguistic realization forms of particular speech intention acts were filtered out and categorized with regard to their pragma-linguistic and contrastive relevance, that is, with regard to the frequency of occurrence and of markedness in the sense of differences between L1 and L2. The hypothesis is that there are very general indicators, non-specific to certain function classes, on the one hand, and more or less specific indicators only used to express specific communicative goals or intentions on the other. This type of specific indicator is of high relevance for linguistic analysis of foreign language learning.

For the sake of brevity, I concentrate only on those segments where speech intention acts of type 30 (intellectual/cognitive estimations) and type 40 (estimations concerning social norms or/and feelings) are manifested. For the whole text with the morphological transliteration and English translation, see Appendix I.

3. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

As a first step in analysing the linguistic realization forms, feature formulae listing of all elements of the single tokens which might be relevant with regard to speech intention were recorded. The elements considered to be functionally relevant are as follows:

(1) Lexical elements
Specific lexical units indicating and/or reinforcing the speech intention in question. These free lexical elements were coded within the feature "Lex".
(2) Grammatical elements
(a) The main sentence- or clause-final categories of verb, adjective, nominal adjective, and noun were recorded as V-Ru, A-i, NA-Da and N-Da in their informal, present tense and affirmative forms.[4]

[4] For the abbreviation conventions, see the abbreviations and symbols used in grammar books, for example, in Makino and Tsutsui (1986) and (1995) or in Kaiser *et al.* (2001). The capital R in the formula V-Ru stands for the fact that the verb ending of the recorded form varies between *-ru* and *-u*; correspondingly,

(b) The morpho-semantic category past tense was recorded as Ta; affirmation vs. negation as Ø vs. Nai[5] and initiative as -Yō; and volitive as "-Tai".
(c) The clause- or sentence-final morpho-syntactic form finite (Ø), semi-finite (-\) and binding (-Te) were coded accordingly.
(d) For verbs, active voice (Ø) versus passive voice ("pV") was differentiated.
(e) Clause- or sentence-final semantic extensions or phrase elements which either contain illocutionary force indicating elements themselves or which are related to such elements, for example, modal extensions like *ba naranu* [must] or *beki da* [should], or sentence explanatory extensions like *no de aru* [it is that], were recorded in their actual form, written in small letters and italics.
(f) Some specific verb-semantic categories, such as imperative (V_{imp}), volitive (V_{vol}), and quotative (V_{quo}) were differentiated.
(g) Quotative nouns were recorded as N_{quo} (see List of abbreviations).

With these methodological and coding conventions in mind, let us turn to linguistic realization forms of segments in which estimations were expressed (speech intention types 30 and 40). First, an overview of the number of occurrences for the different types of speech intentions in the text (Table 2) is given. Next, speech intention acts of type 30 and 40 are isolated from the text corpora and listed according to their sequence order (Tables 3 and 4). Finally, the linguistic realization forms identified in the single speech intention acts are grouped into types of preliminary linguistic realization forms and discussed.

The analysis of the quantitative distribution of single speech intention types led to the following results:

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the writing convention Da is meant to cover *da* as well as the *de aru*-form. In contrast to this the -i in A-i is always actual "-*i*" and therefore written in minuscule. With the writing conventions for N and NA correspondingly, I want to point out that all forms are morphemic shortcut writing, schematically assimilated to the formulae for V and A. Formulae like N+Da, N+Da-Ta etc. would be closer to the actual morphemic form, but because the +Da notation gets too longwinded in the combined forms for past and/or negation I prefer the schematic shortcut form.

[5] The schematic forms V-Nai, A-Nai and N-Nai/NA-Nai for the present/negated-form, or V-Nai-Ta, "A-Nai-Ta and N-Nai-Ta/NA-Nai-Ta for the negated/past-form combination -Nai is written with capital letter, because it is also meant to cover negation forms parallel to *nai*, such as *nu*, and secondly, because it is not always actually *nai*, as for example, in the past form *nakatta*.

Tab. 2: Quantitative distribution of speech intention types

Type	Number of acts	Percentage
00	1	1.5 %
20	29	44.7 %
30	16	24.6 %
40	19	29.2 %
Total	65	100 %

The total of the types 30 and 40 amounts to 53.8 percent, which confirms our expectation that the text type "editorial" provides a high number of estimation acts.

Let us now consider the speech intention acts of making estimations. Listed in Table 3 (speech intention type 30) and Table 4 (speech intention type 40) are, from left to right, (1) the basic type in question, (2) the subtype, (3) the speech intention act number and (4) a formula feature protocol of the linguistic realization forms of the given speech intention act.

Tab. 3: Type 30

Type		Act No.	Linguistic realization form
Basic	Subtype		
30	31	12	Lex + V-Te-Iru
		13	V-Ru + Da-Yō
		15	N *de* + V-Ta
		18	pV-Ru *to*\ V-Ru
		21	Lex + *mono*-Nai
		24	Lex + *dake*-Da
		34	V-Ba\ V-Ru + *koto ni* Naru
		37	Lex + V-Ta *no wa* + N-Da
		46	Lex + N+Aru-Yō
		47	V-Te-Iru
		50	N+Aru-Yō
		54	N-*wa* + *mono*-Nai-\
		55	V-Ru
		58	N-*dake* + V-Te
		59	V-Te-Iru
		64	N+*shika* + Nai

Tab. 4: Type 40

Type		Act No.	Linguistic realization form
Basic	Subtype		
40	42	9	V_{vol}-Tai
		14	V-Ru + *beki*-Da
		16	pV-Nai-Ba Nara-Nai
		17	A-i *hodo* + Lex
		30	*kore hodo* + Lex + V-Ta *no wa* + *hajimete*-Da
		31	V-Te + V_{vol}-Tai
		32	V-Ru\ + *beki*-Da
		35	V-Ru + *beki*-Da
		36	V_{vol}-Tai
		41	Lex + *no*-Nai *ka*
		56	A-Ba A-i *hodo* + Lex
		65	V-Ru\ *beki*-Nai *ka*
	45	19	V_{imp}-Te-Oku-Tai
		20	Lex + N-Da
		33	Lex + N-Da
		49	Lex + (Lex)V-Te-Iru-Yō
		63	(Lex)NA-Te
	46	62	V-Ta *dake*-Ta
	48	8	Lex + N-Da-\

On the basis of this compilation of speech intention act tokens, the linguistic realization forms found in the single acts can be grouped into preliminary linguistic realization form types as follows:

(1) Total number of tokens for linguistic realization form types for speech intention type 30
(1a) – Lex: 5
(1b) – *mono*-Nai: 2
(1c) – *dake* / *shika*-Nai: 3
(1d) – Darō / Aru-Yō: 3
(1e) – *ba*\ / *to*\ (V-Ru): 2
(1f) – V-Ru / V-Te-Iru / V-Ta: 5

(2) Total number of tokens for linguistic realization form types for speech intention type 40
(2a) – Lex: 6

(2b) – A-*hodo/kore hodo* (+Lex): 3
(2c) – *dake* (+Lex): 1
(2d) – *beki*: 4
(2e) – Nai-Ba Nara-Nai: 1
(2f) – V_{vol}-Tai/V_{imp}-Te-Oku-Tai: 4
(2g) – Nai *ka*: 2
(2h) – Iru-Yō: 1

The types and the actual linguistic realization form tokens are next given in detail and briefly commented on.[6] Tables 5.1 to 5.6 show speech intention type 30 and Tables 6.1 to 6.8 speech intention type 40. The comments give only the main points of the linguistic realization forms in question. Besides cross references for double-listed forms, they contain observations with regard to the linguistic form itself, and, in cases of doubt, an explanation with regard to the speech intention categorization as well as additional discussion on the contrastive relevance of the linguistic realization form with regard to L1 English and/or German. In the comments on the linguistic form, it was endeavoured to identify the status of the linguistic realization form in question in the system of the pragmatic apparatus on the whole.[7]

[6] For better readability, the linguistic realization forms in column 4 are given with almost the complete speech intention act context, only slightly shortened, but without punctuation for reasons of the sometimes non-contiguous segment order. The elements which are thought to be speech intention indicators, which are hermeneutically understood as means expressing the speech intention within each speech intention act, are typographically marked in the following way: (a) all lexical and grammatical indicator elements are set in bold, (b) the lexical indicator elements are additionally set in italics, and (c) the lexical units in which the grammatical indicator elements occur are set underlined. The same conventions were applied to the romanized transliteration line and, as far as possible, to the English translation too. Due to the typographical editing conventions of the book, the English translation on the whole is given in italics, so that in the English lines the identification of the lexical items gets lost among the linguistic realization form markers. In addition, in the English translation there are cases of coincidence between the equivalents to independent lexical items (bold italics) and lexical carriers of the grammatical indicators (underlined) of the Japanese original, resulting in "italic-bold-underlined" in the translation line, for example, "needs" in Act No. 12.

[7] Thus in the instances starting from the empirical linguistic realization form token in question, additional interpretations based on linguistic competence via introspective observation are given. This should not, however, be taken as a methodological rupture, but as an attempt to hint at future research work to be addressed by empirical studies.

3.1. Results for speech intention type 30

Tab. 5.1: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1a: Lex

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	12	Lex + V-Te-Iru	ソ連とて軍備管理協定は***必要***としている [から] soren tote gunbikanri kyōtei wa ***hitsuyō*** to shite i**ru** [kara] *[since] the S. U **needs** an arms control agreement anyway*
	21	Lex + *mono*-Nai	パーシング ＩＩ や巡航ミサイルも、軍事バランスを***そう変える***ものではな**い** pāshingu-II ya junkō misairu mo, gunji baransu o ***sō kaeru*** mono de wa nai *the cruise missiles **will** not **change** the military balance **very much***
	24	Lex + *dake*-Da	世界の安全保障を***危うく***する***だけだ*** sekai no anzenhoshō o ***ayauku*** suru ***dake*** **da** *[such a tendency] … will do **nothing** but endanger the security of the world*
	37	Lex + V-Ta *no wa* + N-Da	交渉の最大の**ネック**になっ**たのは** […] パーシング ＩＩ である kōshō no saidai no nekku ni nat**ta no wa** […] pāshingu-II de aru ***what has** become the most **serious problem** in the negotiations **are** the Pershing II […]*
	46	Lex + N+Aru-Yō	合体した交渉は技術的に***はむずかしい***面も**あろう** [が] gattai shita kōshō wa gijutsuteki ni wa ***muzukashī*** men mo **arō** [ga] *combined negotiations **will probably** produce difficulties, too [, but]*

In act number 12, *hitsuyō to suru* [need] is not per se a clear indicator for speech intention type 30 and could occur in the context of description of objective facts (type 21) too, but it has a strong tendency to be used in an estimation context. For act number 21, a double linguistic realization form was assigned (see type 1b below). The combination of sō+V [V+ so much] and *mono de wa nai* [it is not that] indicates type 31 here. Since sō+V [V+ so much] has itself a strong tendency to type 31, it is listed here under the linguistic realization form of the type Lex. In act number 37, *nekku ni natta* [had become the most serious problem], the construction *no wa… de aru* [what… is…] can be interpreted as a linguistic realization form type of its own. While it is not exclusively an indiciator of the speech intention type 31, it is nevertheless typical for estimation. In act number 46, *muzukashii* [difficult] as a lexical element is considered to have a strong tendency to speech intention type 31, because it usually refers to cognitive estimation patterns; *arō* [there will probably be] is considered to be an indicator of estimation in general.

Tab. 5.2: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1b: *mono*-Nai

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	21	Lex + *mono*-Nai	パーシング ＩＩ や巡航ミサイルも、軍事バランスを***そう変える***ものではな**い** pāshingu-II ya junkō misairu mo, gunji baransu o ***sō kaeru*** mono de wa nai *the cruise missiles **will** not **change** the military balance **very much***
	54	N-wa + *mono*-Nai-\	もともと安定した平和**は**、いわゆる軍事均衡で維持される**ものではなく** motomoto antei shita heiwa wa, iwayuru gunjikinkō de iji sareru mono de wa naku *stable peace cannot be sustained by the so-called military balance [, but]*

Note that the unit of act 21 (see linguistic realization form type 1a in Table 5.1) is on the whole taken as a cognitive statement of the believed fact that the military balance will not be dramatically changed by the new cruise missiles and Pershing-II (therefore speech intention Subtype 31), and not as a normative statement in the sense that the new missiles are suitable for changing the military balance (which would make it a speech intention of Subtype 46). In act number 54, the interpretation (as cognitive statement of a believed fact) is similar to that of act number 21 above.

Tab. 5.3: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1c: "*dake*/*shika*-Nai"

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	24	Lex + *dake*-Da	世界の安全保障を***危うく***する***だけだ*** sekai no anzenhoshō o ayauku suru dake da *[such a tendency] … will do **nothing else** but **endanger** the security of the world*
	58	N-*dake* + V-Te	米ソ関係は近年とみに軍事関係**だけ**が残っ**て** beisokankei wa kinnen tomi ni gunjikankei **dake** ga nokot**te** *in U. S.–S. U. relations over the last few years, **nothing but** a military relationship remains **[and]***
	64	N+*shika* + Nai	主要先進民主主義国のなかで比較的身動きの自由な国も日本とカナダくらい**しかない** shuyō senshinminshushugikoku no naka de hikakuteki miugoki no jiyū na kuni mo nihon to kanada kurai ***shika nai***. *among the important leading democracies of the world there **are no** countries which are quite as free in their movements as Japan and Canada*

Dake [only] and *shika nai* [there is only] as isolated elements are not clear indicators of speech intention subtype 31, but their function of "restric-

tion" with regard to propositional content implies that they have a strong inclination tendency to estimation.

Tab. 5.4: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1d: "Darō/Aru-Yō"

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	13	V-Ru + Da-Yō	いづれは戻ってく**るだろう** [が] izure wa modotte ku**ru** ***darō*** [ga] *they **will probably** return to negotiations sooner or later [but]*
	46	Lex + N+Aru-Yō	合体した交渉は技術的には**むずかしい**面もあろう [が] gattai shita kōshō wa gijutsuteki ni wa ***muzukashii*** men mo **arō** [ga] *combined negotiations **will probably** produce **difficulties**, too [, but]*
	50	N+Aru-Yō	この ＳＴＡＲＴ の場でソ連を交渉に誘う方法や、[…] 欧州信頼醸成・軍縮会議の場を解きほぐしに活用する方法も**あろう** kono START no ba de soren o kōshō ni sasou hōhō ya […] ōshūshinraijōsei, gunshukukaigi no ba o tokihogushi ni katsuyō suru hōhō mo **arō** *in addition to the method of tempting the Soviet Union to negotiations in the setting of START talks, another method **is** to use the setting of the conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe […] for finding a solution*

The sentence supplemental *darō* [will probably] and *arō* [there will probably be] are clear indicators for estimations in general (type 30 and 40). The categorization as speech intention type 31 is done here on the basis of the context. The verb form V-Yō is in general considered to be a strong indicator of speech intention types 30 and 40, although they do not exclusively fulfil this function, as they can be used in the initiative sense as well.

Tab. 5.5: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1e: *ba\ / to* (V-Ru)

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	18	pV-Ru *to* V-Ru	米大統領選挙などに巻こまれ**る と**、もっとこじれ**る** bei-daitōryōsenkyo nado ni makikomare**ru** ***to***, motto kojire**ru** ***if** [the interruption] … **becomes** entangled with the American presidential elections etc., the situation **will become** even more difficult*
	34	V-Ba\ V-Ru + *koto ni* Naru	それに上乗せすれ**ば**、交渉再開の機会を遠ざける**ことになる** sore ni uwanose sure **ba**, kōshōsaikai no kikai o tōzakeru koto ***ni naru*** ***further** increases **would** reduce the chances of a resumption of the negotiations*

Conditional clauses are strongly, though not exclusively, associated with conditioned assertions. Therefore, they are taken as strong indicators of speech intention type 30.

Tab. 5.6: Speech intention type 30 (Subtype 31) and linguistic realization form type 1f: V-Ru / V-Te-Iru / V-Ta

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
31	55	V-Ru	多角的な相互依存関係の上に成り立**つ** takakuteki na sōgoizonkankei no ue ni narita**tsu** *[stable peace] **is** bas**ed** on multilateral interdependency*
	12	Lex + V-Te-Iru	ソ連とて軍備管理協定は必要としている [から] soren tote gunbikanri kyōtei wa ***hitsuyō*** to shite i**ru** [kara] *[since] the S. U **needs** an arms control agreement anyway*
	47	V-Te-Iru	世界の世論は、米ソ交渉の進展を期待し**ている** sekai no seron wa, beiso-kōshō no shinten o kitai shite i**ru** *[but] the public opinion of the whole world **hopes** for progress in the American–Soviet negotiations*
	59	V-Te-Iru	全体が先細りになってき**ている** zentai ga sakibosori ni natte kite iru *relations overall **have** become weaker and weaker*
	15	N *de* + V-Ta	双方の政治的メンツのぶつけ合い**で**中断し**た** [ので] sōhō no seijiteki mentsu no butsukeai **de** chūdan shi**ta** [no de] *[since] the negotiations **have been interrupted because of** the clash of the political prestige of both sides*

The linguistic realization form features V-Ru, V-Te-Iru and V-Ta are taken together as one type, because no differentiation between them can be made on the basis of the empirical data. On the whole, these linguistic realization forms are what could be called unmarked forms. V-Ru, V-Te-Iru and V-Ta themselves may very well occur in the context of other speech intention types too.

In summary, we can identify the following linguistic realization forms for the speech intention type 30. The linguistic realization type 1a is an open class type, and it would be highly desirable to produce a list of lexical elements that are strongly or exclusively associated with estimations in general and cognitive estimations (type 30) in particular. In contrast, linguistic realization form type 1f is the unmarked type and on the whole not specific to the speech intention type 30. Between these two extremes are the linguistic realization form types 1b, 1c, 1d and 1e, which are characterized by indicators varying between strong association (type 1b, 1c, 1e) and clear association (type 1d) with speech intention type 30. Whether forms are specific to the speech intention type 30 or also possible for type 40 cannot be answered on the basis of the given empirical data.

3.2. Results for speech intention type 40

Tab. 6.1: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42, 45, 48) and linguistic realization form type 2a: Lex

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	41	Lex + *no*-Nai *ka*	その凍結を検討して**よいのではないか** sono tōketsu o kentō shite ***yoi* no de wa nai ka** ***would it not be better*** *to consider freezing these plans?*
45	20	Lex + N-Da	すでに世界的にも欧州でも核は***過剰状態***である sude ni sekaiteki ni mo ōshū de mo kaku wa ***kajōjōtai*** de a**ru** *both on a global level as well as in Europe,* ***there is*** *already a* ***surplus*** *of nuclear weapons*
	33	Lex + N-Da	ＳＳ２０がすでに***過剰配備***である SS-20 ga sude ni ***kajōhaibi*** de a**ru** *there* ***are*** *already* ***too many*** *SS-20s stationed*
	49	Lex + (Lex)V-Te-Iru-Yō	***頑固さ***の度が***過ぎ ていよう*** ***gankosa*** no dō ga ***sugite iyō***. *[but] this again* ***seems to*** *be too* ***obstinate*** *a position*
	63	(Lex)NA-Te	政治関係重視のトルドー首相の着眼はきわめて***適切で*** seijikankeijūshi no torudō-shushō no chakugan wa ki-wamete ***tekisetsu* de** *the aim of attaching special importance to political relations put forward by Prime Minister Trudeau* ***is*** *very* ***appropriate*** *[****and****]*
48	8	Lex + N-Da-\	***遺憾***な事態であり ikan na jitai de a**ri** *this is very* ***regrettable****, [****and****]*

Act number 41 coincides with the linguistic realization form of the type Nai-*ka* (2g, see below). On the whole, this type is the same as analysed for speech intention form 30 above. Whether the intention expressed is of the type 30 or 40 depends on the meaning of the lexical elements used. Since the distinction of the subtypes operates analogously, all subtypes found in the text are grouped together into one linguistic realization type. As with regard to the speech intention type 30, it would be helpful to have exhaustive lists of the vocabulary which can be clearly associated with the speech intention type 40.

Tab. 6.2: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42) and linguistic realization form type 2b: A-*hodo/kore hodo* (+Lex)

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	17	A-i *hodo* + Lex	それは早い**ほど*よく*** sore wa hayai **hodo** ***yoku*** *this should happen as soon as possible*

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
	30	*kore hodo* + Lex + V-Ta *no wa* + *hajimete*-Da	安全保障についての考え方がこれ**ほど四分五裂**になった**のは初めてだ** anzenhoshō ni tsuite no kangaekata ga kore**hodo** ***shibungoretsu*** ni natt**a no wa hajimete da** *it is* ***the first time*** *that opinions on security questions in Europe have* ***diverged to such*** *an extent*
	56	A-Ba A-i *hodo* + Lex	軍事以外の関係が濃けれ**ば**濃い**ほどよい** gunji igai no kankei ga kokere ba koi **hodo** ***yoi*** ***the closer*** *the non-military relations,* ***the better***

Hodo [(to the) extent] is not a speech intention 40 indicator in itself, but since it is used frequently in combination with clear adjectival indicators it is counted here provisionally as a linguistic realization form type on its own. Further investigations on this point are needed.

Tab. 6.3: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 46) and linguistic realization form type 2c: *dake* (+Lex)

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
46	62	V-Ta *dake*-Ta	中曽根首相は原則的に支持し**ただけ**だった nakasone-shushō wa gensokuteki ni shiji shi**ta** ***dake*** datta ***all*** *Prime Minister Nakasone* ***did*** *was to support this proposal in principle*

The same point as mentioned above with regard to *dake* [only] in the context of speech intention type 30 context (see type 1c) can be made here. *Dake* itself is not a clear indicator, but has a strong tendency to estimations through its semantic function of "restriction" with regard to propositional content. It is not specific for type 40 but for estimation in general (both types 30 and 40).

Tab. 6.4: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42) and linguistic realization form type 2d: *beki*

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	14	V-Ru + *beki*-Da	新しい刺激は双方が控え**るべきだ** atarashii shigeki wa sōhō ga hikae**ru** ***beki*** **da** *[both sides] should avoid further provocation*
	32	V-Ru\ + *beki*-Da	ソ連は報復核配備を自制**すべきだ** soren wa hōfukukakuhaibi o jisei **su*beki da*** *the Soviet Union* ***should*** *refrain from the retaliatory stationing of nuclear weapons*
	35	V-Ru + *beki*-Da	とくに極東核の増強は慎**むべきだ** toku ni kyokutōkaku no zōkyō wa tsutsushi**mu** ***beki da*** *in particular, a reinforcement of nuclear weapons in the far East* ***must be*** *avoid****ed***

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
	65	V-Ru\ *beki*-Nai *ka*	[…] 日本として打てる手を直ちに検討**すべきではないか** […] nihon to shite uteru te o tadachi ni kentō **su*beki* de wa nai ka** ***is it not necessary*** *[…]* ***for*** *Japan to immediately examine all the possibilities it has?*

Act number 65 coincides with the linguistic realization form of the type Nai-*ka* (see 2g below). *Beki* [should] is specific for Subtype 42 (estimation with regard to importance/relevance) and a clear indicator of speech intention type 40.

Tab. 6.5: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42) and linguistic realization form type 2e: Nai-Ba Nara-Nai

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	16	pV-Nai-Ba Nara-Nai	再開にはきっかけが用意**されねばならぬ** saikai ni wa kikkake ga yōi ***sare ne ba nara nu*** *an opportunity* ***must be*** *provided to make a resumption possible*

Like *beki* [should], *… nakere ba naranai* [must] and all semantically similar forms are clear indicators of the speech intention Subtype 42.

Tab. 6.6: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42, 45) and linguistic realization form Type 2f: V_{vol}-Tai/V_{imp}-Te-Oku-Tai

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	9	V_{vol}-Tai	早い機会の再開を***望みたい*** hayai kikai no saikai o ***nozomi*tai** ***we hope*** *for an early opportunity of resuming [the talks]*
	31	V-Te + V_{vol}-Tai	米ソ双方とも、この軍事秩序崩壊の現状をよく見つめ**てもらいたい** beiso sōhō tomo, kono gunjichitsujohōkai no genjō o yoku mitsume**te *morai*tai** *our* ***wish is*** *that both the U. S. and S. U. will carefully observe the present situation of collapse of the military order*
	36	V_{vol}-Tai	レーガン米大統領の弾力的な新提案を***期待したい*** rēgan bei-daitōryō no danryokuteki na shinteian o ***kitai shi*tai** ***we hope*** *for a new flexible proposal from U. S. President Reagan*
45	19	V_{imp}-Te-Oku-Tai	配備が切り札という発想法を再び***戒めておきたい*** haibi ga kirifuda to iu hassōhō o futatabi ***imashimete okitai*** *we* ***would like*** *to* ***warn*** *[the West] once more* ***against*** *considering the stationing as a trump-card*

This linguistic realization type, that is, the morpho-semantic combination of the literal expression of "wish/want" with volitive or imperative verbs in the context of estimations is rather unusual in English or German and leads to the effect of a high degree of markedness if translated literally. It thus appears to be rather specific to Japanese and is therefore a very interesting type of linguistic realization forms because of its contrast *vis-à-vis* English or German.

Tab. 6.7: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 42) and linguistic realization form type 2g Nai *ka*

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
42	41	Lex + *no*-Nai *ka*	その凍結を検討して**よいのではないか** sono tōketsu o kentō shite ***yoi* no de wa nai ka** ***would it not be better*** *to consider freezing these plans?*
	65	V-Ru\ *beki*-Nai *ka*	[…] 日本として打てる手を直ちに検討**すべきではないか** […] nihon to shite uteru te o tadachi ni kentō **su*beki* de wa nai ka** ***is it not necessary*** *[…]* ***for*** *Japan to immediately examine all the possibilities it has?*

Act number 41 coincides with the lexical realization type Lex (see Type 2a) and number 65 with the type *beki* (see Type 2d). *Nai ka* (negation + question-marker) is one more interesting linguistic realization form type with regard to its contrastive relevance for English or German as L1. Of course, from the formal point of view, there is the quite similar form of "rhetorical question" in English, German, and other Indo-European languages, but in English or German this form of stating an opinion or making a statement is highly marked and statistically not very frequent. In contrast, the Japanese form in question abounds, in everyday spoken Japanese in particular, and it is also productive in combination with the modal extension *to omoimasu* [I think that]. With regard to its actual usage, this Japanese linguistic realization form is therefore considered to correspond to German or English non-interrogative forms with modal adverbs or particles as additional lexical elements. While there are similar modal adverbs and particles in Japanese, the actual use and the frequency of specific combinations of certain form elements with regard to specific communicative functions differ. Further investigation of this Japanese linguistic realization form and its actual equivalents with regard to function in English and/or German is highly desirable.

Tab. 6.8: Speech intention type 40 (Subtype 45) and linguistic realization form type 2h: Iru-Yō

Subtype	Act No.	Feature	Linguistic realization form
45	49	Lex + (Lex)V-Te-Iru-Yoo	***頑固さ***の度が***過ぎていよう*** ***gankosa*** no do ga ***sugite iyō***. *[but] this again* ***seems to*** *be too* ***obstinate*** *a position*

Act number 49 coincides with the linguistic realization type Lex (see Type 2a). The Iru-Yō-type corresponds to the Darō/Aru-Yō-type listed in the section for speech intention type 30 (Type 1d). This means that, in its epistemic use, V-Yō is not specific to the speech intention type 30, but is associated with estimation in general (both types 30 and 40).

Let us summarize the results for the linguistic realization forms for the speech intention type 40. The linguistic realization type 2a is, similar to 1a with type 30, an open class type. Further linguistic work on the compilation of exhaustive lists for this linguistic realization type would thus be desirable for foreign language teaching. Type 2b and 2c contain special lexical elements, which in combination with Lex have a reinforcement function and work as strong indicators of the speech intention type 40. Type 2d and 2e, *beki* [should] and *nakere ba naranai* [must], as well as 2h (Iru-Yō) are clear indicators of type 40. In the same way, type 2f (V_{vol}-Tai) and 2g (Nai-ka, in its use as intention indicator) are of interest with regard to their contrastive relevance.

4. Some conclusions for JFL

The grammatical and lexical elements of the linguistic realization form types discussed here are well known by any experienced teacher of JFL. However, the issue of which elements actually occur with what frequency, in which combinations and with which functions is less well known. In order to be as effective as possible, language teachers' knowledge should not be restricted to the level of information about linguistic forms and form varieties as single units, but should include the functional aspect in the sense of speech act theory, too. The point here is that, just as in other linguistic fields such as morphology and syntax, the native or native-like unconscious linguistic competence of the teacher should be enlarged and transformed into a conscious linguistic competence based on knowledge about speech acts. Such knowledge should include clear-cut and systematic knowledge about the theoretical categories needed to analyse and explain the linguistic phenomena in question. This does not necessarily imply that foreign language teaching should incorporate

more theory in the lessons themselves. On the contrary, in my view, JFL lessons should be as concrete and practical as possible. The idea for the application of the results of the research carried out in speech act theory in the classroom is that (1) an understanding of the basic intentional categories in speech activity, the speech intention types, on the part of both teachers and students is included; and that (2) teaching materials provide an understanding of linguistic realization forms as well as lists of actual forms for each speech intention type needed for the communicative targets of the class in question.[8] Furthermore, (3) systematic training in these linguistic realization forms, paying attention to the communicative needs of the students should be the objective of foreign language teaching.

Needless to say, much work remains to be done to achieve these aims, and the present analysis provides only a preliminary attempt to show the direction that future work in applied linguistics with regard to foreign language learning, in this case JFL, could take. If more and broader studies along these lines are conducted, they could result in theoretically more clear-cut models of virtual speech intention types, and, what is more, in precise information about which linguistic realization forms are actually possible for which speech intention type, thereby highlighting the relevance of these linguistic realization forms with regard to the differences between L1 and L2.

[8] A study in this direction, though with the background of a quite different methodological approach, is Schilling (1999), which deals with directives.

APPENDIX I: TEXT ANALYZED

ASAHI SHINBUN (25.11.1983): SHASETSU [EDITORIAL].

(Par. 0)

[JP]	(1) ＩＮＦ 交渉を再開させるには (1) //
[RM]	(1) INF-kōshō o saikai saseru ni wa (1) //
[EN]	(1) Towards a resumption of INF negotiations (1) //

(Par. 1)

[JP]	(2) /(3) ジネーブで行われていた (3)/　　米ソの欧州中距離
[RM]	(2) /(3) jinēbu de okonowarete ita (3)/　　beiso no ōshū chūkyori
[EN]	(2) The negotiations between the U. S. and the S. U. on the restriction of European intermediate range

[JP]	核戦力（ＩＮＦ）制限交渉が中断した。(2) //
[RM]	kakusenryoku (INF) seigenkōshō ga chūdan shita. (2) //
[EN]	nuclear forces (INF) /(3) held in Geneva (3)/ have been interrupted. (2) //

[JP]	(4) 西独連邦議会が、米新型核配備決議案を可決したのに
[RM]	(4) seidoku renpōgikai ga, bei shingatakakuhaibi ketsugian o kaketsu shita no ni
[EN]	(4) As a result of the West German Bundestag passing a motion to

[JP]	ともない、(4) //	(5) ソ連側は
[RM]	tomonai, (4) //	(5) sorengawa wa
[EN]	station the new American nuclear weapons (4) //	(5) the Soviet side,

[JP]	/(6) 「配備すれば中断する」との予告に従って、(6)/
[RM]	/(6) "haibi sure ba chūdan suru" to no yokoku ni shitagatte, (6)/
[EN]	/(6) in line with to their previous warning: "If weapons will be stationed, negotiations will be interrupted", (6)/

[JP]	「/(7) 再開の日程を決めることなく、(7)/
[RM]	" /(7) saikai no nittei o kimeru koto naku, (7)/
[EN]	declared: " /(7) There will be no schedule for new talks, (7)/

[JP]	現ラウンドの話し合いを続けない」と表明したのである。(5) //
[RM]	genraundo no hanashiai o tsuzuke nai" to hyōmei shita no de aru. (5) //
[EN]	and the current round will not be continued". (5) //

[JP]	(8) 遺憾な事態であり、(8) //	(9) 早い機会の再開を望みたい。(9) //
[RM]	(8) ikan na jitai de ari, (8) //	(9) hayai kikai no saikai o nozomitai. (9) //
[EN]	(8) This is very regrettable, (8) //	(9) and we hope for an early opportunity of resuming the talks. (9) //

(Par. 2)

[JP]	(10) 西側は早期再開の楽観説を流し、(10) //
[RM]	(10) nishigawa wa sōkisaikai no rakkansetsu o nagashi, (10) //
[EN]	(10) While the West is optimistic of the talks resuming very soon, (10) //

[JP]	(11) ソ連側はこれを否定している。(11) //	(12) ソ連とて軍備管理
[RM]	(11) sorengawa wa kore o hitei shite iru. (11) //	(12) soren tote gunbikanri
[EN]	(11) the S.U. denies. (11) //	(12) Since the S.U. needs an

[JP]	協定は必要としているから、(12) //	(13) いづれは戻ってくるだろう
[RM]	kyōtei wa hitsuyō to shite iru kara, (12) //	(13) izure wa modotte kuru darō
[EN]	arms control agreement anyway, (12) //	(13) they will probably return to

[JP]	が、(13) //	(14) 中断期間を短くするため、
[RM]	ga, (13) //	(14) chūdankikan o mijikaku suru tame,
[EN]	negotiations sooner or later, (13) //	(14) but in order to keep the time of interruption

[JP]	新しい刺激は双方が控えるべきだ。(14) //
[RM]	atarashii shigeki wa sōhō ga hikaeru beki da. (14) //
[EN]	short, both sides should avoid further provocations. (14) //

[JP]	(15) 双方の政治的メンツのぶつけ合いで中断したので、(15) //
[RM]	(15) sōhō no seijiteki mentsu no butsukeai de chūdan shita node, (15) //
[EN]	(15) Since the negotiations have been interrupted because of the clash of both sides' political prestige, (15) //

[JP]	(16) 再開にはきっかけが用意されねばならぬ。(16) //
[RM]	(16) saikai ni wa kikkake ga yōi sare ne ba nara nu. (16) //
[EN]	(16) an opportunity must be provided to make a resumption possible. (16) //

[JP]	(17) それは早いほどよく、(17) //	(18) 中断が長びいて、
[RM]	(17) sore wa hayai hodo yoku, (17) //	(18) chūdan ga nagabiite,
[EN]	(17) This should happen as soon as possible, (17) //	(18) because if the interruption

[JP]	米大統領選挙などに巻こまれると、もっとこじれる。(18) //
[RM]	bei-daitōryōsenkyo nado ni makikomareru to, motto kojireru. (18) //
[EN]	goes on and becomes entangled with the American presidential elections etc., the situation will become even more difficult. (18) //

(Par. 3)

[JP]	(19) まず西側に、配備が切り札という発想法を再び
[RM]	(19) mazu nishigawa ni, haibi ga kirifuda to iu hassōhō o futatabi
[EN]	(19) First we would like to warn the West once more against considering the

[JP]	戒めておきたい。(19) //	(20) すでに世界的にも欧州でも
[RM]	imashimete okitai. (19) //	(20) sude ni sekaiteki ni mo ōshū de mo
[EN]	stationing as a trump-card. (19) //	(20) On a global level as well as in Europe

[JP]	核は過剰状態である。(20) //
[RM]	kaku wa kajōjōtai de aru. (20) //
[EN]	there is already a surplus of nuclear weapons. (20) //

[JP]	(21)	/(22) 命中精度抜群
[RM]	(21)	/(22) meichūseido batsugun
[EN]	(21) Even the Pershing II,	/(22) which is believed to have outstanding

[JP]	といわれる (22) /	パーシング ＩＩ や巡航ミサイルも、	軍事バランスを
[RM]	to iwareru (22) /	pāshingu-II ya junkō misairu mo,	gunji baransu o
[EN]	accuracy, (22) /	and the cruise missiles will not change	the military balance

[JP]	そう変えるものではない。(21) //	(23) ソ連側も潜水艦・
[RM]	sō kaeru mono de wa nai. (21) //	(23) sorengawa mo sensuikan,
[EN]	very much. (21) //	(23) There are reports saying that the S.U.

[JP]	空中発射巡航ミサイルを開発中と伝えられる。(23) //
[RM]	kūchūhassha junkō misairu o kaihatsuchū to tsutaerareru. (23) //
[EN]	too, is developing submarine- and air-to-ground cruise missiles. (23) //

[JP]	(24) こういう拡大均衡指向は、世界の安全保障を
[RM]	(24) kō iu kakudaikinkōshikō wa, sekai no anzenhoshō o
[EN]	(24) Such a trend towards a balance of armaments will do nothing but

[JP]	危うくするだけだ。(24) //
[RM]	ayauku suru dake da. (24) //
[EN]	endanger the security of the world. (24) //

(Par. 4)

[JP]	(25) 西側同盟諸国内の世論は、	多数が
[RM]	(25) nishigawadōmeishokokunai no seron wa,	tasū ga
[EN]	(25) Public opinion in the countries of the western alliance is	in the majority

[JP]	米新型核配備に反対である。(25) //	(26) 欧州の
[RM]	bei-shingatakakuhaibi ni hantai de aru. (25) //	(26) ōshū no
[EN]	against stationing the new American weapons. (25) //	(26) The neutral

[JP]	中立諸国も配備反対である。(26) //	(27) 東側でも
[RM]	chūritsushokoku mo haibihantai de aru. (26) //	(27) higashigawa de mo
[EN]	European states are against the stationing too. (26) //	(27) In the East too,

[JP]	教会などを中心に、反核運動が胎動し、(27) //
[RM]	kyōkai nado o chūshin ni, hankaku undō ga taidō shi, (27) //
[EN]	an anti-nuclear movement is beginning to develop, e. g. around the churches, (27) //

[JP]	(28) ルーマニアは核対決に独自の立場をとっている。(28) //
[RM]	(28) rūmania wa kakutaiketsu ni dokuji no tachiba o totte iru. (28) //
[EN]	(28) and Romania takes a quite independent position on the question of nuclear confrontation. (28) //

[JP]	(29) 東独やチェコスロバキアも、ソ連の報復核配備を
[RM]	(29) tōdoku ya chekosurobakia mo, soren no hōfukukakuhaibi o
[EN]	(29) Neither do East Germany or Czechoslovakia welcome the Soviet

[JP]	歓迎しているわけではない。(29) //
[RM]	kangei shite iru wake de wa nai. (29) //
[EN]	retaliatory stationing of nuclear weapons. (29) //

[JP]	(30) 第二次大戦以後、欧州で安全保障についての考え方が
[RM]	(30) dainijitaisen igo, ōshū de anzenhoshō ni tsuite no kangaekata ga
[EN]	(30) It is the first time since the Second World War that

[JP]	これほど四分五裂になったのは初めてだ。(30) //
[RM]	korehodo shibungoretsu ni natta no wa hajimete da. (30) //
[EN]	opinions on security questions in Europe have diverged to such an extent. (30) //

[JP]	(31) 米ソ双方とも、この軍事秩序崩壊の現状をよく見つめて
[RM]	(31) beiso sōhō tomo, kono gunjichitsujohōkai no genjō o yoku mitsumete
[EN]	(31) Our wish is that both the U. S. and S. U. will carefully observe the present

[JP]	もらいたい。(31) //
[RM]	moraitai. (31) //
[EN]	situation of collapse of the military order. (31) //

(Par. 5)

[JP]	(32) ソ連は報復核配備を自制すべきだ。(32) //
[RM]	(32) soren wa hōfukukakuhaibi o jisei subeki da. (32) //
[EN]	(32) The S. U. should refrain from the retaliatory stationing of nuclear weapons. (32) //

[JP]	(33) ＳＳ ２０がすでに過剰配備である。(33) //	(34) それに上乗せすれ
[RM]	(33) SS-20 ga sude ni kajōhaibi de aru. (33) //	(34) sore ni uwanose sure
[EN]	(33) There are already too many SS-20 stationed. (33) //	(34) Further increases

[JP]	ば、交渉再開の機会を遠ざけることになる。(34) //
[RM]	ba, kōshōsaikai no kikai o tōzakeru koto ni naru. (34) //
[EN]	would reduce the chances of a resumption of the negotiations. (34) //

[JP]	(35) とくに極東核の増強は慎むべきだ。(35) //
[RM]	(35) toku ni kyokutōkaku no zōkyō wa tsutsushimu beki da. (35) //
[EN]	(35) In particular, a reinforcement of nuclear weapons in the far East must be avoided. (35) //

(Par. 6)

[JP]	(36) このソ連側の自制を前提に、レーガン米大統領の
[RM]	(36) kono sorengawa no jisei o zentei ni, rēgan bei-daitōryō no
[EN]	(36) Assuming this self-restraint on the part of the S. U., we hope for a new flexible

[JP]	弾力的な新提案を期待したい。(36) //	(37) 交渉の最大のネックになった
[RM]	danryokuteki na shinteian o kitai shitai. (36) //	(37) kōshō no saidai no nekku ni natta
[EN]	proposal from U.S. President Reagan. (36) //	(37) What has become the most serious problem in the negotiations

[JP]	のは、/(38) ソ連側が指揮通信組織を先制攻撃で破壊されると
[RM]	no wa, /(38) sorengawa ga shikitsūshinsoshiki o senseikōgeki de hakai sareru to
[EN]	are the Pershing II, /(38) to which the S. U. objects arguing that they are able to destroy their

[JP]	反発した (38) /	パーシング ＩＩ である。(37) //
[RM]	hanpatsu shita (38) /	pāshingu-II de aru. (37) //
[EN]	communication networks in a preventive strike. (38)/(37) //	

[JP]	(39) これまでのレーガン提案には、パーシング ＩＩ の大幅削減も
[RM]	(39) kore made no rēgan teian ni wa, pāshingu-II no ōhabasakugen mo
[EN]	(39) Up to now, Reagan's disarmament proposals have included a drastic

[JP]	含んでいる。(39) //	(40) 初年度の配備予定は九基だが、(40) //
[RM]	fukunde iru. (39) //	(40) shonendo no haibiyotei wa kyūki da ga, (40) //
[EN]	reduction of Pershing II. (39) //	(40) Now, in the first year of stationing nine launching pads are planned, (40) //

[JP]	(41) その凍結を検討してよいのではないか。(41) //
[RM]	(41) sono tōketsu o kentō shite yoi no de wa nai ka. (41) //
[EN]	(41) but would it not be better to consider freezing these plans? (41) //

(Par. 7)

[JP]	(42) 国連第一委員会で二十二日、ＩＮＦ 関係で四つの決議が
[RM]	(42) kokuren daiichi-iinkai de nijūninichi, INF-kankei de yottsu no ketsugi ga
[EN]	(42) On 22nd, four resolutions concerning INF passed the UN

[JP]	通過した。(42) //	(43) うち圧倒的に票を集めたのは
[RM]	tsūka shita. (42) //	(43) uchi attōteki ni hyō o atsumeta no wa
[EN]	committee 1. (42) //	(43) The one which obtained an overwhelming majority was

[JP]	メキシコ、スウェーデン両国提出の、	/(44) ＩＮＦ と戦略兵器
[RM]	mekishiko, suēden ryōkoku teishutsu no,	/(44) INF to senryakuheiki
[EN]	the motion proposed by Mexico and Sweden	/(44) to combine INF negotiations

[JP]	削減交渉（ＳＴＡＲＴ）を合体し、(44) /
[RM]	sakugenkōshō (START) o gattai shi, (44) /
[EN]	and the negotiations about a reduction of strategic weapons (44) /

[JP]	/(45) 戦術核も含めて討議する (45) /	案だった。(43) //
[RM]	/(45) senjutsukaku mo fukumete tōgi suru (45) /	an datta. (43) //
[EN]	/(45) and to discuss them including tactical nuclear weapons.	(45)/(43) //

[JP]	(46) 合体した交渉は技術的にはむずかしい面もあろうが、(46) //
[RM]	(46) gattai shita kōshō wa gijutsuteki ni wa muzukashii men mo arō ga, (46) //
[EN]	(46) Combined negotiations will probably produce difficulties, too, (46) //

[JP]	(47) 世界の世論は、米ソ交渉の進展を期待
[RM]	(47) sekai no seron wa, beiso-kōshō no shinten o kitai
[EN]	(47) but the public opinion of the whole world hopes for progress in the American-

[JP]	している。(47) //	(48) 米国だけがこの決議に反対
[RM]	shite iru. (47) //	(48) beikoku dake ga kono ketsugi ni hantai
[EN]	Soviet negotiations. (47) //	(48) Only the U.S. voted against

[JP]	したが、(48) //	(49) 頑固さの度が過ぎていよう。(49) //
[RM]	shita ga, (48) //	(49) gankosa no do ga sugite iyō. (49) //
[EN]	this motion, (48) //	(49) but this again seems to be too obstinate a position. (49) //

(Par. 8)

[JP]	(50) この ＳＴＡＲＴ の場でソ連を交渉に誘う方法や、
[RM]	(50) kono START no ba de soren o kōshō ni sasou hōhō ya,
[EN]	(50) In addition to the method of tempting the S. U. to negotiations in the setting of

[JP]	/(51) 来年一月からストックホルムで開かれる (51) / 欧州信頼醸成、
[RM]	/(51) rainen ichigatsu kara sutokkuhorumu de hirakareru (51) / ōshūshin-raijōsei,
[EN]	the START talks, another method would be to use the setting of the

[JP]	軍縮会議の場を解きほぐしに活用する方法もあろう。(50) //
[RM]	gunshukukaigi no ba o tokihogushi ni katsuyō suru hōhō mo arō. (50) //
[EN]	conference on confidence- building measures and disarmament in Europe /(51) starting in January next year in Stockholm (51) / for finding a solution. (50) //

(Par. 9)

[JP]	(52) ところで交渉中断に備えて、西独は東側との
[RM]	(52) tokoro de kōshō chūdan ni sonaete, seidoku wa higashigawa to no
[EN]	(52) Now, in preparation for an interruption of the negotiations, West Germany has

[JP]	協力、相互依存関係強化に手を打ち、(52) //
[RM]	kyōryoku, sōgoizonkankeikyōka ni te o uchi, (52) //
[EN]	initiated cooperation and an intensification of interdependency with the East, (52) //

[JP]	(53) サッチャー英首相も近くハンガリー訪問の予定である。(53) //
[RM]	(53) sattchā eishushō mo chikaku hangarīhōmon no yotei de aru. (53) //
[EN]	(53) and British Prime Minister Thatcher is also going to visit Hungary soon. (53) //

[JP]	(54) もともと安定した平和は、いわゆる軍事均衡で維持されるもの
[RM]	(54) motomoto antei shita heiwa wa, iwayuru gunjikinkō de iji sareru mono
[EN]	(54) Naturally stable peace can not be sustained by the so-called military

[JP]	ではなく、(54) //	(55) 多角的な相互依存関係の上に成り立つ。(55) //
[RM]	de wa naku (54) //	(55) takakuteki na sōgoizonkankei no ue ni naritatsu. (55) //
[EN]	balance, (54) //	(55) but is based on multilateral interdependency. (55) //

[JP]	(56) 軍事以外の関係が濃ければ濃いほどよい。(56) //	(57) 西欧諸国が
[RM]	(56) gunji igai no kankei ga kokere ba koi hodo yoi. (56) //	(57) seiōshokoku ga
[EN]	(56) The closer the non-military relations, the better. (56) //	(57) Whereas the Western

[JP]	こうした対ソ政治関係の補強を重視しているのに、(57) //
[RM]	kō shita taiso-seijikankei no hokyō o jūshi shite iru no ni, (57) //
[EN]	European countries are attaching much importance to reinforcing such political relations with the S.U., (57) //

[JP]	(58) 米ソ関係は近年とみに軍事関係だけが残って、(58) //
[RM]	(58) beisokankei wa kinnen tomi ni gunjikankei dake ga nokotte, (58) //
[EN]	(58) in U.S.–S. U. relations over the last few years nothing remains but a military relationship, (58) //

[JP]	(59) 全体が先細りになってきている。(59) //
[RM]	(59) zentai ga sakibosori ni natte kite iru. (59) //
[EN]	(59) and relations overall have become weaker and weaker. (59) //

(Par. 10)

[JP]	(60) 先日、カナダのトルドー首相が来日し、(60) //
[RM]	(60) senjitsu, kanada no torudō-shushō ga rainichi shi, (60) //
[EN]	(60) When the Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau came to Japan recently, (60) //

[JP]	(61) 緊張緩和のため政治対話の促進など四項目の
[RM]	(61) kinchōkanwa no tame seijitaiwa no sokushin nado yonkōmoku no
[EN]	(61) he made a four-point disarmament proposal including the intensification of

[JP]	軍縮提言したが、(61) //	(62) 中曽根首相は
[RM]	gunshukuteigen shita ga, (61) //	(62) nakasone-shushō wa
[EN]	political dialogue on detention, (61) //	(62) but all Prime Minister Nakasone

[JP]	原則的に支持しただけだった。(62) //
[RM]	gensokuteki ni shiji shita dake datta. (62) //
[EN]	did was to support this proposal in principle. (62) //

[JP]	(63) だが政治関係重視のトルドー首相の着眼はきわめて
[RM]	(63) da ga seijikankeijūshi no torudō-shushō no chakugan wa kiwamete
[EN]	(63) But the aim of attaching special importance to political relations put forward

[JP]	適切で、(63) //
[RM]	tekisetsu de, (63) //
[EN]	by Prime Minister Trudeau is very appropriate, (63) //

[JP]	(64) 主要先進民主主義国のなかで比較的身動きの
[RM]	(64) shuyō senshinminshushugikoku no naka de hikakuteki miugoki no
[EN]	(64) and among the important leading democracies of the world there are no

[JP]	自由な国も日本とカナダくらいしかない。(64) //
[RM]	jiyū na kuni mo nihon to kanada kurai shika nai. (64) //
[EN]	countries which are quite as free in their movements as Japan and Canada. (64) //

(Par. 11)

[JP]	(65) ＩＮＦ 交渉再開の環境づくりに、また米ソ政治対話促進に、
[RM]	(65) INF-kōshōsaikai no kankyōzukuri ni, mata beiso-seijitaiwasokushin ni,
[EN]	(65) Is it not necessary, in order to bring about a new environment for taking up INF negotiations again and to accelerate the political U. S.-S. U. dialogue,

[JP]	日本として打てる手を直ちに検討すべきではないか。(65) //
[RM]	nihon to shite uteru te o tadachi ni kentō subeki de wa nai ka. (65) //
[EN]	for Japan to immediately examine all the possibilities it has? (65) //

Appendix II: list of abbreviations

(1) Verbs (V):

V-Ru = V informal/present, all V-types (食べる *taberu*, 行く *iku*, 来る *kuru* etc.)

V-Ta = V informal/past, all types (食べた *tabeta*, 行った *itta*, 来た *kita* etc.)

V-Nai = V negated//informal/present, all types (食べない *tabenai*, 行かない *ikanai* etc.)
(including variation forms such as ~ なければ *nakereba* and ~ ねば *neba* for the V-Nai-Ba combination)

V-Te = V in *te*-form, all verb types (食べて *tabete*, 行って *itte* etc.)

V-Tai = *tai*-form of V, all verb types (食べ たい *tabetai*, 行きたい *ikitai* etc.)

V-Ba = *ba*-form of V, all verb types (食べれば *tabereba*, 行けば *ikeba* etc.)

V-Yoo = *(yo)u*-form of V, all verb types (食べよう *tabeyō*, 行こう *ikō* etc.)

V-\ = semi-finite form of V, all verb types (食べ *tabe*, 行き *iki* etc.)

pV = passive form of V (食べられる *taberareru*, 行かれる *ikareru* etc.)

V_{quo} = quotational verb (言う *iu*, 伝える *tsutaeru*, 表明する *hyōmei suru* etc.)
V_{imp} = imperative verb (戒める *imashimeru* etc.)
V_{vol} = volitional verb (望む *nozomu*, 期待する *kitai suru*, etc.)

(2) ADJECTIVES (A):

A-i = A informal/present (速い *hayai* etc.)
A-Ta = A informal/past (速かった *hayakatta* etc.)
A-Nai = A negated//informal/present (速くない *hayaku nai* etc.)
A-Te = *te*-form of A (速くて *hayakute* etc.)
A-Ba = *ba*-form of A (速ければ *hayakereba* etc.)

(3) NOUNS (N):

N-Da = N informal/present (covers N だ N *da* and N である N *de aru*)
N-Ta = N informal/past (N だった N *datta* and N であった N *de atta*)
N-Nai = N negated//informal/present (Nではない N *de wa nai* and Nでない N *de nai*)
N-Te = N with *te*-form of the copula (N で N *de*)
N-Ba = N with *ba*-form of the copula (N であれば N *de areba*)
N_{quo} = quotational noun (… との予告 … *to no yokoku* etc.)

N. B. for Nominal Adjectives (NA):
No tokens in the text; schematically, the formulae for NA would be written by analogy to the conventions of notation for N, i. e. NA-Da, NA-Ta

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