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The Acquisition of Japanese Communicative Style: the *yarimorai* verbs[1]

Barbara Pizziconi
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

1. Introduction[2]

Characterizations of Japanese culture by anthropologists and sociologists have prevailingly emphasised the Japanese people's reliance on conformity to obligations towards their 'circles' rather than their individual drives, and their need for mutual dependency and contextualization. These characterizations even proposed a specific unit of analysis opposed to that of the 'individual': Hamaguchi's *kanjin*, or "contextual man" (see Rosenberger, 1992 for a review).

Research in the 'ethnography of speaking' has generally accepted these representations: patterns of language are thought to echo those of behaviour, and both are seen as cultural phenomena. Japanese has been described as a language that favours a 'socially oriented' (as opposed to 'information oriented') mode (Aoki and Okamoto 1988); or a language with a tendency to express facts from the viewpoint of the speaker as 'experiencer' (立場志向) as opposed to languages like English in which the Speaker (S) describes events in relatively 'absolute, factual' manner (事実志向), (Mizutani, 1985); a language rich in indirect expressions, hierarchy markers, 'bracketing' signals (that mark off one communicative event from another), and based on a 'holistic' perspective (Watanabe, 1993). This social pressure on language is epitomized in the plethora of structures for the expression of Politeness (Kikuchi, 1997; Brown and Levinson, 1987) and the peculiarity of the Japanese language is found in the so called 'relation acknowledging devices' (Matsumoto, 1988).

This study attempts a further investigation of the specific 'patterns of speech' that constitute a language's communicative style. In particular, the paper concerns itself with how language learners acquire a particular communicative style, and hence with their perception and representation of these pragmalinguistic patterns.

The acquisition of pragmatic features of the language such as the one I will deal with here is naturally affected by a whole range of linguistic and socio-cultural factors such as general linguistic competence, notions of identity and social beliefs. Rather than an exhaustive exploration of their role, this paper aims at exploring a number of possible factors, of linguistic and pragmatic nature, that might play a role in the process of achievement of native-like competence. 'Native-like' and 'competence' are by no means terms that can be taken for granted in a discourse on interlanguage pragmatics[3], if we accept that the language learner is multicultural as well as multilingual, and hence -by definition- not like any monocultural and monolingual native speaker. We should be flexible in our understanding of 'native-like', allowing a degree of deviation or divergence from the norms of 'monocompetent' speakers.

The object of this research is the use of *yarimorai* verbs, or 'giving/receiving', benefactive verbs, by learners of Japanese of different proficiency levels. This is an intermediate report on my data, but the long-term purpose of the investigation is to acquire more information on language acquisition processes, and in particular on the acquisition of pragmalinguistic features.

This research will not address the use of *yarimorai* as *main* verbs, as this is limited to the transaction of objects; a more generalized and more interesting use of these verbs is as *auxiliaries*. They are extremely productive elements of the predicate and contribute to the modal profile of the utterance, as will be described below.

2. Research object

Yarimorai verbs are a pragmatically rich set of verbs[4], structurally and semantically related, whose use and function are jointly constrained by the linguistic and pragmatic demands of the utterance.

Common to all is a general deictic function (or 指示的機能) as in example number 1.:

1. 買う・買ってあげる・買ってもらう <directionality> (方向性)
to buy / to buy **for someone** / to have **someone** buy **something for oneself**

This is the function carried by personal pronouns in English -among other things- and it specifies the direction of the action: who does what for whom, or how objects or services move from one source to a recipient. Because they carry this disambiguating function, they allow subjects and other complements to be omitted.

Consequently, one could say that they are frequently used especially when the main verbs have more than 2 arguments, as in the structure *" - ga - ni -wo* Verb*"* of *oshieru* ('to teach'), *denwa suru* ('to telephone'), *setsumei suru* ('to explain'). With these verbs the semantics of the utterance requires the specification of who is the recipient or beneficiary of an action, as in *A ga (watashi ni) denwa wo shite kureta.* ('A phoned me'), where the function of *kureru* basically overlaps with that of *watashi ni.*

Because of this potential, they are used to express VOICE, or whether the action is described from the VIEWPOINT of the actor or the patient;

2. A が B を招待した・ Bが Aに招待してもらった <voice, viewpoint> (ヴォイス、視点)
A **invited** B/ B was **invited** by A.

Even when the *focus of attention* is the same (A in the following example), by using different *yarimorai* verbs the S can specify his *viewing position* (Maynard, 1998:151):

2'. A が B を招待してくれた 対 A が B を招待してあげた
A invited B vs. A invited B

in which S's viewing position is closer to B (the patient, 被動作主) in the former, and closer to A (the actor, 動作主) in the latter example.

At discourse level, they are often needed to provide *uniformity* of viewpoint; if not used, the utterance results in what Tanaka (1999) calls *"nejirebun"*(or 'twisted sentences')[5]. These sentences are not infrequent also in my data, as in the following[6]:

3. 友達が春休みに旅行に行かないかと誘ったけれども、お金も暇もないので断った。
My friend invited [me] to travel with him during the spring holidays, but I declined since I cannot afford it.

Together with the predominantly syntactic function of disambiguating the roles of subjects and objects in the utterance, these verbs are exploited to express the S's assessment of social roles and relationships, hence have also a sociolinguistic function. The choice between the plain forms *ageru, kureru, morau* and their honorific correspondents, communicates S's view of social rank in a particular setting.

4. 招待してもらった・いただいた <social status> (親疎・上下関係)
I was invited [± honorific]

Finally, they are utilized to express a S's subjective attitude towards certain actions (of other people) that *do not necessarily involve S* but have a real or virtual effect on him, like in example 5:

5. 父がよろこんでくれた。 <S's affective stance> (話者の情意的関わり方)
My father was pleased (and I was glad he was, or I was positively affected by that) .

6. 昔の友人が遊びに来てくれてうれしかった。
An old friend came (and I appreciated it) to visit, and that made me happy.

As opposed to the case in number 4. this use is not a direct index of social status, but rather an index of one's affective (情意的) stance.

One last important point is that not all the 'meanings' - deictic specification, viewpoint, social and affective stance of the S - described above are relevant in all occurrences of the verbs; nor should they be considered mutually exclusive. *All* the meanings are potentially *available* whenever a *yarimorai* is used, and the relevant one must be worked out by the participants on the basis of situational context. Clearly, when these auxiliaries are used with intransitive verbs (that do not require a complement other than the subject, or more than one participant) the chances are that the preferred reading would be the 'affective' meaning, rather than the deictic, or grammatical one.

Finally, in an example like 5. it is possible to imagine how the father's action could yield a concrete benefit for the S; what is important, though, is that the 'beneficial' effect is not deliberately intended by the actor (the father), but arises as a result of the way the S chooses to represent the event. Hence, it is a strategical, expressive choice *as if* the father had actually done something *for* the S. The S doesn't need to be involved in the action or event. With *yorokobu* ('to be glad, pleased') in the same example, for instance, the S has no part in the event, but is affected by its results. However, the degree to which we feel affected by actions carried out by people around us, or more precisely the degree to which we tend to acknowledge this linguistically, is culturally specific and by no means universally shared.

Yarimorai -besides their more strictly syntactic functions- allow, or force, the speaker to express that he sees actions performed by others as being relevant to himself (or vice versa). The psychological stance that governs the use of *yarimorai* then, is the S's perception or representation of himself not as a completely isolated, independent unit whose actions take place in a social and emotional void, but as an interdependent member of a social community, whose actions affect the social network around him, and who is affected, in turn, by the actions of others[7].

The use illustrated in 5. and 6. could be considered to be typically responsible for a Japanese communicative style, as it is a rather economical way of expressing a particular attitude and sense of relationality regardless of, or above the structural demands of the language's syntax and semantics. It highlights a tendency of native Japanese speakers to categorize or 'frame' reality in terms of how one is affected by other people's behaviour. Failure to master this form does not generally result in communication breakdowns - although it may - but rather builds up an image of self that is felt to be 'deviant' from the native norm; deviant use is perceived to be an indication of the S's (divergent) social beliefs, and it may or may not be socially accepted.

The expression of these meanings depends on pragmatic norms (*e.g.*, what acts are to be acknowledged as favours, what acts can be taken for granted) and these are less conspicuous than syntactic features; moreover, these norms tend to be culture-specific, so acquisition of a native-like style may not be a straightforward task. In some cases native norms may clash with those of the learner. This adds to the general task of learning to manipulate a linguistic feature not found in the learners' mother tongue, English.

In conclusion, whereas *yarimorai* verbs are compulsory as deictic markers (*i.e.*: a sentence is ungrammatical without them), as markers of benefit they are entirely optional[8]. Expression of the benefit (positive affect) is not an objective intrinsic feature of the action itself, nor is it *intended* as such by the agent, but it is a subjective evaluation by the S. In specifying agents and

patients Ss must make a choice that is linguistic in nature (*e.g.:* between active and passive) but also pragmatic in nature, in that Ss can choose between a passive and a benefactive (choices that consist of the same voice-structure but have different affective implications, see Murakami, 1986: 7 ff.). In other words, Ss must choose to indicate how an action done to or by someone affects them or himself. In specifying 'agents' and 'patients' these verbs always say something about 'benefactors' and 'beneficiaries'.

3. Research methodology

In order to investigate how Japanese language learners learn and acquire the linguistic and pragmatic rules of *yarimorai* use, I interviewed a group of 25 (then restricted to 22) subjects with English as their mother tongue, aged between 18 and 34; all have at least formally completed beginners' level, are on an upper novice proficiency level or above (assessed on the criteria of the Oral Proficiency Interview), and all have received more than 1 year of formal instruction, the longest being 7 years. The length of their residence in Japan goes from 1 month to 8 years. Their personal data are summarized in the table below[9].

Table 1: NNSs group personal background

NNS	sex	age	country	study out J **years**	total stay in J **months**	this time in J **months**	study in J (Jap lang) **months**	prof. level
1	F	19	NZ	7	5	1	1	Int
2	F	19	NZ	6	12	12	12	Int +
3	M	20	USA	2.6	12	1	1	Adv+
4	M	18	NZ	4	24	7	7	Int
6	M	18	AUS	1(11m)	7	7	7	Nov +
7	M	34	USA	4	5	5	3	Adv
8	M	34	USA	3	4	2	12	Int +
9	F	30	AUS	3	96	66	-	Sup
11	F	22	USA	2.6	15	3	10	Sup
12	M	35	USA	2.3	3	3	3	Int
13	M	30	USA	4	36	14	9	Adv
14	M	20	USA	2	4	3	3	Int
15	F	20	USA	6	3	3	3	Nov +
17	M	27	USA	3.6	26	2	10	Int
18	M	24	USA	2.4	72	24	24	Adv +
19	F	31	USA	9	24	24	18	Sup
20	F	23	NZ	9	24	24	9	Sup
21	M	19	USA	4	3	3	3	Int
22	F	21	USA	5	3	3	3	Int
23	M	22	Canada	2	3	3	3	Nov
24	M	27	USA	4	29	2	4	Sup
25	F	36	UK	1	3	3	3	Nov +

Data were collected by recording 30 minute-long oral interviews. My assistant, a native speaker, acted as the main interlocutor for the subject, and I intervened only occasionally, but always in Japanese. The interview was followed by a written test to assess the subjects' linguistic

knowledge of the verbs in question. After this, we had, whenever possible, short feedback sessions, in order to elicit comments on the subjects' awareness of their use of benefactive verbs, as well as to clarify the purpose of my study.

Although the topics were kept as constant as possible, there is naturally a great deal of variation in the actual production of different speakers in a task of free, casual conversation, as regards both the number and the type of speech acts produced. Informants reported on their experiences in Japan and their circles of acquaintances and friends. An advantage of the free interview is that affective stance, a relatively sensitive and susceptible 'mood', can be optimally investigated in its subjectively variable nature. The drawback is that the production of these forms could not be guaranteed [10].

Additionally, since the donatory verbs are located in the terminal part of the predicate, and since this can be, and in fact was, often omitted as a typical stylistic feature of Japanese (Neustupny, 1983), we may have obtained less occurrences than those potentially entertained in the complete structure of the utterances[11].

The sample not being particularly large, I am aware of the risk of over-generalization, but I believe that some clear trends are certainly visible across proficiency groups.

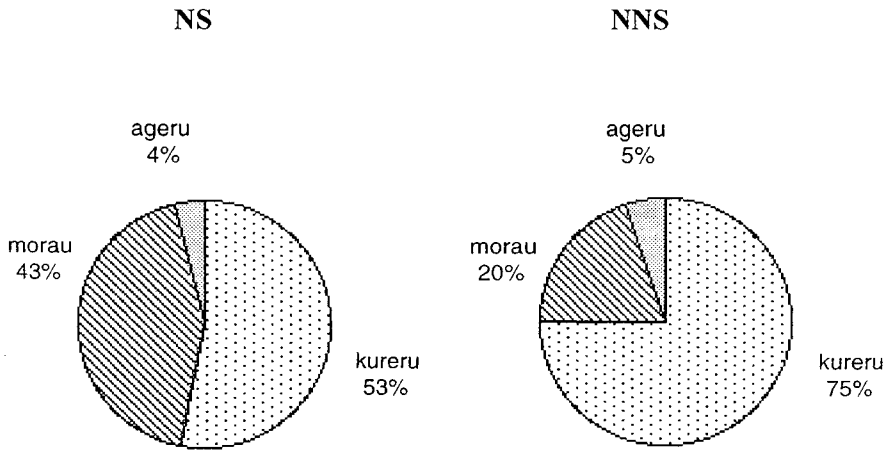
4. Description of the data

4.1 Preferred syntactic constructions

First of all let us consider some quantitative data in order to frame the discussion of single cases. Our NNS subjects seem to use *yarimorai* verbs quite liberally, since the average is 7.5 occurrences per student - counting *only* the correct uses, vs. an average of 9.5 for the native speakers. A figure that resembles so closely that of NSs is perhaps even more remarkable if we think that their speech-production rate is in general lower - or less efficient- than NNSs, especially at low proficiency levels. A more interesting comparison is that of the breakdown of the selected auxiliaries between the two groups, illustrated in Table 2 and the graphs below.

Table 2: Breakdown of *yarimorai* uses by NSs (= 10) and NNSs (=22)

group	kureru (%)	morau (%)	ageru (%)	total (%)
NS	50 (53.1)	40 (42.5)	4 (4.2)	94 (100)
NNS	104 (74.8)	28 (20.1)	7 (5)	139(100)



Whereas the native's use is largely balanced, *i.e.* both *morau* and *kureru* have a similar distribution with values near the 50% and *ageru* is present just in occasional uses, in the NNSs' production the use of *kureru* is largely dominant.

Data from Tanaka (1999), a study conducted on written tasks, suggest that *kureru* is acquired earlier than *morau*, or that it is present at a previous developmental stage. This could be accommodated by our data if one could observe that the less proficient learners use *kureru* more than the more proficient ones. However, this is not confirmed by my data, as can be observed in Table 3:

Table 3: Breakdown of the use of *yarimorai* by high- and low-proficiency group (NNS)

group	kureru (%)	morau (%)	ageru (%)	total (%)
NNS Adv-Sup	64 (76)	16 (19)	4 (5)	84 (100)
NNS Nov-Int	39 (71)	13 (24)	3 (5)	55 (100)

This may be due to many different factors: the small sample (in which a slight variation in number of occurrences can significantly affect percentages), or the particular course taken by the conversation during the interview. However, we could note that since the learners were free to develop the conversation anyway they wanted, they seemed to prefer (and proficient speakers even more so) to produce utterances in which the subject is the benefactor (which would require *kureru:* the *he-was-so-kind-as-to-do-this*-type of sentence) rather than utterances where the subject is the beneficiary (which would require *morau:* the *I-am-grateful-for-his-doing-this*-type of sentence).

I believe that the preference for *kureru* cannot simply be attributed to lack of confidence with the manipulation of viewpoint (and therefore the choice between *kureru* and *morau*, as well as the passive constructions and other voice constructions such as *-te kuru*), since the linguistic test confirms that most of the subjects are able to produce (grammatically) correct utterances with all the *yarimorai,* and yet there is a marked preference for *kureru.* That the oral task tendentially prompts the selection of *kureru* constructions says something about the natural preference of the learners for these, rather than about a difficulty with a fluent handling of two competing structures. This result appears even more significant when we compare these figures to those of the number of occurrences where the benefactive verb has been avoided[12]:

Table 4: Number of occurrences of *avoidance*

group	kureru(%)	morau (%)	ageru (%)	total (%)
NNS	42 (91.3)	3 (6.5)	1 (2.1)	46 (100)

Since the form avoided was *kureru* in more than 90% of cases, this confirms that it is indeed legitimate to speak of a preferred *construction* (or the planned configuration of subjects and other complements in the utterance): one in which the subject is an actor other than the S himself, or in other words *-te kureru* rather than *- te morau.*

If this preference is not related to proficiency, may it have something to do with the subjects' mother tongue? Tanaka (1999), following Mizutani, thinks so. Sentences that describe some benefit to the S in English, typically take the shape of one of the following, where the English active sentence A and passive sentence B correspond to the Japanese a. (*kureru*) and b. *(morau)*:

A. X did (Y) me/ to me/ for me (He called *me*/ He explained *to me*/ He cooked smth. *for me*)

B. X has/gets Y done (by someone) (I *had* my watch repaired/He *got* invited)

a. Xが Yしてくれた

b. Xが (～に) Yしてもらった (・された)

Tanaka maintains that whereas an active sentence is naturally an unmarked choice in English, a

passive construction is not. In Japanese on the other hand, b. constructions are less "exceptional". On the contrary, one could say, since specification of how an action affects the speaker is preferred, b. constructions allow the 'efficient' expression of this meaning also when the S is talking about himself (S is the receiver).

One should remember that *morau* can be used when the background assumption is that an agent is performing an action because of a request, or wish, of the S, or because he is doing it on behalf of S. A hint that an action is *desirable* on the part of the S is enough to trigger the use of *morau* and, in my view, this pragmatic assumption, rather than the specifics of the syntactic construction, may be a critical element to master. The double consideration of the effects of an actor's action and the speaker's subjective appreciation of that action may be pragmatically too demanding to the learners to be nonchalantly amalgamated in one sentence with the S as subject.

Morau sentences like the following, produced by the Japanese control group, and all pointing to a benefactive implication, are rather common in Japanese but not in English.

7. [怠けている学生について]
NS 1: じゃー...休んでもらった方が...っていうこともちょっと感じちゃったので...

NS 1: [Referring to 'lazy' students] In that case I felt I'd prefer the students not to come at all.... (I would appreciate /I would be glad if they skipped the class)

8. NS 5: [...] で、一度 [データ] を集めたんですけど、やっぱり夏休み明けに、鈴木先生にそんなこと言われて、で、また[学生に] 集めてもらって...

NS 5: [...] So, once I gathered [the data], but then after the summer holidays Prof. Suzuki told me so and therefore I had [the students] collect them one more time...

9. NS 1: [...] 中国の、そのアジアの経済の勉強をして、それで、興味を持って、じゃー実際行ってみよう、っていうことで、語学、あのそこの短大の中国の先生に学校を紹介してもらって行ったっていう感じなので....

NS 1: [...] I was studying Chinese...Asian Economics, so I was interested and thought: 'Well let's try and go'. So I went for ...the language, I got introduced to that teacher of the Chinese University...

In order to produce sentences like these, NNSs must be sensitive to notions of 'favour', 'desired result', or 'appreciated outcome of another's action', in other words, be able to attend to these dimensions and be able to incorporate them in a sentence that says something about themselves.

This is, however, just the beginning of an explanation. At this stage, we will simply note this preference for active-like constructions (*kureru)* and leave the implications of the selection of a passive-like construction (*morau)* for further research.

4.2 Preferred predicates marked with benefactive constructions

Table 5: Verbs used by NNSs that more frequently triggered the use of *yarimorai* auxiliaries - n. of avoidance in ( ).

教える to explain	31	(1)
する・やる to do	20	
手伝う to help	8	(2)
助ける to help/save	7	
なおす to translate	7	(1)

言う to say	6	(4)
話す to speak	6	(2)
答える to reply	6	(2)
買う to buy	6	
電話する to phone	4	(1)

What sort of utterances were the ones that most triggered the use of benefactive auxiliaries? The 'top ten' verbs are listed in Table 5.

There is no special common feature to these verbs, apart from the fact that they are all transitive. Some of them require at least two participants (here I will call them 'P verbs'), like *oshieru, denwa suru, tasukeru, tetsudau,* some do not (non-P verbs), like *kau* or *naosu*, although these actions can be carried out *for* someone.

This said, there is no apparent syntactic or semantic reason why *tasukeru* is always constructed correctly but *tetsudau* is not or why *kau* is always constructed correctly and *kotaeru* is not. I believe the reasons for these differences are to be found in the particular context of use and more specifically in discoursal constraints, performance-related and task-related pressures, and I will describe some specific cases in detail.

But let us look at some examples from the oral interviews. Most of the subjects had little difficulty with verbs whose meaning quite explicitly points to a benefit, or those which require the S to specify the direction of the action, such as to 'lend', 'teach/explain', or even 'do' as in the following example, nor with verbs like 'to help' as in 11:

10. NNS 20: [...] とりあえず奨学金はもらったんですけど、とても少なくて、ちょっと生活は厳しかったから、先生もたまにお金貸して...くれましたし...だからアイコムにほんとに、あの...別の学校みたいでした。本当によくあのう...いろんなことをやってくれます。今と違って、研究生として大学院に入っているわけです。そして、先生は...でもやっぱり自分で聞かないとなにも教えてくれないです。全然違う経験です。

NNS 20: I did get a scholarship, but it was very little and life was difficult, so the teacher kindly lent me some money, so at Aikom, well it seemed like a different place. They really do a lot of things for us. Now it is different as I am in the postgraduate course as a research student. So the teachers... but in anyway they don't tell us anything unless we ask. It is a totally different experience.

11. Interviewer: [道などで困ったとき、アメリカに対して]日本はどうでしょう。

NNS 19: [...]自分と関係ない人だったら、助けてくれると...絶対助けてくれると...まあ、助けてくれないかもしれません、何か、自分と関係がなかったら...んん...助けてくれないような気がします。[...] 駅の中で地図を見て、迷っているような様子だったら、助けてくれる人がいますね。

Interviewer: [When you get lost on the street, in comparison to the USA] how is it in Japan?

NNS 19: If it is a stranger, they'd help you....well, [I can't say] they'd always help, probably they wouldn't. If it is really a stranger...mmhh...I have the feeling they wouldn't help. [...] If you are standing in a station with a map and looking as if you are lost, there are people who'd help you.

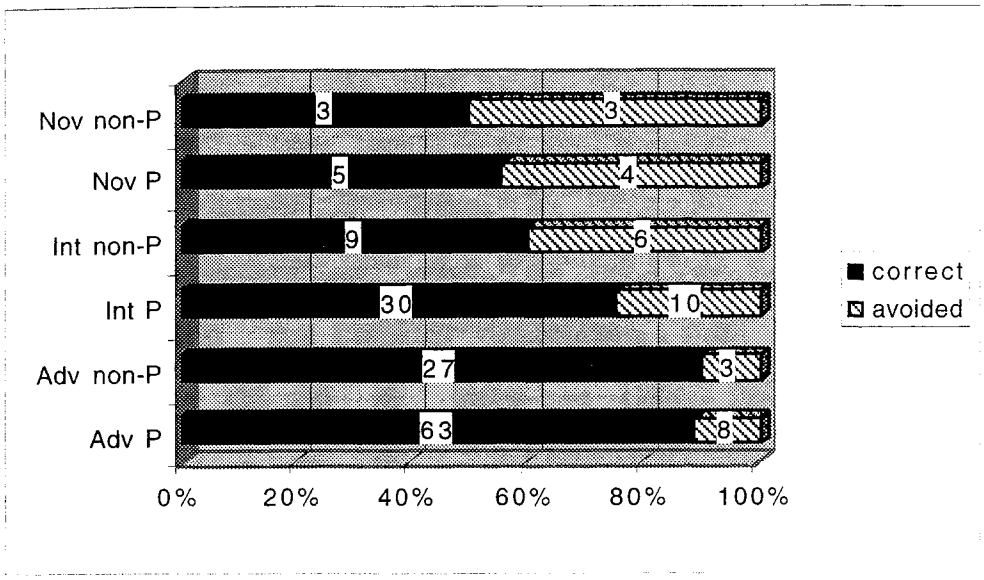
Production of correct forms in compulsory contexts is attested at every proficiency level. At the same time, a lower proficiency level shows a relatively high rate of avoidance (around 50%) even in these compulsory contexts.

It is not surprising that avoidance correlates to the level of proficiency if we consider that lower proficiency means less 'automatization' of formal operations. We would expect the more proficient subjects to be more consistent in their use, and not to avoid the auxiliaries too much. As one can see from Table 6, the evidence confirms that increased proficiency translates into

increased accuracy (less avoidance).

Moreover, increased proficiency correlates to increased production of benefactives also in contexts where their use is not dictated by grammar. When we compare the advanced group with the others, we notice an absolute increment in the production of benefactives in contexts with non-P verbs, and a relative increase in the proportion of correct uses for non-P verbs vs. P-verbs.

Table 6: Proportion of correct and avoided forms for verbs that do or do not require a participant (=P/ non P) x proficiency level:



Increased proficiency then entails increased confidence in extending the use of the verbs to less 'obvious' environments, despite occasional 'backsliding' occurring also in contexts with a clear semantic structure and an evident advantage for the receiver, as in the following example from an advanced learner's production:

12. Interviewer: えーと、どうやってコンタクトをとるんですか。
NNS 13: 実は先生は、えーと、その方が、よく知ってるんですから...
Interviewer お友達という意味...
NNS 13: たぶんお友達ではないんですけれども、知らないんですから、あまり問題はなかったんです。その前に先生は～の記者さんをご紹介しました。それでその記者さんはいろいろの、国会議員をよくご存じですから全くその紹介は難しくなかったんですけれども[...]

Interviewer: How did you get in contact?
NNS 13: Well the teacher...he knows that person very well.
Interviewer: Do you mean they are friends?
NNS 13: Maybe not really friends, I wouldn't know, but I didn't have many problems. The teacher introduced that journalist of (*Newspaper name*) (to me=avoided), so because that journalist knew a lot of MPs an introduction was not difficult (to get).

Surely, given the proportions in Table 6, these are instances of 'mistakes' (or 'performance' errors) and not 'errors'. However, at intermediate level it is easier to argue that such instances of avoidance are an

eloquent reflex of the subjects' interlanguage as they occur more extensively and even in very transparent contexts:

13. [日本語が読めなくて、困ったことがあるという話]
Interviewer: その時、どうしたんですか
NNS 22: ああ、これは大阪で、天ぷらレストランへ行きました。メニューは、日本語で書いて... でも、あそこアメリカ人が座っていました。その人に質問しました。その人は私たちに手伝った？ん。

[Talking about the difficulties when one cannot read Japanese]
Interviewer: What did you do then?
NNS 22: Oh yes, this one is in Osaka. The menu was in Japanese, but there was an American sitting there. I asked him. He helped ..? (us= marked with a personal pronoun and not a benefactive verb). Yes.

This example is interesting in that the demand for deictic specification is satisfied, *i.e. the* utterance *is* clear as to who does what for whom (the receiver being marked with **watashitachini*). However, although NNS 22 seems to be aware of the grammatical constraints, there is no indication that he is also aware of the modal constraints, or the specification of the way the action affected him (*i.e.* the benefactive).

High variability in the linguistic behaviour of intermediate subjects can doubtless be explained also with the cognitive demands of the task at hand: here the subject begins his response with a correct form, but the effort to identify the appropriate vocabulary items seems to prove too demanding for his limited resources and he 'forgets' the auxiliary in a following utterance:

14. Interviewer: [...] 自分ができないことは、[ホストファミリの] お母さんにお願いしてやってもらうことがあるんですか。だいたいどんなことを？
NNS 22: 料理？
Interviewer: それ以外でもなんでも。あの...だいたい一日中どんなことを。
NNS 22: 洗濯...の使い方...教えてもらいました。アイロンのかけかた...とかhealth insurance
Interviewer: 健康保険
NNS 22: いろんな...document
Interviewer: 書類
NNS 22: うんそうです。手伝いました。

Interviewer: Things that you can't do on your own, do you ask your [hostfamily's] mother to do them for you? And what sort of things do you ask her?
NNS 22: Cooking?
Interviewer: Anything at all. For example ....during the day...
NNS 22: I had her teach me how to use a washing machine...or how to iron, or about 'health insurance' (*sic*).
Interviewer: Health insurance.
NNS 22: Several...'documents' (*sic*)
Interviewer: Documents.
NNS 22: Yes. She helped.

The correct use of *morau* with *oshieru* and the lack of it with *testudau* cannot be explained, I believe, with differences in the semantic value of the main verbs, since both represent 'benefactive' actions. Instead, these instances must be regarded as the result of the extra processing effort needed to manage the conversation at one point, in a subject who lacks the necessary attentional control. A similar situation can be observed in 15.:

15. NNS 21: その場合、あま...ないんです、あの...日本人と授業...
Interviewer: あ、なるほど。
NNS 21: あの、学期の始めに、あの...普通の授業、あの...国際部以外の授業取りたかったけど、

取れなかった...あのさせ...取ってくれなかった。
Interviewer: え？
NNS 21: あの...取りたかったけど、その係りの人が取らせ...なかった。
Interviewer: はい、はい。なんでですしょう。
NNS 21: たぶん、日本語はまだできない...ですから、でもちょっとがっかりした。

NNS 21: In that case...it doesn't happen that often... classes with Japanese people....
Interviewer: I see.
NNS 21: At the beginning of term, well, I wanted to take normal classes, classes outside the International Department, but I couldn't take them...they wouldn't let...they wouldn't take [me/them].
Interviewer: Sorry?
NNS 21: Well, I wanted to take them, but the person in charge wouldn't allow it [vs.'me']..
Interviewer: I see, I see. And why do you think that is?
NNS 21: Maybe, it's because I can't speak Japanese yet, but I was a bit disappointed.

So far we have discussed instances of avoidance as cases where the grammatical acceptability of the utterance is violated. However, if we consider the gap between the frequency of use of benefactives in NSs and NNSs (see Table 7), and how it becomes wider the lower the proficiency level, we need to investigate whether alternative constructions are utilised to compensate for a difficulty in handling these complex devices. In other words we need to examine whether NNSs - especially beginners and intermediate learners - make use of so called compensatory strategies, or select structures that do not lead them to need a *yarimorai* at all.

Table 7: Use of benefactives [13] per subject - NNSs and NSs

	novice (4 subjects)	**intermediate** (11 subjects)	**advanced** (7 subjects)	**total** uses per subject
NNS (22 subjects)	3	4.6	13.7	7.5
NS (10 subjects)				9.5

4.3 Alternative constructions

One of the ways a S can do without a *yarimorai* is as in the following two examples, where the S depicts the action as if he and his friend did something *together* rather than the S receiving a favour from the friend. The peculiarity is not so much in how the sentence is constructed grammatically but how the relationship between participants is portrayed.

16. NNS 8: 日本に来る前に、そうですね、実は日本に来て、友達と一緒に、ちょっと三週間に泊まって、それから、国に帰って、それから、もう一度日本に戻って、その時このアパートを貸しました。

NNS 8: Before coming to Japan, well, in fact after I came to Japan, I stayed for three weeks with a friend (vs. he put me up), then I went back and came to Japan once again, and I lent [for 'rented'] that flat.

17. [Talking about the help she received from her hostfamily's mother]
NNS 9： いや、最初は私は一生懸命、あの、よめないし...カタカナとか、[...] 漢字ももちろん読

めないから、その、自分がスピーチをする [時に] ちゃんとした改まった表現をお母さんが、あの、私が何を言いたいかということを聞き出して、そして一緒に書いたんですね...

NNS 9: At the beginning I did my best, I couldn't read Katakana, nor Kanji, of course, so [when] I had to give a speech, my mother asked (me=avoided) what I wanted to say and she wrote it together (with me vs. for me)...

In the following example, apart from some grammatical inappropriacy (the double potential form) the subject formulates the action as a *possibility* that is available, rather than a favour received from her friend.

18. [Talking about whether she has friends she can rely on when she is in trouble]
NNS 2: はい、そうですね。もし、困ったことがあったら、あのー、さきいらっしゃった、Vさんがいまして、その人と一緒にほんとに仲良くしているから、いつでも、ん、悩みをきけることもできる...[...]。

NNS 2: Yes. If there is something I am in trouble with, V. , that girl who came earlier, since we are really close friends, I can always ask her to lend a ear to my worries. (lit. it is possible to listen).

More generally, though, the expression of *how* other people actions affect the S is simply not attended to at all, or is represented in a rather objective, factual, impersonal way.

19. [Talking about having looked for a long time for a place to go mountain climbing and finally having found the information]
Interviewer: どこで知ったんですか。
NNS 4: どこで知った。ん、スケートボードの店に聞いた、で、聞いた。
I: そしたら、その人が紹介してくれ//
NNS 4: //ここになんかあるよ、と言った。ここに電話すればいいとか...

Interviewer: How did you find out?
NNS 4: How did I find out. I ... asked in...at the skateboard shop.
Interviewer: And the guy at the shop //...
NNS 4: //..yes, he said 'look there is something here. You should phone here'

20. Interviewer:: 指導教官の紹介がないとだめなんですか。
NNS 25: そうです。そうと思います、あとスポンサーが要りますので、たぶんそうですね、たぶんできませんと思います。実はええ、先生はえーと、私はその前にそのこと、全然分かりませんでしたので...先生の考えでした。それで私は本当に運がよかったです。

Interviewer: Is it impossible without a introduction from your supervisor?
NNS 25: Yes. I think so. You need a sponsor, maybe, yes, you can't without one. In fact, yes, the teacher, well, I didn't know that before, it was the teacher's idea. And so I've been really lucky.

In these cases, the intention of the S is clear, and the option pursued by the learner is grammatically acceptable. However, whether these choices would be -given the contexts- the preferred stylistic choice of a majority of native speakers, is less certain.

At times, it is derivable on the basis of the wider context that something more than an objective description was meant, or it becomes clear after further questions, or during the post-interview discussion in English.

21. Interviewer: その親子どんぶりはお母さんが得意な料理だったんですか。
NNS 4: ん。よく作ってました。
Interviewer: それはこちらからお願いしたんですか。
NNS 4: ん、はい。

Interviewer: That *oyako donburi* was your mother's best dish?
NNS 4: Yes, she made it many times.
Interviewer: Was it on your request?
NNS 4: Yes.

What these examples show clearly is that even subjects who have a fair linguistic knowledge of these forms, and who can use them relatively consistently in compulsory environments, do so without entirely exploiting their potential in other contexts.

Finally, sometimes one can detect the intention of marking an action with a 'benefactive' nuance, but the tools are lexical rather than grammatical, and do not exploit the predicate at all:

22. [片言の日本語で何かを聞く時、日本人はどう答えますか]
NNS 25: いつも親切です。いつも手伝いたい...です。
Interviewer: 説明は日本語で...
NNS 25: それは人...人次第ですけど、時々英語で答えました。

[How do Japanese people react when you ask for help in poor Japanese?]
NNS 25: They are always kind. They always want to help.
Interviewer: And [do they explain] in Japanese?
NNS 25: That depends on the person, but at times they answer in English.

5. Conclusions

Firstly, we have seen that the oral data presented here show a distinct preference of English native learners of Japanese for *kureru* (active-like) constructions vs. *morau* (passive-like) constructions. This is true regardless of proficiency levels and therefore no indication on developmental stages can be derived. These data are inconsistent with data from previous research gathered with written, controlled, tasks. This inconsistency may be due to the different nature of the task (and the degree of 'freedom' of expression, maximised here thanks to the format of free interview).

A general correlation of frequency of use with the level of proficiency was observed. The higher the proficiency level, the greater the amount of benefactive constructions actually produced, and the higher the degree of accuracy (as well as fluency - speed, naturalness even in mid-sentence rather than only sentence-final contexts[14]). This, however, is unequivocal only at group level: some subjects in the advanced group produced fewer forms than subjects in 'weaker' groups. Such dramatic variability in the amount of benefactives produced, however, is found also in the control group and should not be considered an idiosyncratic behaviour of language learners.

The production of benefactive constructions with verbs that require a participant and those which do not necessarily require one seems to improve in a parallel fashion with general proficiency. Hence the specifics of the verb's semantics - at least following the distinction P verbs/non-P verbs - do not seem to represent a decisive factor in the acquisition of *yarimorai* constructions[15]. In view of the fact that deictic specifications are more constrained with P verbs than with non-P verbs - with the latter they depend on the contextual overall clarity of the utterance and the subjective expression of affect - it is difficult to say that acquisition proceeds smoothly from more compulsory to less compulsory uses. Alternative lexical or rhetorical devices are available to communicate the S's sense of gratitude; predicates that would force the S to choose a *yarimorai* verb can be shunned. Whilst advanced learners' use of benefactives becomes more assured, they do occasionally 'miss' the potential benefactive implications of an act; conversely, some non -P verbs are marked benefactively also in beginners' production. At best, we can conclude that the data provide negative evidence to the claim that acquisition proceeds in a linear fashion from more constrained to less constrained constructions.

A more discriminating characterization of predicates may yield more significant results. Additionally, considerations on the degree of familiarity or availability of certain predicates instead of others in the input, and the role of teaching and practice, may also provide further insight.

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Notes

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2. Given the limitations of space, I have kept introductory remarks to a minimum and have preferred not to burden the text beyond necessity with general references for the several fields that have a bearing on the issues addressed here. The author is happy to provide more extended reference lists to the readers interested.
3. For an introduction to the field of IL, see Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993) and Kasper and Schmidt (1996).
4. The set of yarimorai verbs is constituted by the verbs: yaru, ageru, sashiageru (here grouped under ageru) morau, itadaku (grouped under morau), and kureru, kudasaru (grouped under kureru). Throughout this paper I will refer to the three groups by the three representative verbs.
5. These are sentences in which the viewpoint of the main clause is different from that of the subordinate clause.
6. All the examples from Japanese in this paper have been translated by the author. I have not attempted to render grammatical inaccuracies present in the original utterances when they are not relevant to the present discussion, and I have opted for a relatively free translation, to the extent that the intention of the speaker was clear. The relevant parts, regardless of whether they indicate the presence or absence of a benefactive, are underlined.
7. Generally, though, the way one's actions affect others is not represented symmetrically to the way other's actions that affect the Speaker are. This has to do with the fact that the expression of 'gratitude' or onkei that is potentially available with yarimorai verbs can have polite implications if we indicate that we 'owe' something to others, but impolite implications if we indicate that others 'owe' to us. This is why the use of ageru ('to give outwards') has more pragmatic constraints than kureru (to give 'inwards') and morau. ('to receive').
8. Note the different handling of the transitive and intransitive verbs in the same turn:
   Interviewer:[...] こっちがお願いしなくても、時々あの、こう顔を出して、ダニエルサンは全部うまくいっていますか、部屋は問題ないですかって....
   NNS 7: そうですね、時々来ます。一ヵ月前に変な花を持ってくださいました。
   Interviewer:[...] Even if you don't ask them anything in particular, do they come and check on you occasionally, asking how you are doing or whether there is any problem in the flat?
   NNS 7: Yes. Occasionally they do. A month ago they (kindly) brought me a strange bunch of flowers.
9. The control group for this study are 10 Japanese native speakers (6 females and 4 males), aged 21-25, with some knowledge of English and a third language, occasional contacts with foreigners but -with one exception - no experience of life abroad. Due to space limits I will not discuss the data obtained from the NS's control group but just refer to them marginally.
10. For this reason, data in this study lend themselves to qualitative, rather than quantitative analysis. A calculation of the number of occurrences should be considered significant only as a group tendency, rather than as an indication of an individual's preferences. Moreover, a drawback of this task is the difficulty of interpretation of some occurrences. Spoken language is by its nature less linear and coherent, and I have omitted from my analysis many examples where interpretation of the S's intention was ambiguous. On this point, see also Tanaka (1999:129).

11. This is true of both natives and non-natives, but omission of the predicate is a productive strategy of "softening" (or 'yowame') to the extent that it is deliberate, i.e. in relation to an overall competence of the syntactic and discursive structure of Japanese. Cf. the two following excerpts from a NNS and a NS.

NNS 10: [お父さんが友人に R. から何も] 聞かなかった、と言ったら、その人達は電子メールで、R.、どうしたの？お父さんちょっと心配してる、と...
Interviewer: 言って...
NNS 10：言って、ちょっと、通信してください、電話してください...
Interviewer: なんかネットワークがあるんですね。

NNS 10: When [my father] says to my friends that he hasn't heard [from me] they e-mail me and (say): 'R.! What happened to you? Your father is worried....
Interviewer: So they say....
NNS 10: Yes, they say to contact him , to call him....
Interviewer: You seem to have a network.

Interviewer: その話はこの学校から...
NS 6: あ、先生から...
Interviewer: ん？
NS 6: ...なんか話を持ってきてくださった。

Interviewer: [It was] the school that brought up that idea (of a study trip)
NS 6: The teacher...
Interviewer: Yes?
NS 6: Yes, he kindly mentioned that to me.

12. I will refer to avoidance in this paper as the 'dropping' of a yarimorai in an obligatory context. Together with a lack of a specification of the S's stance, these are unacceptable utterances from the viewpoint of Voice. All other cases where yarimorai are not present but the utterance is configured as an expression of gratitude by the subject (for instance, by means of lexical items), I have defined as 'alternative constructions'.
13. In 'use of benefactives' for the NNSs I am including misuses (cases in which the Subject has selected a benefactive but it is not the right one) as well as correct uses. The breakdown is as follows. Novices: 90 correct, 6 misused; Intermediate: 40 correct, 11 misused; Advanced: 8 correct, 4 misused.
14. Interviewer: で、できた料理の評判はどうでした？家族で...
NNS 11: ん、まあ、おいしいと言ってくれましたけど...おかあさんが作ったから...おいしかったですけど...

Interviewer: so what was the family's comment on the dish?
They (kindly) told me that it was good, but it was my mother who made it...it was good though.
An investigation of the use of benefactives with transitive and intransitive verbs is being carried out in another paper, currently under review.

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The Advantage of *Katakana* Words: English Learners' Ability to Identify English Loan-word Cognates in Japanese

Emi Uchida and Taichi Nakamura
University of Essex

1. Introduction

Since Japanese is an exotic and less commonly taught language, English-speaking learners tend to bring fears and anxieties to the classroom particularly at an initial stage. This can lead to negative affective reactions, which eventually influence their linguistic performance (Samimy and Tabuse 1992). Therefore, it is important for teachers to make the Japanese language seem less threatening to students. Although English and Japanese are etymologically distant languages, the current Japanese lexicon contains a large number of common words, which are English loan-word cognates. Emphasising the similarities of the languages through loan-words seems to be an effective way to reduce students' initial anxieties towards a completely unknown language.

It is useful to define the term 'cognates' at this stage. Although in some literature, particularly in historical-comparative linguistics, cognates are defined as words from the same ancestor, the classic distinction between historical descent cognates and loans is not relevant in the current pedagogical study. If we take the historical definition of cognates, with or without loans, a list of cognates includes many pairs of words not perceived as similar by anyone today except historical linguists. For studies of language learning, we need to take a purely synchronic definition. In the current study, we take a psycholinguistic approach and employ the definition by Carroll (1992:104), 'any pair of words which are treated by the learner as belonging to distinct linguistic systems but are also treated as 'the same thing' within those systems.' As a criterion, we define cognates not in terms of their linguistic quality but in terms of their identifiability by speakers. Since English and Japanese are etymologically distant, all the cognates belong to borrowed words, i.e., loan-words. Western loan-words including English loan-words are called *Gairaigo* (literally 'words coming from outside') and conventionally written in *katakana*. In the present study, the term '*katakana* words' is also used for Western loan-words.

The Japanese language has been borrowing almost exclusively from English for the past 50 years. 9.95% (13,300 words) of the lexicon of a Japanese dictionary, *Nihongo-daijiten* (1989) consists of foreign words (Tomoda 1999), and 80.8% of foreign words in modern magazines are from English (Miyajima 1997). The number is increasing fast. A recent loan-word dictionary, *Gairaigo-jiten* (1990) includes 30,500 words. More than half of the new words in the annually revised dictionary of neologisms, *Gendaiyougo no Kiso Chishiki* (1980) are from Western loan-words (Nomura 1982). The proportion of English cognates is increasing particularly in specific areas, as the dictionary above (1976 version) contains cognates in certain registers, e.g., 97% in the language of fashion, 76% in sports while the figure is as low as 17% in history and 45% in management (Ishino 1983).

The role of English loans in Japanese are classified into three categories by Honna (1995:52); to work as technical terms from computers to fashion; to work as neologisms denoting totally new concepts and as coinages to create a new image of an old thing, e.g., *kitchen* for *daidokoro*; to work as euphemisms, e.g., *roon* (<*loan* 'borrowing money') for *shakkin*. The current flux of English loan-words into Japanese is the basis of various debates from different perspectives; some people such as publicity agents and magazine writers, on one hand, invite and welcome English loan-words with open arms owing to their modern and stylish

images which attract the majority of contemporary Japanese. On the other hand, some relatively nationalistic people consider loan-words as invaders that are defiling the purity and elegance of traditional Japanese language. Many Japanese linguists, however, interpret the current flood of English loan-words not as a sign of corruption of Japanese language as French linguists might do, but a sign of the great cultural vitality of Japanese (Honna 1995). Nonetheless, a serious problem also occurs with loan-words, i.e., some people, in particular, from the older generation, are simply at a loss faced by a great number of unfamiliar words and find difficulty in understanding them (Yoshizawa *et al.* 1984).

2. Literature review on cognate identification

2.1. Successful and unsuccessful identification of cognates

From a viewpoint of language teachers, words in the L2 that are cognate with words in the L1 have a chance of being identified by learners on first meeting in the L2 even before they learnt the language. Although there are few studies to examine the usefulness of English loan-word cognates to learn Japanese, there are several studies to show the advantage of cognates between different languages. Cognate might provide learners with potential knowledge of a number of L2 words. In one of the earliest studies on cognates, cognate identifiability was calculated by the percentage of cognates which share the identical spelling or cognates which were judged subjectively by a researcher as similar enough to be identified by L2 learners (Richman 1971). Yet, cognate identifiability can vary from one person to another. In other words, some cognates may be identifiable to one person but not to another. Therefore, more recent studies are experimental to examine to what extent particular groups of learners can identify L2 cognates, either in a list or in context. Young Swedish-speaking learners without experience of learning English at school were able to identify correctly more than half of 40 English words and 14 expressions including several cognates, e.g., *good morning*, in listening. The more similar L1 and L2 pronunciations are, the higher their success rates were for individual items. The success was due to the similarities in pronunciation between cognates, regardless of their similarities in meaning, and the subjects' familiarity with some English words they claimed to have learnt through television and music (Palmberg 1985). Young Swedish-learners with four years of learning English also learned the regularities of English spelling to distinguish English words from non-words or other foreign words in a list of written words. A great number of cognates helped them to identify the words (Palmberg 1989).

The advantage of cognates is also prominent with learners who are more familiar with L2. In Meara, Lightbown & Halter (1994), 89 French L1 post-secondary school students were asked to judge whether they knew two sets of single English words comprising 40 real words and 20 non-words in total; one set consisted of 50% French/English cognates for real words and 50% cognate-like words for non-words, and the other consisted of all non-cognates with French. The distinction between cognates and non-cognates was made by rating from a panel of eight French dominant bilinguals. Therefore, tested cognates were not strictly controlled in the similarity of meaning. The cognates could be familiar or unfamiliar to the subjects. The score was calculated in a way that it reflected their correct/wrong responses to both real and non-words and it controlled the possibility of subjects' claiming that they knew the words they actually did not know. The subjects scored significantly better with the version of the test including cognates than the one without cognates. This shows that learners knew or identified more cognates than non-cognates. Learners' ability to identify cognates was reported in a more naturalistic classroom activity in Holmes & Ramos (1993). In this study, 15 Brazilian postgraduate students at the beginner's level of English wrote a summary of a cognate-rich English text in L1 with the help of a teacher and dictionaries. The results from their written summaries and classroom observation revealed that the learners identified almost all the cognates in the text.

It is, however, inappropriate to assume that learners can always make use of their cognate knowledge without any training. Learners do not always identify cognates. This was shown in one of the earliest studies on cognate identification. In Limper's study (1932), the native speakers of English at a high school and university who had never learnt French before were asked to write English words corresponding to a list of French-English cognates written in French. The result led Limper to conclude that it was too optimistic to assume that beginners could identify cognates due to their inability to overlook slight differences in the spellings in two languages. Learners' inability to identify cognate relationship was reported by other more recent studies. In Nagy, García, Durgunoğlu & Hancin-Bhatt (1993), 74 upper elementary Latino students in the United States read passages in English and circled all the cognates they identified in the texts they read. They also had a separate test for their lexical knowledge. A majority of the students showed some awareness of cognate relationships, but this awareness was far from perfect. The cognates they circled were only half of the cognates that they reported as knowing in both Spanish and English in a separate test.

Even when learners identify cognate relationship, they sometimes misidentify cognates. Palmberg (1987) shows some examples of misidentification due to similarities between non-cognates by young Swedish learners. The English word *travelling* was misidentified by Swedish learners as the Swedish word *travligt* and miscomprehended as *nice*, and *must* was misidentified as the Swedish word *mums* and miscomprehended as *yum-yum*. The misidentification was also observed in Holmes (1986), which investigated the role of cognate identification in reading comprehension. The 6 Brazilian false beginners read a newspaper article on a familiar topic, and gave an oral summary in L1. The researcher tape-recorded all the summaries and matched the wording in them with that in the original text to analyse identified and mis/unidentified cognates. Although the results showed students' spontaneous efforts to seek out cognate forms/ words and their usual success in identifying them, misidentification of cognates was also frequent due to their lack of care and grammatical knowledge, especially regarding parts of speech.

In Lightbown and Libben (1984), learners' mistrust or unawareness of true cognates was exposed in several tasks. Adolescent francophone learners of English and native English speakers performed three tasks on cognates, i.e., a free composition, a cloze test and a word acceptability judgement task. In the first task, subjects watched a silent animated film and produced written summaries either in French as L1 or English as L1 or L2. From the film ten main concepts which can be expressed by simple cognate nouns were selected and the frequency of subjects using those cognates in the compositions was compared. The experiment failed, since learners avoided using most cognates for some reason. In the second study with a cloze test, the learners used more cognates than the first test, but still did not use some cognates. To control the situation more rigidly, a judgement task was administered to force them to judge the acceptability of the cognates in the summary. The modified cloze test with the blanks filled in was used to ask if the words in the blanks were appropriate. When they judged the cognates as unacceptable, they were also asked to choose a reason for the judgement from three options. As a result, English native speakers accepted almost all the cognates, whereas French learners of English rejected some cognates due to mistrust or unawareness of cognates.

2.2. Audio and visual identification of cognates

Cognate identification involves different skills in reading and listening. There are few studies which contrast audio and visual identification of cognates. In Hammer (1975), 74 young English-speaking learners of French, who previously received 5 years' instruction in French, were examined on audio and visual identification of true cognates. Learners performed better on visual identification than audio identification. There was also a wider range of scores on audio

identification than visual identification. According to Hammer, visual cognate identification is easier than audio cognate identification, because the former involves a simpler skill than the latter which requires learners to overcome phonetic differences between French and English. This complexity in the process also explains the more variety in learners' audio identification ability. The subjects, who were divided into three groups, received different types of training, i.e., the control group; the group which received 6 30-minute instruction sessions (6 weeks) involving visual cognate identification; and the group which received the same amount of instruction involving audio cognate identification. The significant effect of instruction was gained from both experimental groups. The effect observed in the visual identification group was more marked than the audio identification group in not only the visual identification but also audio identification, while the instruction on audio cognate identification did not affect their visual identification ability. Although this study provided interesting results, there seems to have been some crudeness in the methodology. The major drawback was that tested cognates were not controlled to be either all unknown to learners or all familiar to learners, and therefore it was not clear whether the test results showed their retrieval ability or guessing ability. Hammer also mentioned the possibility that the subjects in the control group might receive cognate instruction as part of regular vocabulary instruction.

Browne (1982) also examined the difference between audio and visual identification. 132 beginners of French at a university were asked to read and listen to 32 French-English true cognates in French, e.g., *grec*, which were controlled in that they had never been met before in their textbooks, and to write the corresponding English words, e.g., *Greek*. Half the cognates were presented with context, e.g., *Le grec et le latin sont deux langues anciennes.* and the other half without context. Irrespective of the existence of context, visual cognate identification was easier than audio cognate identification, which is consistent with the outcome of Hammer (1975).

2.3. Recognition of English-Japanese cognates by British learners of Japanese

As far as we know, there have been few studies to examine whether British learners of Japanese can identify cognates. Tamaoka (1992) compared the visual recognisability of cognates presented conventionally in *katakana* with those in *hiragana* (e.g. テレビ/ てれび). Since cognates are usually written in *katakana*, native speakers may well process the former faster and more correctly than the latter. His study, however, showed that L1 English-speaking learners of Japanese could not distinguish one from the other and therefore there was no significant difference found in the rate at which they processed *hiragana* and *katakana* words. Canadian university students participating in this study consisted of 16 students who had learned Japanese between 1 and 2 years and another 16 students who had learned it between 2 and 3 years. Individual students were presented with English-loan-words either in *hiragana* or *katakana* on the computer screen in order to compare the rate at which these two different kinds of orthography were processed. There was a significant difference revealed in that students learning Japanese for the period of two to three years processed *hiragana* and *katakana* words faster than those learning it for less than two years. There was also a significant difference in that students with more than two years' experience of learning Japanese showed a higher correct response rate (88.27%) in the presentation of *katakana* words than those with less than two years' experience of learning Japanese (79.27%). This seems to suggest that the length of learning Japanese might have an effect on the students' ability to recognise *katakana* words. Tamaoka concluded that it was not necessarily the case that English loan-words were easy for L1 English-speaking learners of Japanese to process. This is mainly due to the discrepancy of syllable structure between original English words and their *katakana* counterparts (e.g. radio /rei diou/, /ra ji o/). Although his study shows important aspects of learning *katakana* words, tested cognates were controlled

to be all known to the subjects. Therefore, the study is concerned with learners' retrieving process of known words from their mental lexicon rather than their guessing process to identify cognates they have never met before. These two processes involve different strategies.

The first encounter with cognates was briefly dealt with in Kinbara (1988), where she compared two Chinese speakers with two English speakers in guessing unknown Japanese words written in isolation as well as in brief context. Her finding was, as predicted, that English speakers outperformed Chinese speakers in guessing the meaning of English loan-words while Chinese speakers outperformed English speakers in guessing Chinese loan-words, i.e., *kanji*. Although her study showed the evidence of L1 positive transfer, the scope was limited partly because the number of her subjects was far too small to generalise the result, partly because she did not compare the effect of the same common script of Chinese and Japanese with the different scripts of English and Japanese and partly because she did not deal with other possibly important variables such as proficiency level and mode of presentation, which we are going to explore in this current study.

3. Empirical research

3.1 Research questions

(1) Is there any significant difference between English-speaking learners' ability to identify English-Japanese loan-word cognates in reading and in listening?
(2) How do they improve their audio and visual cognate identification skills by being more exposed to Japanese in Japan?

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Subjects

81 students ranging from first year undergraduates to MA postgraduates at Sheffield University participated in the *katakana* word test. Their proficiency in the Japanese language varied from elementary to advanced levels. The length of stay in Japan also varied from nought to more than 12 months. 36 students had had no experience of being in Japan, 28 students had had an experience of staying in Japan for 1-12 months, 14 students had been in Japan for more than 12 months (up to 13 years). No specific classes to teach *katakana* words were given to any student across the years. In other words, it was left entirely to each student to learn *katakana* words from reading, writing, and conversation classes wherever appropriate.

3.2.2. Instruments

The four types of *katakana* word identification tests were administered to two groups of students in each year except for MA students, as indicated in Table 1 below. All *katakana* words (English loan-words including false ones) carefully selected for the tests are ones which do not appear in any textbook or material students are using or have used in their Japanese language courses. Tested cognates were selected from four familiar topics, i.e., fashion, sports, food and science to avoid the bias towards one specific topic. Non-cognates included as distractors are from French, German, Dutch, and Russian. Each test comprises reading and listening sections. Students were asked to write down English equivalents of 20 *katakana* words in a reading task, while they were instructed to put down English words (20 words each) of a different set in a listening task. For example, one set of 20 *katakana* words is used for the reading task in Test 2 as well as for the listening task in Test 4, whereas another set of 20 *katakana* words is used for the listening

task in Test 2 as well as for the reading task in Test 4 in the case of the first year undergraduates. The consideration of counterbalancing led us to construct 4 test versions, so the subjects encountered each *katakana* word only once.

Table1: Distribution of test types across years

	Group A	Group B
1st year undergraduates	Test 2	Test 4
2nd year undergraduates	Test 1	Test 3
3rd year undergraduates	Test 2	Test 4
4th year undergraduates	Test 1	Test 3
MA postgraduates	Test 1	

3.2.3. Data analysis

The scores of *katakana* word tests were analysed with ANOVA to determine the effect of the length of stay in Japan on students' ability to identify and spell spoken cognates. Non-cognates were eliminated from the analysis of this study.

3.3. Results and discussion

3.3.1. Descriptive statistics

Figure 1: Error bar: the percentage of correct response by the three groups in reading/ listening

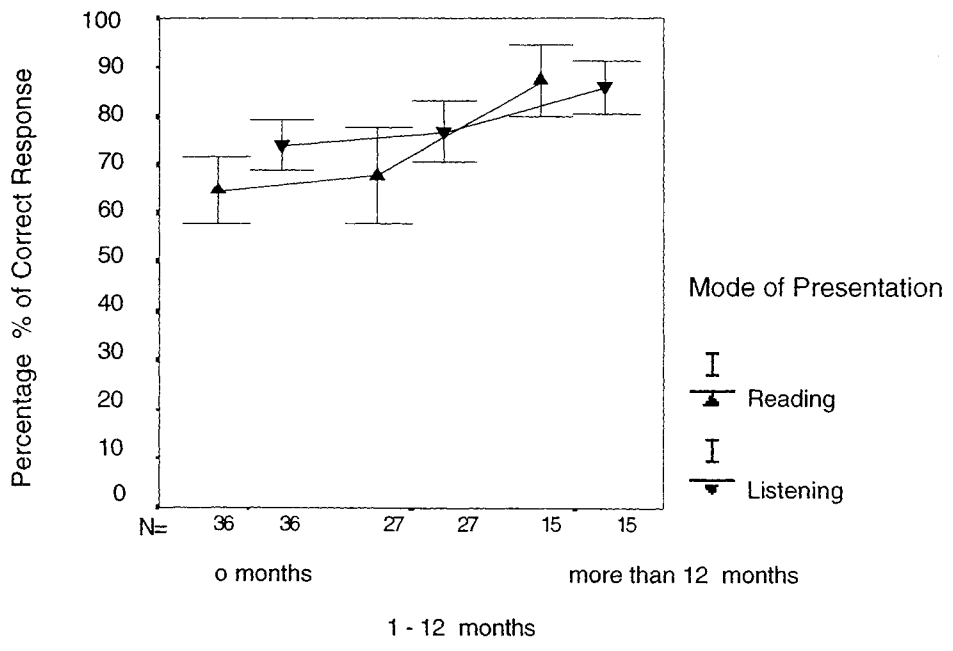


Table 2: Descriptive statistics

	0 month			1-12 months			more than 12 months		
	S.D	M	N	S.D	M	N	S.D	M	N
Reading	20	65	36	25	68	27	13	87	15
Listening	15	74	36	16	77	27	10	86	15

S.D = Standard Deviation, M = Mean, N= Number of subjects in each case

We calculated the percentage of correct responses in the reading and listening tests for the three groups. There were three variables involved in this analysis, namely; the length of their stay in Japan as a three independent groups independent variable; mode of presentation as a repeated measures independent variable; and the percentage of correct response as a dependent variable. The comparison shows that the correct response rate for listening (74% - 77%) was remarkably higher than that for reading (65% - 68%) for the learners who had stayed in Japan for less than one year. The correct response rates evened out when the learners' stay became longer than one year, as the reading score became 87% in comparison with 86% for listening.

The SDs were maximal for those who stayed in Japan for less than one year. This suggests the range of difference between subjects' cognate identification skills increased initially over the first year of their stay in Japan and decreased thereafter. This initial increase seems to be normal considering the homogeneity of the subject groups. The group of the subjects who have never been to Japan is more homogeneous than the group whose period of stay in Japan varies from 1 to 12 months. The subsequent decrease of the SDs is more informative, since it shows that the diversity of the subjects' cognate identification skills became evened out later by receiving more exposure to Japanese and becoming more used to the Japanese writing system. Another tendency is that the SDs were smaller for listening than reading consistently in all the groups. This implies the wider range of difference between subjects in reading than listening, which means that their exposure to Japanese influenced their written cognate identification skills more than spoken ones. This may suggest that they had more opportunities to read than listen to English loan-word cognates, or they learned the Japanese words more effectively by exposure to written Japanese than spoken Japanese.

3.3.2. Inferential statistics

As inferential statistics, we used ANOVA to calculate the F and p values and partial ETA squared for the group main effect by the length of their stay in Japan (the between-subjects effects), the mode main effect (the within-subjects effects) and the interaction between group and mode[1].

Table3: Inferential statistics

	F	Significance of F as reported by SPSS	Partial ETA Squared
Stay in Japan	5.70	.000	.132
Mode	11.07	.001	.129
Interaction (Stay x Mode)	3.29	.043	.081

All effects were significant. The strongest effect was the length of stay in Japan, by which 13.2% of variance of subjects' scores were explained (partial ETA squared). The second

strongest effect was shown by mode of presentation, and the weakest effect was by the interaction between their stay in Japan and mode of presentation. These three factors together accounted for 34.2% of the variance in the test scores. This overall result answers the research question (1). There is a significant difference between English-speaking learners' ability to identify English-Japanese loan-word cognates in reading and in listening. Specifically, the result shows that spoken cognates are easier to identify than written cognates for those who have less exposure to Japanese. This result is opposite to the one obtained by Hammer and Browne's study on French-English cognates.

This contrary result can be explained by linguistic characteristics of French and Japanese. French-English cognates, on one hand, share identical or similar spellings as *qualité* and *quality* but distant pronunciations as /kalite/ and /**kwɑlətɪ**/. It is considerably simpler to overcome orthographical differences than phonological differences. This resulted in the easier identification of written cognates than spoken cognates.

Since Japanese script is not an alphabet but a syllabary, and the phonology of the language avoids consonant clusters, English-Japanese cognates, on the other hand, tend to be distant in both orthography and phonology. For the listening task, learners need to identify Japanese words pronounced differently from English counterparts. For the reading task, they need to identify Japanese words spelled differently from English counterparts. The latter case has a double problem since most spelling in Japanese directly reflects the Japanese version of the sounds of words. In other words, learners need to first phonologically decode the *katakana* words spelled differently from the English counterparts with the reflection of different pronunciations. Then, they have to match the Japanese sounds of the words with those of the English words they are familiar with. Therefore, it is reasonable that the subjects gained higher scores in listening than in reading. Listeners need to overcome only phonological differences (pronunciation, syllabification, stress and rhythm) between Japanese and English cognates, while readers need to overcome orthographic differences (syllabic *katakana* vs. quasi-phonemic alphabets), which also reflect phonological differences.

Figure 2: Audio and visual identification of French-English cognates

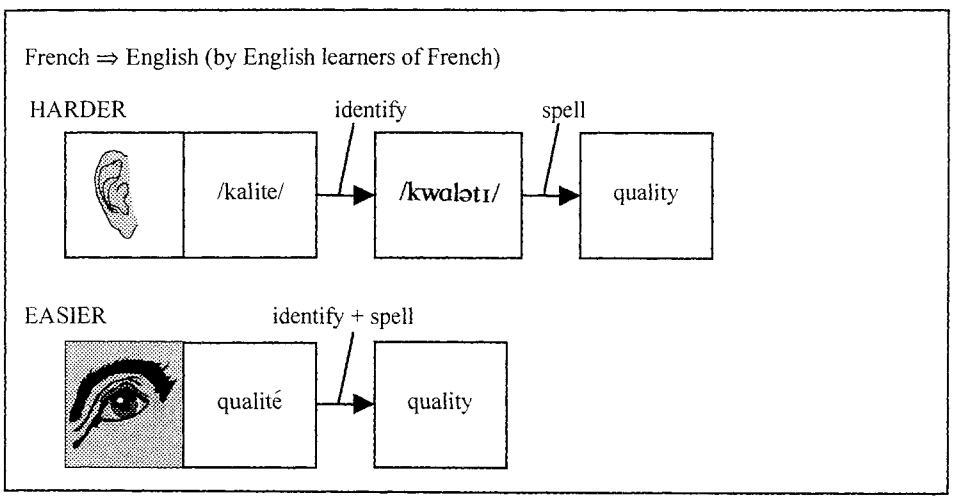
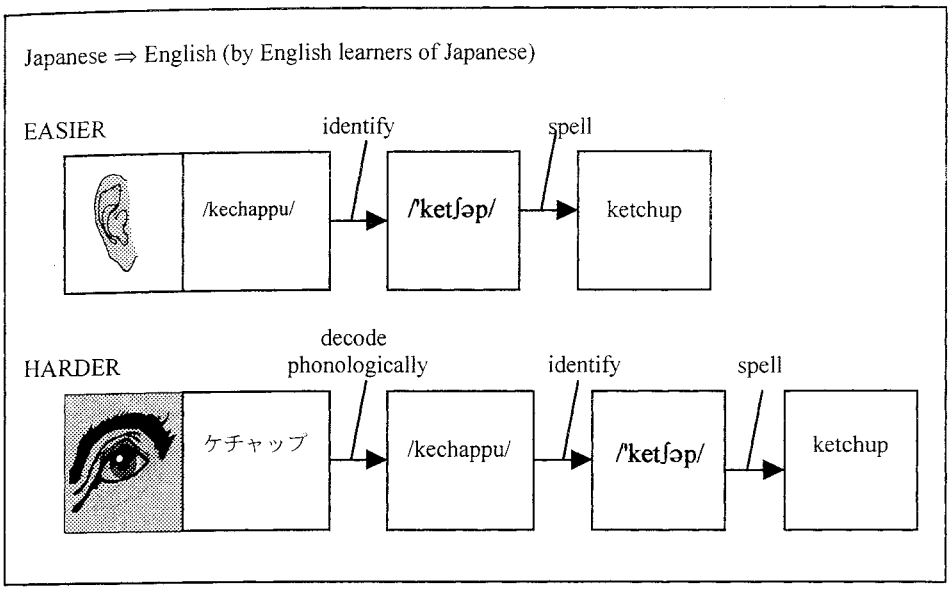


Figure 3: Audio and visual identification of English-Japanese cognates



The result also answers the research question (2) by the linear improvement of the learners' cognate identification skills over the period of their stay in Japan. The learners without experience of staying in Japan guessed the cognates 65% correctly in the reading test and 74% in the listening test, while those who had stayed in Japan for more than one year were able to guess 87% correctly in the reading test and 86% correctly in the listening test. This result agrees with aforesaid Tamaoka's finding with familiar cognates (1992). Since the cognate identification skills seem to be strongly related to learners' ability to identify the phonological and orthographic correspondences between English and Japanese cognates, exposure to the Japanese language seems to be the obvious way of becoming familiar with the correspondences. The increase of their familiarity with the Japanese writing system and their phonological and morphological analytic skills allowed them to identify more cognates.

The learners improved the skill of identifying written cognates rapidly from 65% to 87% (22% improvement), which is much more than the improvement in identifying spoken cognates from 74% to 86% (12% improvement). As a result, the learners' initial predominant performance on spoken cognates over written cognates dissappeared and even was slightly overturned. A significant interaction between grade and mode of presentation ($p<.043$) shows that learners improve cognate identification skills in reading more than those in listening over time.

To check the mean difference of the reading and listening scores between the three groups, we conducted the Post Hoc Tukey test. The results between the three groups in both reading and listening were not always significant. In both modes, the difference between group 1 and 2 was not significant. Although the difference between group 1 and 3 was significant in both modes ($p=.015$ for reading, $p=.028$ for listening), it was mainly derived from the difference between the group 2 and 3 (-.19.49 for reading, -.9.21 for listening), although this tendency was more remarkable in reading than listening. This clarifies the picture of our results, i.e., learners started improving their cognate identification skills after the first year of their stay in Japan, in particular, in reading. The result seems to suggest that it takes learners some time to become

Table 4: Post hoc tests (Tukey HSD): multiple comparisons

Dependent Variable	Group - Group	Mean Difference	Significance
Reading	Group 1 – Group 2	-3.00	.843
	Group 1 – Group 3	-22.50	.003
	Group 2 – Group 3	-19.49	.015
Listening	Group 1 – Group 2	-2.66	.758
	Group 1 – Group 3	-11.87	.028
	Group 2 – Group 3	-9.21	.133

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
Group 1= 0 month, Group 2 = 1-12 months, Group 3 = more than 12 months

used to the *katakana* writing system and reach the threshold to use their analytic skills to identify the correspondences between English and Japanese cognates. Once learners were able to process phonological decoding of *katakana* words automatically, visual identification became as easy as audio identification.

4. Conclusion

The main finding of this empirical study is that English-speaking learners of Japanese were initially better at identifying spoken cognates than written cognates due to differences in phonological and orthographical systems of English and Japanese. As they were exposed to more Japanese, their skills of phonologically decoding written katakana words were improved and there was no difference between their audio and visual identification skills of cognates.

Further investigations examining learner specific factors, e.g., gender, age and motivation, and word specific factors, e.g., the sound/spelling correspondences between English and Japanese, would reveal more details in the process of guessing unknown cognates. Once learners manage to identify unknown words as cognates, the next step is to comprehend the meaning of those words. This can be tricky due to the existence of false cognates, i.e., cognates sharing similar form but different meaning. Learners need to use other clues such as L2-based clues and context-based clues and weigh up all the possible information to reach successful comprehension.

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Notes

1. The prerequisites for use of ANOVA were confirmed. The normal distribution of the subjects' correct response in six sets of results (3 groups × 2 mode of presentation) were confirmed by examining the six histograms for all groups. The homogeneity of variance between groups was also confirmed by non-significant results by Levene's test of equality of error variance (p=.104 for reading, p=.305 for

listening). The repeated measures homogeneity of variance between SDs of both reading and listening was confirmed by Mauchly's test of sphericity (chi-square =0, p=1).

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Appendix

1 Instruction

Listening

Now, you are going to listen to 20 Japanese Katakana words, which will be pronounced twice. Two Japanese native speakers, a man and a woman, will pronounce each word once. Using your knowledge of English, please identify pronounced words. If you can identify the words, please spell them in English. If you cannot, please write down ✗ . Since all the pronounced words are not loan-words from English, some of the Japanese words may be impossible to guess.

Even when you cannot identify many words, please don't worry. The aim of this test is to examine the difficulty of each Japanese word, not to examine your language proficiency. Please relax and try!

Examples

	ENGLISH
A	pen
B	trumpet

Reading

Please read the following 20 Japanese words. As in listening, please identify the words with the aid of loan-words. For each word, please spell it in English, if you can identify. Please write down ✗ , if you cannot.

Examples

	KATAKANA	ENGLISH
A	コンピューター	Computer
B	オードブル	✗

2 Tested Items -originally presented in Japanese-

Topic	Cognateness	Test A		Test B	
Fashion	Cognates	gown	cardigan	bracelet	stocking
		tuxedo	sneaker	cashmere	jacket
	NonCognates	prêt-a-porter (French)		Wappen (German)	
Sports	Cognates	canoe	wrestling	crawl	glider
		parachute	bowling	archery	snorkel
	NonCognates	Gelände (German)		Jacke (German)	
Food	Cognates	stew	donuts	curry	celery
		biscuit	margarine	cabbage	sherbet
	NonCognates	piment (French)		ikra (Russian)	
Science	Cognates	influenza	chlorophyll	alcohol	cholesterol
		ammonia	magnet	ozone	asphalt
	NonCognates	Gom (Dutch)		pincet (Dutch)	

Volitional Use of Japanese Linguistic Politeness

Hideki Saigo
Department of Linguistics and English Language, University of Durham

1. Introduction

> We should not stress the group orientation, relativistic ethics, and hierarchical structure of Japanese society too much. To do so would be to suggest that Japan is made up to a uniform race of pliant, obedient robots, meekly conforming to rigid social rules and endlessly repeating the established patterns of their society. (Reischauer 1988:159)

Reischauer's warning is in reaction to a well-known and much abused stereotype of the Japanese as being an innately polite and inordinately obedient people. The veracity or otherwise of the stereotype is of course of no consequence – there are, after all, 'no scientific standards for considering one group as intrinsically' more polite than another (Hofstede 1991:7). What merits attention instead, are the possible reasons for the stereotype. From a linguistic point of view, it may be said that one such reason may be found in the fact that the Japanese language is notoriously rich in explicit linguistic markers of politeness on both the lexical and morphological levels.

This being so, the stereotype has arguably received a boost from the linguistic theorists and teachers of JFL who have tended to emphasise the importance of such linguistic markers of politeness in both the understanding and the teaching of Japanese. What may be put into question is not that polite forms exist, but rather that, the way in which they have been discussed and taught might well diverge from the way they are used in practice. The point needs to be made, therefore, that in order to use linguistic markers of politeness to achieve their goals, native Japanese speakers employ them not only in accordance with socio-cultural norms of politeness, but also in line with their own intentions - manipulating them in accordance to the nature of social relations and situations they want to have with their interlocutors. This is a point that has unfortunately received little recognition in the way Japanese LP has been dealt with so far, as the following overview given below will show.

2. Literatures on Japanese LP

The area of Japanese LP has generated a large amount of work in pragmatics and sociolinguistics (Coulmas 1992; Hill et al 1986; Ide 1982; Ide et al 1986; Ide 1989; Ide et al 1992; Matsumoto 1988; Matsumoto 1989; Ogino et al 1985; Ogino 1986; etc). Most of these studies have uniformly stressed the obligatory aspect as to how Japanese LP is used, inferring that the Japanese are a 'group oriented' people, strongly guided in how they use Japanese LP by social norms of politeness such as the ones listed below by Ide (1982):

(1) Be polite to a person of a higher social position.
(2) Be polite to a person with power.
(3) Be polite to an older person.
(4) Be polite in a formal setting.

The focus, therefore, is quite clearly on context – and a traditional view of context at that. It suggests context to be something rigid and stable, in which external social hierarchies such as age, social position, gender and the like regulate how speakers interact, and overlooks the fact

that people actively create context during speech negotiations with their interlocutors. It is this limited concept of context that has dominated the way in which Japanese LP and in particular, honorifics, have been taught in JFL teaching.

In focusing on the volitional use of Japanese LP, this article intends to allow a fluid dimension to context, perceiving it to be something not merely imposed but also something which interlocutors can negotiate during speech interactions. It is the recognition of this fluidity of context that respects that the native speaker, while being sensitive to socio-cultural norms, is far from being subordinate to them.

It is this departure on the issue of context that distances this article from the above-mentioned existing studies in the field of Japanese linguistics in terms of not only emphasis, but also of research method. Instead of using invented examples or quantitative data collected from interviews and questionnaires, 'empirical examples' from the author's own experience [4] will be employed. Quantitative data is obviously of some use in helping non-native Japanese language learners to gain a general concept as to there being a set of 'rules' or norms governing Japanese LP use. However, the excessive emphasis on such generalised 'norms' or 'rules' of LP in JFL teaching probably impedes Japanese language learners from acquiring a practical use of Japanese LP since such 'rules' are so general, tidy, and 'decontextualised' that their effectiveness as aids to non-native Japanese speakers trying to come to an understanding of the actual use of Japanese LP is questionable. The empirical examples in this article instead aim to demonstrate the fact that native Japanese speakers sometimes work outside of or against the general 'rules' of Japanese LP, showing, then, that the use of Japanese LP in actual personal interactions is perhaps rather more problematic than earlier quantitative data based research may have allowed.

3. Volitional use of Japanese LP

3.1 General

As already suggested, it is perhaps naïve to assume that native Japanese speakers are always linguistically obedient to social norms of politeness when they are involved in interpersonal interactions. After all, the degree of Japanese LP used by an individual is determined not only by social norms but also by that individual's volition. What may be defined as the volitional use of Japanese LP may be tentatively divided into two different categories: (1) *passive volitional use* and (2) *active volitional use*.

Passive volitional use occurs when the interlocutor being spoken to has two or more incompatible social attributes (s/he might be, for example, a boss who is younger, or a subordinate who is older): one of which demands that the speaker should speak politely and the other of which demands that speaker should not speak politely if s/he is to follow the social norms of LP.

Active volitional use, in contrast, expresses a speaker's intention to go linguistically against social norms of politeness in order to establish new social relations or situations. In other words, passive volitional use implies that while choice is still available, the speaker nevertheless feels constrained to find an appropriate degree of Japanese LP for him/herself from among a limited range of options. Active volitional use, on the other hand, describes situations where a speaker intentionally chooses a degree of Japanese LP that is considered inappropriate in terms of social norms of politeness.

3.2 Passive volitional use of Japanese LP

3.2.1 Passive volitional use in non-straightforward social relations

Although the passive volitional use of Japanese LP remains under obligation to social norms, its use is not so straightforward that people can use it appropriately and safely only by following

those norms.

In order to examine how the passive volitional use of Japanese LP works in the non-straightforward social relations typical of real life in Japanese society, a series of social interactions experienced directly by the author will be offered below as an empirical example.

The author worked as a part-time dishwasher for a year and a half at a Japanese hotel in Kyoto. He was working at that time alongside five male full-time employees, of whom four were employed as administrators in the steward section, and one was employed as a dishwasher. Their respective ages and ranks were as follows:

Table 1. Six Employees' Age and Rank

Name	Age	Rank (occupational position)
A	54	1 administrator
B	29	2 administrator
C	21	3 administrator
D	21	4 administrator
E	50	5 full-time dish washer
F	24	6 part-time dish washer

The author became aware of distinct differences in the way the six employees talked to one another in terms of LP, noting in particular the linguistic choices being made as to whether auxiliary verbs such as *-desu/-masu*, personal pronouns, and honorifics - all of which encode either moderate or high degree of politeness - were being employed. Among these polite forms , the way in which the employees used auxiliary verbs such as *-desu/-masu* (*dm*Fs) to each other in particular shows how each employee intended to create context to the others [5]. Their use of *dm*Fs has therefore been summarised in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Six Employees' Use of *dm*Fs Towards One Another

from \ to	A	B	C	D	E	F
A	-	×	×	×	×	×
B	○	-	×	×	○	×
C	○	○	-	×	○	×
D	○	○	○	-	△	△
E	○	△	×	×	-	△
F	○	○	○	○	○	-

[○: total use of *dm*Fs △: intermittent use of *dm*Fs ×: total absence of *dm*Fs]

With reference to Table 2, the following observations may be made:

[A] (age54/rank1) did not use *dm*Fs towards anyone at all, while the other employees consistently employed *dm*Fs towards him. This is easily explained by the fact that he was the most senior employee in terms of both age and occupational rank [6].

[B] (age29/rank2) employed *dm*Fs towards [E] as well as [A], even though his rank was higher than [E]'s. This was probably because for [B], the factor of age was more influential than

the factor of occupational position.

[C](age21/rank3)'s use of *dm*Fs towards [E] also may be explained by this fact. Why then did not he employ *dm*Fs towards [F] who was older than him? It is possible that he felt that the age difference between [F] and himself was not enough to override the difference in their ranks. The fact that [E] started working at the hotel before [C], whereas [F] started working there after [C] may also have influenced his decision.

[D](age21/rank4)'s arbitrary use of *dm*Fs towards [E] and [F] takes place arguably as a result of the non-straightforward social relations between the three men. [E] and [F] being both older than [D], [D] sometimes chose to acknowledge their age seniority by choosing *dm*Fs, while at other times their lower occupational position would appear to have swayed him perhaps more. There is, however, another possible reason for why [D] sometimes neglected to use *dm*Fs to [E] and [F]. As discussed in detail later in this article (see 3.3.2), his occasional neglect of *dm*Fs may be construed as linguistic manipulation aimed at showing his desire to be close to [E] and [F].

While [E] (age50/rank5) did not employ any *dm*Fs towards his younger colleagues [C] and [D], who were nevertheless higher than him in terms of occupational rank, he sometimes used *dm*Fs towards [B] despite the fact that he was older than [B]. This is probably because the difference in rank between [B] and himself was much more marked than the difference in their ages. Given this situation, the fact that [E] sometimes used *dm*Fs towards [F] despite the fact that he was much older and of higher rank than [F], presents an interesting aberration. Why was this? The factor of social status in Japanese society (in contrast to occupational rank at the hotel) may be offered as a possible reason; he knew that [F] was working at the hotel primarily to earn money to finance postgraduate studies in the UK. The positive connotations that Japanese society attaches to academic status, therefore, might well have prompted [E] to acknowledge [F] as being somehow superior, thus encouraging him to sometimes use *dm*Fs towards [F].

[F] (age 24/rank6/the author) used *dm*Fs towards all the other employees - a reflection of the fact that his speech was influenced mostly by differences in occupational position. This is not because he believed difference in occupational position to be more important than age difference in Japanese society, but because of his belief that it is generally more diplomatic to be linguistically polite in situations where there are two incompatible social norms of politeness and therefore the choice as whether to be polite or not.

As the analysis given above seeks to show, the situation in which the following of particular social norms is impeded by the existence of non-straightforward social relations would seem to have a direct bearing on how *dm*Fs are used. Their use becomes problematic, as speakers are influenced as much by personal psychological factors as by social norms. Consequently, then, it may be concluded that the more non-straightforward the social relations being engaged in, the more a speaker cannot help but make a volitional choice as to how linguistically polite s/he wants to be.

3.2.2 Passive volitional use in modifiable social relations

Even straightforward social relations do not always remain fixed in nature: there are also modifiable social relations. The following two situations are typical of the kind of modifiable social relations to be found in Japanese society: (1) a situation in which a speaker suddenly realises that s/he has been talking to an interlocutor as if s/he is younger or the same age, when the interlocutor is in fact older, (2) a situation in which a speaker suddenly realises that s/he has been talking to an interlocutor as if s/he is older, when the interlocutor is in fact younger or of the same age.

How would native Japanese speakers cope with polite forms in situations such as these? One possible scenario as to how a native Japanese speaker might act in the first of the situations given above may be considered again in reference to the author's actual experience.

When the author entered a Tokyo based oil company, there was a two-month job-training programme for new employees. During the programme, the author frequently had the opportunity during group work to talk to another new employee whose family name was Kobayashi.

In the early stages of the programme, the author did not employ *dm*Fs towards Kobayashi, and in addition used both the first personal pronoun *ore* (which is the least polite first personal pronoun) in referring to himself, and the title *-kun* in addressing Kobayashi - calling him *kobayashi-kun*. The title *-kun* is generally used by men towards other men who are younger or of the same age as the speaker. The title *-kun* was adopted because the author thought that Kobayashi had recently graduated from an undergraduate course as had the author and indeed, most of the new employees.

However, one day through conversation with Kobayashi, the author discovered that Kobayashi had graduated already from postgraduate school, and was in fact his senior by two years. At that point, there were basically two choices for the author concerning the use of polite forms. The first option being to continue failing to employ polite forms - this could have been justified by the fact that the author and Kobayashi were employees who had entered into the company in the same year and also by the fact that the linguistic relation between the author and Kobayashi had already been established. The second option was to start employing polite forms because of the age difference between himself and Kobayashi. The choice the author made was the latter.

The author, however, did not start using polite forms immediately, owing to his embarrassment that any too sudden change in his way of speaking to Kobayashi would make it obvious to Kobayashi that the author's attitude towards him had changed. The author changed (1) *da*-forms (plain forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs) to *dm*Fs (polite forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs), (2) the impolite first personal pronoun *ore* into the polite counterpart *boku*, and (3) the address form of Kobayashi *-kun* into the polite counterpart *-san* gradually, over a period of time (see Table 3).

Table 3. Approximate Transition of the Author's Speech Level towards Kobayashi

time	use of *dm*Fs	address form of author	address form of Kobayashi
(1)	×	*Ore*	*Kobayashi-kun*
(2)	×	_	_
(3)	△	_	_
(4)	△	_ + *boku*	_ + *Kobayashi-san*
(5)	○	_ + *boku*	_ + *Kobayashi-san*
(6)	○	*Boku*	*Kobayashi-san*

[○: total use of *dm*Fs △: intermittent use of *dm*Fs ×:total absence of *dm*Fs _: absence of address form]

The transition process is explained below:

(1) The author's language use prior to his realization that Kobayashi was older than him

(2) The author stopped referring to himself with the first personal pronoun *ore* and Kobayashi with the title *-kun*, while continuing to use *dm*Fs. This choice was made in line with the author's conviction that address forms encode relations more conspicuously than *dm*Fs

(3) The author started mixing *da*-forms (plain forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs) and *dm*Fs

(polite forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs)
(4) The author started to call Kobayashi using his last name with the polite title *san* and referring to himself with the first personal pronoun *boku* (*boku* being exclusively used by men, and politer than *ore*), from time to time.
(5) The author stopped using *da*-forms completely
(6) The author calls Kobayashi with the title *san* and himself by the first personal pronoun *boku* with natural frequency

Thus, the author gradually upgraded the politeness level of his speaking patterns towards Kobayashi over the period of a week. The transition period which saw the author switch from the use of *da*-forms to the use of *dm*Fs, started and finished with changes being made in the address forms being used. This is because the author considered address forms to have greater impact as a tool of encoding Japanese socio-cultural element than *dm*Fs.

Why though did the author put himself through this laborious process? He could, after all, have chosen not to change his way of speaking towards Kobayashi. He chose instead, however, to act within the boundaries set for him by social convention instead of going against those boundaries and feeling uncomfortable about being linguistically impolite to an older person.

It must nevertheless be noted that not all people would have reacted in the same way as the author. The way in which polite forms are dealt with in modifiable social relations such as the one given above will differ from one person to another, as speakers strategically decide on the degree of linguistic politeness with which they feel comfortable.

3.3 Active volitional use of Japanese LP
3.3.1 General

The previous section focused on how Japanese LP is used passive-volitionally in non-straightforward and modifiable social relations. In such social relations, Japanese speakers are forced to make a choice regarding which degree of Japanese LP to use to fit the social relation which they have unintentionally found themselves in, for example by (1) breaking one norm in favour of another or by finding a compromise between two otherwise incompatible social norms - as in non-straightforward social relations, or by (2) disregarding social norms in maintaining already established linguistic social relations, or by changing the footing of already established linguistic social relations in order to follow social norms - as in modifiable social relations.

This section will focus on the active volitional use of Japanese LP. Despite the pressures on native Japanese speakers to use a degree of LP considered appropriate to the social norms of politeness in straightforward and un-modifiable social relations, Japanese people may in fact choose intentionally to use an inappropriate degree of Japanese LP. In doing so, they violate the social norms of politeness which usually govern the use of LP in such social relations in order to reconstruct new relations between a speaker and an hearer or new situations for the speech event to take place. When they do so, this manipulation of the use of LP may be termed *active volitional.*

Active volitional use of Japanese LP in terms of social relations may be looked at in terms of two categories: horizontal social relations and vertical social relations.

3.3.2 Horizontal social relations

As human beings for the most part do not stand alone, but alongside each other, interacting with one another, it is natural that the horizontal social relations, which refer to the psychological distance between the speaker and the hearer, constitute one of the most important aspects of

social relations. Since the feeling any individual has towards another is subject to change at any time in the social relationship, it follows that the degree of LP that has been used to express the solidarity between that individual and her/his interlocutor will also change to reflect the changed relationship between them. Whether the change in the relationship is instigated by one or both individuals is immaterial: the fact remains that consequent to a change in the horizontal social relations between two individuals, there will be a change in the degree of LP used by those same individuals.

However, the change in the degree of LP sometimes comes before the change in the horizontal social relations between two individuals. This is because a speaker can intentionally contrive a change in the degree of LP being used between him/herself and the hearer, in order to manipulate their horizontal social relations. For example, a speaker, in talking to someone with whom s/he wants to be on more familiar terms, might be linguistically less polite to that person in order to show his/her desire to be on more familiar terms, even if s/he had seen that person only a few times before. This, of course, would be disobeying the rules of social etiquette, and in direct disregard of the social norms of politeness. In another example, a speaker, in talking to someone with whom s/he does not want to be close, might start speaking to that person with either a more polite or impolite degree of LP than that which has been already established, in order to let that person see that the speaker wishes to put some psychological distance between them.

Because of the strong social norm which decrees 'Be polite towards less familiar persons' in Japanese society, native Japanese speakers tend to obligatorily feel a higher degree of LP towards less familiar persons. Consequently, a native Japanese speaker finds it easy to take advantage of this distinctive speech convention of Japanese LP when wanting to manipulate the degree of solidarity between him/herself and the hearer - s/he being superbly equipped, then, to show vividly a change of attitudes towards an interlocutor by no more than a subtle change in the use of LP.

3.3.3 Vertical social relations

Because of the fact that the social attributes which determine a vertical (or power) social relation between a speaker and hearer such as age, social status, occupational position and the like are not (instantly) changeable, the role of active volitional use of Japanese LP is far weaker in terms of vertical social relations than in horizontal social relations. This is because it is far more difficult to manipulate the unchangeable social attributes which govern vertical social relations. For example, younger persons of lower occupational positions do not usually speak impolitely to older persons of higher occupational positions in trying to overturn the vertical relation between them, because the difference in age and rank between the former and the latter hold both fixed in their respective positions. Changing the degree of LP in this situation, in other words, will have no effect on the vertical social relation between them.

This does not mean to say, however, that active volitional use of Japanese LP never takes place in vertical social relations - just that its success is unlikely. Two empirical examples taken again from the author's experience, in which active volitional use of Japanese LP was used in order to try and restructure vertical social relations, will be examined below.

At the same time that the author was working part-time in a hotel, there was another male part-time dishwasher named Hashimoto (family name), who was at that time 23 years old. Hashimoto had started out both using *dm*Fs towards a 50-year-old full-time male dishwasher named Takeshita and addressing him as *Takeshita-san* - the conventional way to address a person who is older or of a higher occupational rank. For the additional reason that Hashimoto had started working at the hotel much later than had Takeshita, it was again natural that Hashimoto should be linguistically polite towards Takeshita. For his part, Takeshita had been

talking to Hashimoto without using any *dm*Fs - addressing him as *hashimoto-kun*, the conventional way for an older person to address a younger person.

However, after a few months had passed, Hashimoto stopped suddenly using *dm*Fs towards Takeshita, and started to address him using the least polite second personal pronoun *omae*, the use of which with an older person is especially rude. Hashimoto claimed that it was Takeshita's idleness at work that caused him to be rude to the older man, often complaining to the author that Takeshita did not work at all, preferring instead to order the younger Hashimoto to do the work for him. Hashimoto's contempt towards Takeshita, however, was still not enough in itself to push Hashimoto so far as to stop him employing polite forms towards Takeshita. In order for persons who are weaker in some social attributes such as age, gender, occupation and the like to try to assert themselves as superior in a vertical relation, they need to have some aspect in which they claim superiority. In Hashimoto's case, he believed that he had at least two aspects in which he could consider himself superior to Takeshita: (1) physical strength and (2) diligence at work. That is to say Hashimoto valued his individual attributes as opposed to his social attributes in his attempt to reassess the vertical relation between himself and Takeshita.

In a society such as Japan's where a great deal of emphasis is placed on the hierarchy of age, Takeshita must have been both shocked and embarrassed to be spoken to so impolitely and addressed as *omae* by a man so much younger than himself. His reaction initially was to avoid Hashimoto wherever possible, and - when having no choice other than to talk to him - to speak to him politely by using *dm*Fs and address him as *hashimoto-san*, in an effort to ingratiate himself with the younger man. This change in Takeshita's way of speaking might be interpreted as meaning that the vertical relation between Hashimoto and Takeshita had been reversed. Before long, though, Takeshita started being linguistically more impolite to Hashimoto than he had ever been at the start of their relationship, speaking to Hashimoto with a rudeness which equalled Hashimoto's own, and addressing Hashimoto without using any title at all. This change in Takeshita's way of speaking was most probably motivated by his desire to save 'face'. One might assume from this that Hashimoto was no better off than he had been at the start, but he had in fact scored a victory in that Takeshita stopped piling all the work on Hashimoto and ordering him around.

Let us consider another example, which shows the volitional use of Japanese LP for an immediate rather than an on-going interaction. The power relations among students in the junior high school attended by the author can be given as an example of active volitional use of Japanese LP in a vertical social relation. In the school in question, as perhaps in any school, the unruly students adopted a more threatening way of speaking to each other, compared to the more well-behaved students, and even to the teachers in order to maintain their positions as so-called 'bad' boys in the school. Because of this, it was very important for 'good' students to know how they should speak to their more aggressive schoolmates in order to survive their school lives while incurring as little damage as possible. The following conversation took place during a metalwork class between the author and a 'bad' boy with whom the author had never before spoken:

1. Bad boy: *omae kane kase*
you [RUDE] money lend [IMPERATIVE, RUDE]
(= Hey you, give me some money!)

2. Author: *ima nai*
now do not have
(= I haven't got any on me.)

3. Bad Boy: *uso tsuke dase hora*
do not tell a lie give[IMPERATIVE,RUDE] hey
(=Liar, give it to me!)

4. Author: *omae motte nai-cchi itta ro*
you [RUDE] have not-PRTICLE said HEDGE [RUDE]
(= Hey you, I just said I don't have any money, didn't I?)

In analysing the above conversation, the 'bad' boy can be seen in utterance 1 speaking rudely to the author in order to threaten him; that is, to assert himself as being in a superior position in the vertical relation between him and the author. The author's attempts in utterance 2 to stop the situation building up obviously failed, as seen by the other boy's persistent threats in utterance 3. The crucial point in this conversation comes in utterance 4, at which point there were at least three possible choices open to the author:

(1) To give money to the boy
(2) To continue saying 'no' to the boy, while trying to diffuse the situation
(3) To frame his refusal more aggressively, by adopting a similar rude style of speaking

Despite being afraid, the author forced himself to be linguistically rude to the boy in order to stop the other boy from constructing a power relation which would obviously put the author in the position of weakness. In doing so, the author was fighting to prevent loss not only of money but also of 'face'. On this occasion, the author's aggressiveness was successful; his implementation of active volitional use of Japanese LP enabled him to escape from this situation not only physically intact but also financially no worse off

4. Conclusion

The issue of the volitional use of Japanese LP addressed in this article has been presented in terms of the author's actual experience. In restricting its focus to Japanese LP's volitional use, this article by no means denies the importance of the obligatory use of Japanese LP; its intention is not to reject earlier research in this area, but to suggest that it is important to broaden the way in which Japanese LP has been formerly discussed, by recognising that volition, too, has an active function in how interpersonal interactions are carried out in linguistic terms.

Clearly, the empirical examples used in this article present but a sample of innumerable cases of Japanese LP occurring in everyday interactions. This article, consequently, does not profess to be a comprehensive study: its purpose, rather, is to sketch out the volitional use of Japanese LP with the intention to provoke further detailed discussion and investigation into how native Japanese speakers manipulate LP in interpersonal interactions.

Accordingly, there are several important points that this article has not discussed as space is limited. It omits, for example, any reference as to the influence of situational aspects on Japanese LP. It has been pointed out that Japanese LP is influenced not only by social relations but also by the situation that any native speaker finds him/herself in. It is perhaps natural, for example, that an individual might be linguistically more polite to his/her best friend when asking for 10.000 pounds compared to 50 pence in order to show his/her genuineness or modesty. This article also fails to refer to how the obligatory use correlates with the volitional use of Japanese LP in conversation.

The points this article has raised instead have a very real and urgent practical application in mind: one which will only be served when the points that have been made here, with regards to the volitional use of Japanese LP, are applied in the classroom in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language. For as things stand today, the way in which textbooks, reference books and teachers deal with how polite forms such as *dm*Fs and honorifics function continues to ignore (or

forget?) the important question as to 'why' native Japanese speakers employ polite forms in everyday interaction. Such neglect of the speakers' psychological aspect in the use of Japanese LP and how this is taught in the classroom could be one of the reasons that non-native Japanese language learners have immense difficulties in putting polite forms into actual use. Teaching Japanese LP with an emphasis on the psychological aspect of speakers, by offering the learners various empirical examples where the shifting of LP levels occurs, would be ultimately one effective way in which this problem might be addressed.

Examining such examples in terms of the speaker's point of view may afford Japanese language learners a new perspective - a perspective which has so far been neglected in JFL. Such a perspective would allow students to see that Japanese LP is not something which people have to use in obedience always to social norms of Japanese LP, but that it is something they can manipulate in order to create their intended social relationship between their addressees or situations.

Granted the importance of such a perspective, how may teachers help students towards such an understanding in the classroom? The teacher might perhaps ask students to record samples of natural conversation recorded outside the classroom (e.g., conversation between themselves and their Japanese friends, their host families, or shopkeepers). The students might then be asked to analyse the conversation in terms of Japanese LP, concentrating on why their addressees employed particular degrees of Japanese LP in particular utterances. In discussion classes, the teacher and the students might discuss the data collected by the students, using the Japanese language as the medium of their conversation. This kind of class activity would provide students with a dynamic learning experience - an experience which would presumably have a great deal of impact on the learners, given that learners usually have a lot of chances to be taught and to practice the language but rarely have chances to talk about the language itself. Such activities would in addition work towards satisfying any students who are not fulfilled with what is dubbed 'textbook Japanese', perhaps providing them by extension with the impetus and the motivation to continue learning.

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Notes

1. The concept of Linguistic politeness (LP) does not mean just being linguistically polite. It can be defined as the linguistic ability to manipulate an appropriate degree of politeness. Moreover, the concept of LP refers not only to formal linguistic forms such as honorifics but also to a much wider range of linguistic phenomena such as, for example, verbal strategies (see Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) for further discussion on LP). In this article, however, Japanese polite forms such as *desu/masu* (see Endnotes 2 for the detail) and address forms will be focused on since the use or non-use of such forms indexes vividly the speaker's attitudes towards the interlocutor.
2. The term 'polite forms' is often used in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language to describe auxiliary verbs such as *desu/masu* forms - the use of these forms being the most basic way for speakers to express courtesy towards the interlocutors. For example, *taberu* (a plain form - 'to eat') is transformed into *tabemasu* (a polite form – 'to eat') and *oishii* (a plain form - 'tasty') into *oishiidesu* (a polite form - 'tasty') in order to be linguistically 'polite'. While polite forms are named *desu/masu* forms, plain forms are often called '*da* forms'. The term 'polite forms' in this article, however, includes not only auxiliary verbs such as *desu/masu* forms, but also polite forms of personal pronouns and honorifics. See Harada (1974), Kikuchi (1997) and Shibatani (1990) for a more comprehensive analysis of Japanese polite forms.
3. Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989) divide linguistic politeness into two aspects: (1) the discernment (*'wakimae'*) aspect and (2) the volitional aspect. While the former 'refers to the almost automatic observation of socially-agreed-upon rules applied to both verbal and non-verbal behaviour' (Hill et al. 1986:348), the latter refers to the speaker's more 'active choice, according to the speaker's intention, from a relatively wider range of possibilities' (Hill et al. 1986:328). The term 'volition use' in this

article is slightly different from Hill et al and Ide's 'volition aspect' in that while the latter aims only 'to achieve smooth communication' (Ide 1989:231), the former refers to any use (or choice) decided upon by the speaker to achieve his/her own goal.

4. The use of empirical examples from the author's own experience may be considered inappropriate for academic research in that the quality of such examples depend on the accuracy of the author's subjective interpretation of his own experiences. However, it is true to say that any individual's communication with others is based on his/her subjective interpretation about what is going on between him/herself and the interlocutors during the interaction. That is to say, it is possible that there is no 'objective' interpretation which is perfectly free from any subjectivity. Considering this, it may be right to say that examining empirical examples interpreted by a subjective self is the only way to investigate the details of the speaker's manipulation of Japanese LP in a particular speech event.
5. As mentioned in Endnotes 1 and 2, auxiliary verbs such as *desu/masu* forms can be considered as the fundamental barometers of Japanese polite forms in acting as an accurate gauge as to whether or not a speaker is being linguistically polite to his/her interlocutor.
6. This does not mean, of course, that a person of older and higher position always neglects to use *dm*Fs to a person of younger and lower position. Age and position allow a speaker the privilege of choosing appropriate markers for him/herself from an increased range of linguistic markers of LP: polite forms in order to show his/her sophisticatedness or egalitarianism, for example, or plain forms in order to show his/her superiority. As such, the choice of forms used is highly dependent on the social, personal, and linguistic attitudes of the individual concerned.

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A Pragmatic Account for the Difference between *kara* and *node*[1]

Sachi Fukushima

1. Introduction

Kara and *node* are conjunctive particles, both of which indicate causal relation. Although the difference between them has been discussed in Japanese literature since Nagano (1952), which tries to explain it in terms of 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity' of expressions, a fully agreed explanation does not yet seem to have been gained. The aim of this paper is to examine the general characteristics and differences of these two particles from the point of view of pragmatics. We shall first clarify the notion of causality, and based on this we will discuss the difference between *kara* and *node*. We will propose a hypothesis about their different basic relations and information structures, in the belief that this characterisation can explain their restriction to the situation of use.

2. Causal relations

Although *kara* and *node* are said to be causal connectives, the relations which *kara* and *node* indicate do not seem to be always the same. In most cases either of them can be used, but there are some cases where one is preferred. We will first examine the notion of causality and its relation to the meanings actually transmitted by *kara* and *node*.

2.1 General notion of causal relations

Causality refers to a relationship between cause and effect. It describes the relationship between events or state of affairs that have already occurred, which are successively positioned in a temporal line. The speaker recognises that the occurrence of one has something to do with the occurrence of another succeeding it. The latter is called effect and the former cause. In order to know there is a relation between the two, the speaker needs to have an idea that they can generally occur in a set.

(1) The ground is wet because it rained[2].

In this sentence, the events that the ground is wet and that it rained have both already occurred prior to the point of utterance: that is, both propositions are true. In this sentence, using 'because', the events are placed in the opposite way to the order in which they have actually occurred. It describes that the event that it rained occurred and as a result the event that the ground is wet occurred, thereby relating the two events.

However, the following sentence also makes sense. The order of cause and effect is the opposite, and a causal connective can bear this relation.

(2) It rained because the ground is wet.

The relation indicated in this sentence is warrant-assertion rather than cause-effect. What this sentence intends to say is that the speaker's knowledge or belief that the ground is wet prompts the conclusion that it rained. In this sense, the logical order which this kind of sentence follows is the same as that of the cause and effect sentence, although any actual temporality is not

involved. So it is not the case that the interpretation of this relation is completely different from that of cause-effect. However, this relation focuses more on the speaker's logical process: he needs to believe that when it rains the ground is (almost) always wet in order to say this sentence.

Further, causal sentences include cases where the main clause indicates a speech act.

(3) Be careful, because the ground is wet.

In this relation, the speaker's belief that the ground is wet causes a speech act that warns the hearer to be careful. It can be said that the logical process as cause-effect is involved in the same way again.

Thus, it is claimed that the causal connective firstly bears a cause-effect relation but two other levels of relations of clauses can be explained based on it. Sweetser (1990) argues that what these three relations connect are states of affairs, speaker's thought and speech acts; she calls them content, epistemic and speech act conjunction, respectively. Similarly Schiffrin (1987) classifies the relations indicated by 'because' and 'so' into three, namely fact based (cause-effect), knowledge based (warrant- inference) and action based (motive-action).

2.2 'Causal' relations seen in uses of *kara* and *node*

So what can we observe about the uses of *kara* and *node* in this relation? It seems that cause-effect relation is indicated by both *kara* and *node*, without any problem.

(4) *kara* (cause-effect)
<S's computer is broken. She is writing a dissertation>
S: *sonnani ireteta mono nai nda kedo,*
so much put ASP[3] PAST thing exist NEG MOD though
ireteta no minna dashiteru KARA, sore wa aru nda kedo,
put ASP PAST thing all take out ASP because that TOP exist MOD though
'There was not very much (on the hard disk of the computer)[4], because[5] (I) saved all (the data on a floppy disk), (I) have them (the data), though' (TUFS)[6]

(5) *node* (cause-effect)
<M's sister>
M: *demo yappari kanojo wa shigoto o shiteru NODE*
but as expected 3SG FEM TOP job ACC do ASP because
'But you know, because she (=sister) is working'
S: *un*
BC
'Mm'
M: *nakanaka ie ni , demo chikai wari ni wa tteiuka*
not often home to but close rate for TOP I mean
'(She) does not (come back) home very often, although (she) lives near, I mean' (TUFS)

As we have already seen above, both the two events or states of affairs which the speakers describe have already occurred preceding the utterance. The *kara* in (4) can be replaced by *node* and *node* in (5) can be replaced by *kara*.

On the other hand, warrant-assertion by *node* seems less common than that of *kara*. The following is an example of *kara*.

(6) *kara* (warrant-assertion)
<TV discussion on liberalisation of the import of rice>
Moriyama: *ano: takokukan desu to ne,*
FIL among many countries COP POL if FP
sono: kome o shiranai hito mo ôzei iru to omoimasu yo.
FIL rice ACC know NEG person also many exist COMP think POL FP
ajia de wa fuhentekina tabemono desu kedomo,
Asia LOC TOP universal food COP though
ano:, yôroppa, kore wa mô, Kenjô-san sô desu ne:
FIL Europe this TOP any longer (person name) POL so COP POL FP

'Well, (I) think there are many people who do not know much about rice (when it is discussed) among many countries. (It) is general food in Asia, but in Europe (it is not general food) any longer, is it, Mrs Kenjô?'

Kenjô: *sô desu ne:*
so COP FP
'No, it isn't.'
Moriyama: *yasai mitaina*
vegetable like
'Like a kind of vegetable'
Kenjô: *bejitaburu to iu kômoku ni haittemasu KARA.*
vegetable QT say heading in be included POL because
'Because (it) is included under the heading of vegetables' (Kome)

Some researchers, including Nagano (1952), assume that *node* is not suitable to indicate warrant-assertion relation. We can see if this is the case by replacing *kara* in this sentence with *node*. The fact is the sentence with *node* does not sound very odd (7).

(7) *yôroppa de wa kome wa bejitaburu no kômoku ni haitteiru KARA / NODE*
Europe LOC TOP rice TOP vegetable GEN heading in be included because
kome wa shushoku dewa nai noda[7].
Rice TOP principal food COP NEG MOD
'Because in Europe rice is included under the heading of 'vegetables', (it) is not (their) principal food.'

The following, which is a Japanese translation with *node* of (2), is far less acceptable.

(8)?? *jimen ga nureteiru NODE ame ga futta noda.*
ground NOM wet because rain NOM rain PAST MOD
'Because the ground is wet, it rained.'

(8) sounds as if the event that the ground is wet caused the rain. The reason why (7) sounds fairly acceptable may be that the temporality is not strongly involved in the statement: both propositions indicate states of affairs. The statement in (2) clearly has a temporal difference between the two propositions, the rain and that the ground is wet. Thus we need to notice that it is not impossible for *node* to indicate this relation where the causal order does not seemingly follow the temporal order. We can find examples like the following, where both the *node* clause and the main clause indicate general states of affairs.

(9) *jûyu ya sekiyu wa moyasu to nisankatanso o hasseishimasu ga,*

heavy oil and petrol TOP burn if carbon dioxide ACC generate POL though
dôji ni nisankaiô mo hasseisuru NODE,
the same time at sulphur dioxide also generate because
korera no busshitsu wa iô mo fukundeiru nodesu.
these GEN material TOP sulphur also contain MOD POL
'Heavy oil generates carbon dioxide when (it) burns. But because at the same time (it) also generates sulphur dioxide, these kinds of materials contain sulphur, as well.' (Hanai 1990: 67)

The existence of this kind of example can be explained by the general account of three levels of causal relations mentioned above.

Next we shall look at the cases of relation at speech act level. *Kara* clauses can provide motives for various speech acts such as request, invitation, prohibition etc.

(10) request
<O and N have decided to pay 5000 yen each towards a present>
N: *chotto matte, tsuki kawaru made. kanashii.*
Little wait month change until sad
watashi mada denwadai mo harawanakyaikenai KARA
1SG further telephone bill also pay must because
'Please wait a little, until next month. I'm sad (that I don't have enough money). Because I must also pay the telephone bill, (please wait).' (TUFS)

(11) invitation
R: *onaka suita KARA nanka sakini chotto tabeyô ka tte ittete*
stomach empty because something before little eat TENT Q COMP say ASP
'We (R and another friend of hers) were saying (before this conversation) 'because (we) are hungry shall (we) eat a little something before (the meeting after this conversation)?" (TUFS)

(12) prohibition
K: *hazukashii KARA hito ni wa iuna tte kuchidomeshitoite*
embarrassing because others DAT TOP say NEG IMP QT not to mention ASP
'Because (it) is embarrassing you ask (others) not to tell but'
J: *un*
BC
'Mm'
K: (laughter) *jibun kara ne:, nanka hazukashii koto nikagitte*
oneself from FP somewhat embarrassing thing only
nanka hito ni iitakunaru koto nai?
somewhat others DAT say want become thing exist NEG
'Don't (you) sometimes feel like telling others of your own accord about something especially embarrassing?' (TUFS)

On the other hand the use at speech act level also seems less common for *node*. An example of request with *node* is seen in the following.

(13) <R has an appointment with B after this conversation, but has forgotten the place for the appointment>
R: *de kinô denwashita no:.*
and yesterday telephone PAST MOD
'So (I) tried to call (her) yesterday'

T: *a:*
BC
'Ah'
R: *B-san ni, denwashitekudasai tte.*
(person name) POL DAT telephone give please QT
ano: machiawase basho to jikan o kakuninshitai NODE tte.
FIL appointment place and time ACC make sure want because QT
'(I) called for B, (and left a message) saying 'please call (me) back, well, because (I) would like to make sure of the time and the place for appointment' (TUFS)

Note that this example is not obtained from directly interactional situations: a speech as a telephone message. The speaker does not expect immediate direct reaction by the addressee.

In addition to these three basic kinds of logical relation, shared with languages like English, the causal connective *kara* can indicate a relation which is not apparently seen as a causal relation, as studied by some researchers (Shirakawa 1991, 1995, Sôrin & Fujiwara 1992, Maruyama 1995). We need to integrate the discussion on this particular issue into a general account of the characteristics of Japanese causal connectives.

(14) <S went to ask for computer repair>
S: *sugu wa naoranai no.*
soon TOP repaired NEG MOD
okane harau KARA motto hayaku shitekure tte ttara
money pay because more quickly do IMP QT say when
soshitara sore wa dekinai toka iwarete
then that TOP can NEG QT say PASS
'(The computer) could not be repaired very soon. (I) said because (I) would pay some money please do (it) more quickly, and (I) was told that (they) could not.' (TUFS)

To pay money is not the reason for telling the technician to repair the computer more quickly: 'because I 'll pay more money' is not an appropriate answer to a question 'why shall I repair it quickly?' Shirakawa (1995) explains that *kara* clauses in this usage give some condition which urges or enables the hearer to accomplish an act shown in the main clause. In (14) S proposes that she will pay money to the hearer as a condition to repair the computer more quickly. She gives this condition in order to persuade the hearer to accomplish the act by lightening the hearer's burden to do it.

The missing main clause of a *kara* sentence may not be directly reconstructed.

(15) <Shimazaki broke a pot at a supermarket, before buying it>
Shimazaki: *wa: dôshiyô kana: to omotte, ichiô reji mottetta ndesu yo.*
oh how do TENT Q FP COMP think in case cashier bring PAST MOD POL FP
gomennasai, watchatta nde:
I'm sorry break PERF because
ano: yappari okane haraimasu KARA tte ittara
FIL as expected money pay POL because QT say and
ii ndesu tte iwareta ndesu yo.
OK MOD POL QT tell PASS MOD POL FP
'Oh, (I) wondered what to do and brought (it) to the cashier. When (I) said 'I'm sorry, because (I)'ve broken (it), well, because (I)'ll pay money (for it)' (please forgive me), (I) was told 'It's OK'.' (Gokigen)

The main clause of the *kara* clause in (15) might be something like 'forgive me please'. It is not

gained directly from the previous context but from something like the hearer's knowledge, unlike examples like (10). The speaker seems to leave the implicitness of the *kara* clause to the addressee. The speaker, using *kara*, urges the addressee to act in a certain way, such as forgiving the speaker in (15).

Although the previous studies focus on cases of speech act level relations as examples in which the main clause is not readily constructed like (16), there are also examples which do not imply an act.

(16) <TV interview with a mountain painter>
Hiroko (hostess): *noborarete, sarani e mo kakarete,*
climb POL moreover picture also draw POL
'You climb mountains and moreover draw pictures (of them),'
Yamasato (guest): *hai.*
BC
'Yes'
Hiroko: *sono: ne: ôkina kôsô ga aru wake desho.*
FIL FP big plan NOM exist reason MOD
'and (you) have a big plan (about your work)'
Kenjirô (host): *n:*
BC
'Right'
Yamasato (guest): *de bijutsukan no seiri mo arimasudesu KARA.* (laughter)
and museum GEN arrangement also exist POL because
'In addition, because (I) have to arrange (my) museum, as well'
Hiroko: (laughter) *n:*
BC
'yes' (Ningen)

Kara is not used to indicate a reason or cause of something, rather, it serves another related aspect within the topic of discourse.

In most cases, the missing main clause of a *node* sentence seems to be reconstructed along the lines of cause-effect.

(17) <The exam for the Ph.D course, which N is going to take>
O: *ku-gatsu toka jû-gatsu toka sono gurai janakatta? shiken.*
September or October or that around COP MOD exam
'Isn't the exam in September or October, or sometime around then?'
N: *kamoshirenai. zenzen shirabetenakute watashi mo.*
maybe at all look up ASP NEG 1SG also
shirabenakyaikenai nda kedo:,
look up must MOD though
nanka konomae F-san ni atta tokini: kiitara,
FIL the other day (person name) POL DAT meet PAST when ask and
gogaku dake da to kiita NDE:.
languages only COP COMP hear PAST because
'Maybe. I haven't checked it yet. (I) must, but because (I) heard the exam is only languages, when (I) met F, (I'm not worrying too much about it and I haven't checked it properly yet)'

O: *saisho wa ne. sô na no. futatsu. futatsu dakke.*
beginning TOP FP so COP MOD two two COP MOD

'To begin with, yes. Two (languages), aren't they?'
N: *sô sô futatsu. un.*
BC two BC
'Yes yes. (They are) two. Yes.' (TUFS)

The *node* sentence does not have the main clause. However, the hearer can understand that the *node* clause is the cause of the result that the speaker has not checked the date of the exam properly yet.

3. Hypothesis

Although the relation which *node* indicates seems to be almost always interpreted on the basis of cause-effect, *kara* often expresses a relation which cannot be interpreted as causality. How can we relate such non-causal uses of *kara* to causal uses, which are shared with *node*?

Kitazawa (1992) explains that the function of sentences without the main clause is to recall sharing 'Script'. Script refers to our knowledge in memory as dependent event sequences. Consequently, one event strongly evokes other events which are in the same script. For example, it is not difficult to guess the word to substitute for X in (18) (Riesbeck & Schank 1978, cited in Brown & Yule 1983: 242).

(18) John's car crashed into a guard-rail.
When the ambulance came, it took John to the X.

The guessed word will be one of a class of related and acceptably substitutable words, such as 'hospital', 'doctor' or 'medical centre'. Although the lexical realisation may be thus varied, conceptually they are regarded as the same. This is because this text describes a car accident script. We know the next event after 'crash' and 'ambulance' according to event sequences from our knowledge or beliefs about car accidents. Thus scripts seem to affect our expectations greatly.

Let us try to explain (15) using this notion. *Kara* helps to recall the speaker to Compensation Script' together with the context, in which the speaker has broken the item to be sold. This script will normally include payment of money by the person at fault and the acknowledgement and forgiveness of this by the payee who has suffered because of the fault. Based on this script, the hearer interprets the missing main clause as 'forgive me please'. This kind of utterance allows the hearer to formulate an appropriate response, according to his knowledge as being the relevant script in that context.

Even when the main clause is clearly given this notion seems to be still available. Consider the following.

(19) <Shimazaki broke a pot at a supermarket in Himonya, before buying it. Noguchi also often goes to the same shop. On closing the topic >

Noguchi (guest): *boku wa ano: kôhîkappu o hikkakete:,*
1SG TOP FIL coffee cup ACC catch
ano: totte no tokoro po:n to watchatta koto aru ndesu kedo:,
FIL handle GEN place (onomatopoeia) QT break PERF thing exist MOD POL though
ten'in-san yonde, ano kore waretemasu yo tte. (laughter)
waiter POL call FIL this break ASP POL FP QT
'I have broken a coffee cup, catching it (at a cafe), but (I) called a waiter and said 'this is broken"

Shimazaki (guest): *hido:i* (laughter)
terrible
'Terrible'
Kozakai (host): (To the shop) *Himonya no Daiê-san,*
(place name) in (supermarket name) POL
mata irasshaimasu KARA mata nanka waretetara utagattekudasai.
again come POL because again something break ASP if suspect please
ichiban okkanai no wa kono hito desu.
the most terrible NOML TOP this person COP POL
'Dear Mr shop assistants at Daiê (=supermarket) in Himonya, because (Noguchi) is coming (to the shop) again, please suspect (him) if something's broken. He's the worst.' (Gokigen)

People who have heard Noguchi's story that he has broken something and cheated the shop will gain a kind of script of his deed, which may be recurrent. Once the event of Noguchi going to the shop is realised as one of the events of which the script consists, the request 'to suspect him' will be easily completed, along the lines of the script.

Recall that we pointed out that when cause-effect is given there is a relation between the two propositions. We claimed that in order to know there is a relation between the two propositions the speaker needs to have an idea that they generally occur in conjunction. This explanation does not seem far away from the notion of scripts as dependent event sequences. In both notions an event is likely to occur together with another.

We would like to suggest that the term which covers all relations which *kara* indicates, including both causal and non-causal relations, would be, broadly, 'implication'. We define implication as any inferable meaning from a statement in the particular context. The source of implication will include dependency on script, causality and all other background or related knowledge or beliefs of what is mentioned, from which derives the hearer's inference.

There may be a problem concerning a derivation of uses: we have seen that the principal meaning of causal relation is cause-effect, and explained that other relations are derived from it. However, it seems possible to say that the main relation of *kara* is not cause-effect, if *kara* is compared to *node*. As we have already seen generally *node* does not have the non-causal uses. Even warrant-assertion use does not seem to be its main usage, unlike *kara*, if the interpretation is affected by the temporal order. In order to explain these differences, it would be plausible to say that *kara*'s basic meaning is different from that of *node*.

The problem would be solved if cause-effect relation can be captured in terms of implication. We assume that cause-effect is also based on a relation where two events or states of affairs are generally supposed to occur dependently, just like a script. Although the derivation of causality is explained based on a relation of cause-effect, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the use of cause-effect is derived from another notion such as implication.

Our hypothesis so far may be summarised as follows. The main logical relation which *kara* and *node* bear seem to be different. For *kara*, it is implication, and for *node*, it is causality. In the next section, we will argue that this difference in main logical relation would cause the difference in information structure, which relates to the issue of politeness.

4. Information structure and politeness

A significant difference of the two connectives is that *kara* is mainly used in ordinary conversation where the use of *node* is more limited. It is often said that *node* is more polite than *kara*. So, how does our theory account for this difference in politeness and register and how is this difference related to the general theory of politeness?

According to Brown & Levinson (1987), politeness is realised by saving one's 'face', i.e.

'individuals' self-esteem' (ibid.: 2). In real life, where we communicate with each other, often an act to someone else may intrinsically threaten the addressee's face. Politeness is a strategy to redress these kind of acts, called 'face threatening acts' (FTA). It is assumed that face has two dimensions, namely positive face and negative face. To express appreciation of what the addressee claims for himself can be polite, saving positive face, and this kind of politeness is referred to as positive politeness. Negative politeness is also the saving of the addressee's face but by not imposing on the addressee.

To claim common ground among the participants is one of the strategies to accomplish positive politeness. To presuppose and assert that the hearer has the same point of view, opinion and knowledge helps enhance their close relationship. Negative politeness includes a strategy of avoiding presuming or assuming the hearer's wants and beliefs. Maintaining a distance from a person's opinion is frequently the polite course of action.

Takeuchi (1997) uses the term 'presupposition' in order to explain the difference between *kara* and *node*. She claims that it can be attributed to the relative importance of the two clauses: a *kara* clause is presupposed, or regarded as being shared among participants, therefore the main clause is highlighted. As for a *node* sentence, the *node* clause and the main clause are both asserted. Consequently the causal relation is more asserted. She argues that this difference explains the reason why *kara* is more compatible with the main clause of subjective expressions such as opinion, command, request etc.. According to her, since the assumption expressed in a *kara* clause is presupposed, the speaker may use *kara* to justify his act in order to persuade the hearer. With *node*, the speaker wants to assert the cause as well as to persuade the hearer to do something. She also argues that her account explains the possible impoliteness of a *kara* sentence. She claims that it is because the main clause, which indicates an impolite action, is highlighted.

However, contrary to her claim, Imao (1991) argues that new or focused information tends to be given in *kara* clauses. Information given in a *node* sentence is not usually focused. This claim is supported by some syntactic evidence. For example emphasised or focused forms of *kara*, such as the combination *kara-koso*, are possible, whereas a combination like *node-koso* does not exist. The possibility of this structure cannot be explained by the theory that it is not the *kara* clause but the main clause which is always focused.

Thus, we can see that Takeuchi (1997)'s theory to account for the meaning of *kara* has difficulties. However, if we assume that some information delivered by *kara* is presupposed, it seems to be able to account for their difference concerning politeness. That is, in the framework of Brown & Levinson (1987), *kara* acts as a positive politeness marker, a linguistic form which indicates positive politeness, whereas that of *node* acts as a negative politeness marker, a linguistic form which indicates negative politeness.

Instead of claiming that it is either one of the clauses that the speaker assumes is shared when *kara* is used, we suggest that it is rather the information that the two clauses are connected. We assume the connection by these causal connectives can be attributed to the notion of implication. Using *kara*, the speaker asks the hearer to infer the appropriate implication of a statement followed by *kara*. The speaker assumes the hearer can infer the implication. In other words, the speaker assumes that the implication is shared for *kara*. On the other hand, speakers using *node* assume that the information of the connection is not shared. If the relation expressed by *node* is interpreted along the lines of causality, it is the speaker who describes the situation as an event sequence including the connection of causality. Shared information is not involved in this process.

This claim that the shared part is rather the connection than information in either of the clauses also seems compatible with some other characteristics of *kara* and *node*. First, it appears to explain better why *kara* is used more for speech acts such as persuasion, invitation, request etc.. To invoke a shared connection strongly, using *kara*, helps to persuade the hearer to follow a script. Secondly, recall that sometimes it is not easy to reconstruct the main clause of an

unfinished *kara* sentence. Rather the main concern of that kind of sentence is implication derived from a *kara* clause. In this case, it does not seem to be the main clause that is focused. *Kara* urges the hearer to interpret the utterance with implication. The hearer of an unfinished sentence tries to find the speaker's implication by inference.

The third evidence is observed when a *kara* clause is given as a part of a story. *Kara* seems to derive expectation of the development of the story strongly: it causes the hearer to have some expectations about what happens next in the story[8].

(20) <A cockroach appeared in A's room>
A: *kore wa nani koroseru toka omotte tataku mono sagashita nda kedo*
this TOP FIL kill can COMP think hit thing look for PAST MOD though
sôiu toki nikagitte
such time only
'(I) thought (I) could kill (it) and (I) tried to find something to hit (it). But only at such a moment,'
C: *nai yo [ne: sô sô*
exist NEG FP FP BC
'There was nothing, right? yes yes.'
A: *[ne: de toriniitteru aidani nigeru nda yo ne.*
FP and fetch ASP while escape MOD FP FP
dakara, nanka purinto no iranaku natta no o marumete,
so something handout GEN unnecessary become PAST thing ACC roll
hippataita nda kedo, annojô, nigashite
hit PAST MOD though as expected escape let
'And (they) disappear while (you) go and fetch something, right? So (I) rolled some paper (I) didn't' need anymore, and hit (the cockroach with it), but as expected, (it) escaped'

C: *un un un*
BC
'Mm'
A: *sorede sugoi kuyashikatta KARA,*
and terribly regret PAST because
de atashi no heya ni kita koto arukke?
and 1SG GEN room to come PAST thing exist MOD
'And because (I) regret (it) terribly, and have (you) ever been to my room?'
C: *aru.*
exist
'(Yes I) have.'
A: *yojôhan desho semaidesho.*
4 1/2 mat room COP MOD small MOD
de anna tokoro de netetara sa, goki-chan ga sa
and such place LOC sleep when FP cockroach NOM FP
'(It)'s a 4 1/2 mat room, isn't it? (It)'s small, isn't it? And when (I) was sleeping in a room like this, there were cockroaches'

C: *nanka yakamo yoru toka.*
somewhat disgusting may night etc.
'(That)'s disgusting, especially at night'
A: *yadesho. dakara zettaini konbanjûni ne koroshiteyaru to omotte*
disgusting MOD so definitely within tonight FP kill COMP think
'Disgusting isn't it? So (I) thought '(I) should definitely kill (them) tonight"

C: *tôshi o moyashita no?*
fighting spirit ACC fire PAST MOD
'(You) were in a fighting mood'
A: *sassoku ne kinchôru o kai ni hashitte ne*
soon FP insecticide ACC buy to run FP
'(I) rushed out to buy a kinchôru (name of a insecticide). (TUFS)

This kind of use can be seen as a result of the meaning of *kara*, which invokes a shared connection strongly.

Examples like (16) where *kara* gives another aspect concerning the current topic, can be explained, as well. The speaker provides further information which seems to help the hearer to form an image of the matter and ensure the evaluation to the current topic among the participants.

It may not be easy to show which part of the information is regarded as being shared, the adverbial clause or the causal connection, from naturally occurring examples. Hanai (1991) shows that when the information to be expressed in the adverbial clause is experienced by both the speaker and the hearer at the time, *kara* is preferred to *node*. The information in *node* clauses tends to be related to the speaker. We can see this tendency in our data. For example in (5) above, the topic is N's sister, which clearly belongs to N's territory. There is a difference in the speaker's ages and N speaks to S with a slightly polite form. M uses *kara* at many other places but the fact that she uses *node* here may show that *node* remains in use when the topic belongs to the speaker's territory. Therefore it may be possible to say that there is such tendency concerning *node*. However, it does not have to be so, because there are also examples like the following.

(21) <Why a case occurs in which a baby is killed by heat because the mother left him in a car>
Takeshi: *ato kuruma tte no wa saikin kûrâ yoku kiku NDE*
in addition car QT thing TOP recently air-conditioning well work because
sono suzushisa tte no ga daijôbuda to omotchau njanai.
that coolness QT NOML NOM OK COMP think PERF MOD
'In addition, because air-conditioning in a car works very well recently, the coolness tends to make (them) think that it is OK (to leave their babies in their cars).' (TV)

The speaker is clearly not someone who knows more about the matter than other people in this conversation. The problem would be overcome if the following way of thinking is correct: there is a strong relationship between the fact that information about the connection is not shared and the fact that information transmitted is not shared.

In short, our hypothesis concerning the difference between *kara* and *node* in the relation which they indicate would be followed by the claim that information that the *kara* clause is connected to the main clause is regarded as being shared among participants, whereas that of *node* belongs to the speaker. This claim enables us to explain their difference in politeness in terms of Brown & Levinson (1987): *kara* is regarded as a positive politeness marker, presupposing common ground and *node* is regarded as a negative politeness marker, avoiding presupposing the hearer's logical process.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have proposed a hypothesis concerning the difference between two Japanese causal connectives *kara* and *node*. The difference can be attributed to their basic relations. The usage of *node* is based on causality, the relationship between events or states of affairs that have already occurred, whereas that of *kara* is based on implication, defined as inferable meaning dependent on any background knowledge. The difference generates different information

structures of the sentences. When *kara* is used the information that the two clauses are connected is regarded as shared, while when *node* is used it is regarded as only belonging to the speaker. Their difference in politeness is explained by this relation, to presuppose the hearer's belief is one of the strategies to realise positive politeness and to avoid such a presupposition is one of the strategies to realise negative politeness.

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Notes

1. This paper is based on an MA dissertation submitted to the Department of Language and Linguistics at the University of Essex. I thank Dr. Rebecca Clift, who supervised my work. I also thank Michael Gabbay who proofread the final draft.
2. If not indicated, the examples are the author's. See the appendix for the details of the sources of examples.
3. See the appendix for the abbreviations of grammatical categories used in the direct translation of Japanese examples.
4. Parenthesised words in English translation are ones for which there is no expression in the original Japanese sentences.
5. In English, the 'because' clause is usually positioned after the main clause (Chafe 1984, Ford 1993). However, in the translation in this paper, we will follow the order of clauses in Japanese, to show the different positioning of its adverbial clauses.
6. See the appendix for the details of the sources of examples.
7. In sentences which bear this relation, *noda*, which indicates that the proposition is the background or implication of something, is often needed in the main clause and shows that the proposition is the speaker's inference.
8. This usage is supported by the fact that Japanese sentence structure in conversation allows many clauses to be connected and each clause can be regarded as independent.

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Appendix 1: List of abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ASP	aspect	NOML	nominaliser
BC	back channel	NEG	negative
COMP	complementiser	PASS	passive
COP	copula	PAST	past
DAT	dative	PERF	perfect
FEM	feminine	POL	politeness
FIL	filler	Q	interrogative
FOC	focus	QT	quotative
FP	final particle	SG	singular
GEN	genetive	TENT	tentative
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
LOC	locative	1	first person
MOD	modality	2	second person
		3	third person

Appendix 2: Transcription conventions in naturally occurring conversational data

[the starting point of overlapping talk
] the ending point of overlapping talk
? rising intonation followed by a noticeable pause
. falling / utterance final intonation followed by a noticeable pause
, continuing intonation, followed by a slight pause
: lengthened syllable

Appendix 3: Sources of the examples

Conversation among friends:
TUFS: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies data, free conversation, 1995
TV programmes:
Gokigen: 'Gokigenyô' Fuji TV, 1995
Ningen: 'Ningen map' NHK, 1995
Kome: 'Denwa de sanka terebi! kome shijô kaihô ze ka hi ka?' TV Asahi, 1993
TV: 'TV tackle' TV Asahi, 1995

English Words and Japanese Loanwords from English: a Study on Cross-linguistic Influences between L1 and L2 Vocabularies of Japanese-English Speakers

Yuki Tokumaru
University of Essex

1. Introduction

In Second Language Acquisition research, questions arise over whether the language used by second language speakers is different from that of first language speakers. The English used by Japanese learners of English would be obviously different from that of native English speakers. Some foreign people speak Japanese very fluently but we can somehow tell the difference from Japanese native speakers. So why is it different, then? And how is it different? One very obvious difference between these two groups of language speakers is that the monolingual native speakers have just one language in their minds and second language (L2) users have two. What are the consequences of this evident difference between the two groups of language speakers?[1]

In this paper, I would like to explore whether and how second language users, particularly Japanese speakers of English, are different from monolingual Japanese speakers in their vocabulary use and thus in the structure of their mental lexicon.

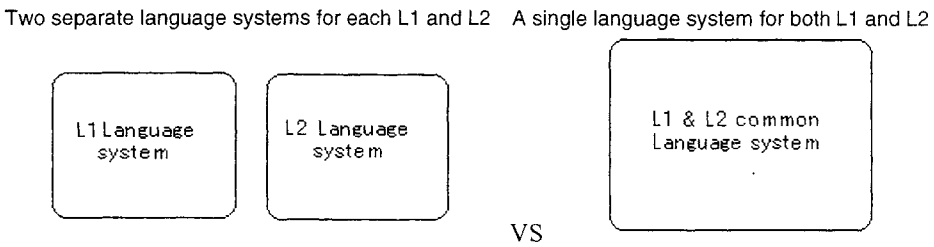
First, we look at some possible structures for a bilingual language system and a perspective of "multicompetence" (Cook 1991) is introduced as a potential theoretical base for the plausible modeling of a bilingual mental lexicon. Next, two tests are presented which investigate some of the aspects of the cross-linguistic interactions between English words and Japanese loanwords of English origin in the vocabulary use of Japanese speakers of English. In the last part, we discuss the results and the implications for the nature of the bilingual mental lexicon of Japanese-English speakers, which may lead to some pedagogical suggestions for L2 teachers and learners.

2. The bilingual language systems

2.1 Two basic structures of L2 speaker's competence

Diagram 1 shows two different models for the language systems of L2 users. There are two general possibilities for the structure of a bilingual language system: one is that the two languages of the L2 speaker have a completely separate, autonomous language system of their own; that is, there is a separate language system for each language. The other possibility is that there is just one language system for both L1 and L2.

Diagram 1: Two possible models for the language system of L2 users



Surrounding this topic of bilingual language systems, there are many arguments over whether there are two separate systems or a single system. If we admit the idea of language transfer, such that L1 influences L2 acquisition, the extreme view of a complete separation

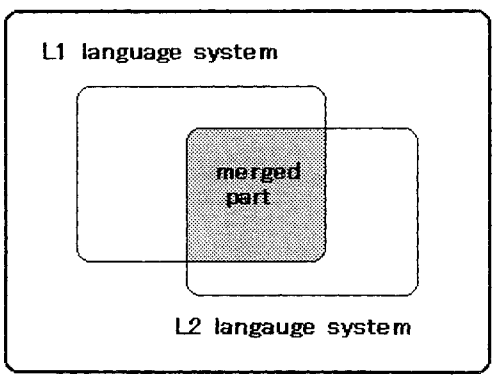
between the two language systems would seem to be unrealistic as with two separate, independent systems there would be no interaction between the two languages, therefore, allowing for no influence.

2.2 Multicompetence

The term "multicompetence" was first introduced by Cook, in 1991, into SLA research and the idea has since been developed. "Multicompetence" is defined as "a compound state of mind with two languages" (Cook 1991) and he claimed that this multicompetence is totally different in nature from a monolingual competence. Conventionally, much SLA research was carried out by comparing L2 competence with monolingual native competence; both researchers and language teachers always set the goal of native competence or proficiency as the L2 acquisition goal and claimed the inferiority of L2 users relative to the native standard (norm). However, the main argument of multicompetence theory is that the L2 user's language system has to be treated (studied) in its own right and should not be compared to monolingual native competence because it is totally different in nature.

In other words, the holistic multicompetent language system is not just the addition of one individual monolingual language system to another. The two languages, in one brain, are inter-related and united into *a single, unique language system as a whole.* (Cook 1991, Grosjean 1989) In this way, the idea of multicompetence is opposed to the idea of two completely independent language systems that have no links between them. However, this holistic multicompetent system does not necessarily mean that the two languages are mixed up in one completely merged language system. Furthermore, given the insufficient evidence supporting either model, it might be more plausible to consider that some aspects of the multicompetence system are unified while others are effectively separate. (Cook 1992) Following such a modular view, a simplified model of the language system of L2 users is given in Diagram 2.

Diagram 2: A holistic language system which has some language specific parts and a merged part



Presupposing a bilingual language system such as in Diagram 2, the naturally occurring question would be "Which aspects of a bilingual language system are economically shared between the two languages and which are more language-specific for efficient language processing? In the current study, I confine my attention to the bilingual mental lexicon of Japanese speakers of English: that is, the language system dealing with words from Japanese and English and their mental store. One of the objectives in this study is to explore a Japanese-English bilingual lexicon.

First of all, we need to examine the validity of the multicompetence model itself in order to

judge whether it can serve as the plausible base for our exploration of the structure of a bilingual mental lexicon. If the two languages in the L2 user's mind are organised into a holistic language system as "multicompetence", one of the consequences would be that at least some part of both languages would always be activated and therefore influencing the other, even when the speaker is using just one language. In other words, even in "monolingual mode" (Grosjean 1982), the other language is not totally deactivated, but is constantly available. This results from the merged part of the multicompetence language system.

3. Research topic and objectives

According to Weinreich (1964:8) 'to the bilinguals, a partial identification of the systems of two languages is a reduction of one's linguistic burden, but also the root of many forms of interference'. In this statement, 'a reduction of one's linguistic burden' can be taken to mean economic, efficient language processing. On the other hand, 'the root of many forms of interference' means there is cross-linguistic influence between the two languages.
Therefore, if we paraphrase Weinreich's words, it could be written: "to the bilinguals (L2 speakers), the merged part of the bilingual mental lexicon serves for economic, efficient language processing, but also results in much cross-linguistic influence between the two languages". Efficiency of processing and cross-linguistic influence may be observable in various aspects of language system, but here we focus on mental lexicon only.

For the purpose of examining the validity of the multicompetence model and the structure of the merged part of the bilingual mental lexicon, we need to investigate the dynamic cross-linguistic interactions that are supposed to occur in the vocabulary use of L2 speakers. Previous SLA studies have tended to focus on the phenomena of language transfer of mother tongue into the L2. But the multicompetence idea clearly predicts language transfer in the other direction as well; that is, *L2 influence on L1 use*. In other words, if two or more languages are used, the speaker's mother tongue (L1) is different from that of monolingual native speakers because of the inevitable influences from the other languages.

Weinreich (1964) also mentions that lexical transfer typically happens when the words from two languages are similar phonologically or morphologically. Likewise, Ringbom (1986) maintains that almost all examples of lexical transfer can be referred to as *formal similarity*. That is, we can assume that loanwords or cognates, which are words similar in form (and meaning) to words in another language, are more likely to cause transfer and cross-linguistic influence between two languages. Accordingly, it would seem to be viable to focus on Japanese loanwords of English origin and English words and to observe their relationship for the purpose of our current study.

Two studies were conducted: the first one was a word association task and its aim was to test the validity of the multicompetence idea by investigating L2 influence of meaning on L1 words. The second study was a cross-linguistic word recognition experiment aiming to investigate certain aspects of the language structure in the mental lexicon of Japanese-English users by detecting the special interrelations (interconnections) between Japanese loanwords and English vocabulary.

4. Association Task

The aim of the association task is to investigate the cross-linguistic influence of English as L2 on the L1 (Japanese) for Japanese users of English, especially with regard to the meaning transfer between the two languages.

The subjects of this research were native Japanese speakers who were using and acquiring

English as a L2 but at different levels. The main group of subjects consists of 25 Japanese adults who had been living in UK for different lengths of time (from 4 months to more than ten years). Most of them were students studying different courses at the University of Essex. The main group was compared with another group of 10 Japanese people who live in Japan and who had learnt English in Japan for at least 7 years. The comparison between the two groups was made in order to see the difference between the different proficiency levels of multicompetent L2 users, assuming that the subjects living in an English-speaking country had more contact with English and less contact with Japanese in their daily life than the subjects who lived in Japan. I also did the same test on 4 monolingual Japanese speakers and 10 monolingual British people with no knowledge of the Japanese language as control groups to check for the typical "Japanese" responses and the typical "English" responses.

The language materials were Japanese loanwords from English, that is, *Katakana-go* in Japanese. For the test, I chose *Katakana-go* that are used with a different meaning from the original English meaning. When English words are borrowed into Japanese, the original meaning is sometimes changed being adapted by the Japanese language system, culture or customs. For example, the English word "smart" means clever or stylish, but the Japanese loanword スマート/*sumaato*/ means slim or thin; the two meanings are quite different.

For the association test, subjects were given a word and they had to write down any other words which came into their minds immediately on hearing/seeing the word. Each test word was read out by the test administrator (i.e. me) and the subjects wrote down as many associated words as possible in 20 seconds. The entire task, including giving the instructions, was done in Japanese.

There were in total 20 cue words; the 16 of them were Japanese loanwords whose meaning differed from the original English words, and the remaining 4 words were distracters (non-loanwords). The 16 test loanwords were as follows:

ボス */bosu/* (boss), タレント */talento/* (talent), エッセイ/*essei/* (essay), ナイーブ/*naiibu/* (naive), スマート/*sumaato/* (smart), バイク/*baiku/* (bike), フェミニスト/*feminisuto/* (feminist), クリーニング/*kuliiningu/* (cleaning), ランチ/*lanchi/* (lunch), アイス */aisu/* (ice), サワー */sawaa/* (sour), ナイフ */naihu/* (knife), ソース */soosu/* (sauce), カード/*caado/* (card), ジュース */juusu/* (juice) and スナック/*sunakku/* (snack)

The hypothesis was that when the subjects heard a Japanese loanword in the test, they would have automatic access to the original English meaning as well as to its Japanese meaning and, therefore, they would subconsciously associate the test Japanese word with the things related in English reading. For example, if the cue word was ボス */bosu/* in Japanese, the prediction was that they will write words associated with the English meaning of "boss", such as "office" (オフィス), "work" (仕事) in Japanese, as well as the more Japanese related words, such as "monkey" (さる), "gangsters" (ギャング、やくざ) etc.[2]

This prediction was made on the assumption of a subconscious cross-linguistic transfer of meaning from L2 English to L1 Japanese in the subject's language processing mechanism. In other words, although the task was conducted in Japanese throughout and thus it was supposed to be a Japanese-language activity, influence from English, as the L2, might be seen.

The scoring for the test was done by looking at the association responses written for each cue word by each subject; if all the responses seemed to be derived from the English meaning, one point was scored as "English influence in meaning". Table 1. shows the total scores for "English influence" gained by the individual subjects from the three groups. The first column is the total score and each row shows the total number of subjects who gained the score from each group. For instance, the total score 5 was gained by five people from the main group, one person from

the sub group and by none from the control group.

16 Japanese loanwords were used for the association test, so the maximum score for English influence was 16; which would have meant that the subject associated all the 16 Japanese test words with only English meanings. In the main group, one subject scored 13 out of 16; she has been living in the UK for more than 15 years. One subject from the main group scored just one point, but most of the main group scored between 3 and 8. In the subgroup, the majority of the subjects scored 1 to 2 points with two exceptions: 5 and 0. In the control group, 3 out of the 4 subjects had no score for English influence, as expected. The remaining subject scored 1[3].

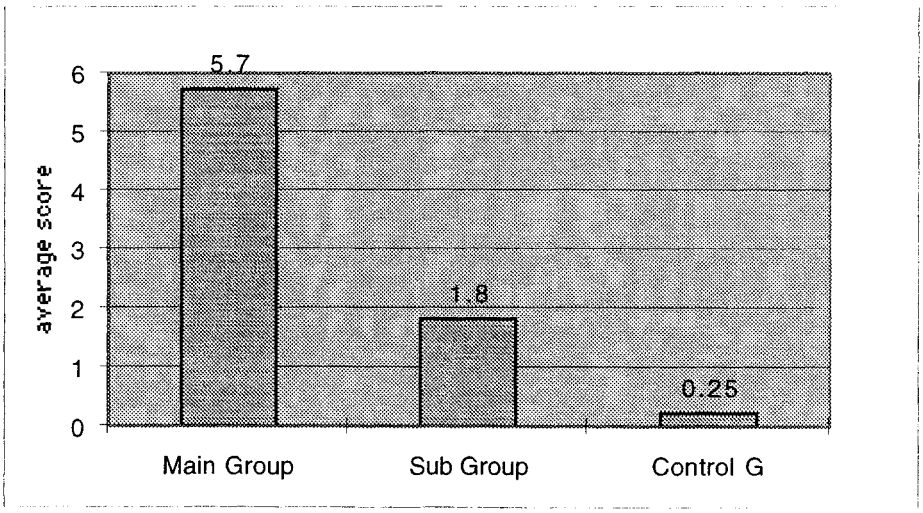
Table1: The individual scores for English influence in the three groups of subjects

Total score	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Number of Main Group Subject (1)	0	1	0	3	2	5	5	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Number of Sub Group Subject (2)	1	3	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Control Group Subject (3)	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(1) subjects living in U.K. (2) subjects studying English in Japan (3) control monolingual subjects

In the bar chart in Figure 1, the average scores for "English" influence in the three groups can be seen. The average score of the main group is 5.7, the sub group 1.8 and the Japanese control 0.25, showing a clear difference between the groups. From this, it would appear that living in the UK or Japan is fairly reliable indicator of the relative amount of use of English. Thus, we can maintain that the more familiar the subject is to using English words, the higher their score is for the semantic influence of English on the reading of Japanese words in the association task.

Figure 1: The average scores of English influence by the three groups



In conclusion, the results of this association task clearly demonstrate the semantic transfer of L2 English into L1 Japanese loanwords in the language use of Japanese-English speaker. There was considerable cross-linguistic influence for the main group of subjects, lesser influence for the subgroup and almost none for the monolingual Japanese speakers. Therefore, it is possible to

conclude that L2 Japanese users of English are very different from monolingual Japanese speakers in terms of the use of L1 Japanese loanwords from English as a result of the influence from their L2 knowledge of English. This confirms that L2 does influence L1 language use.

These results provide good evidence for the validity of the multicompetence perspective which supports the idea of a holistic bilingual language system in which two languages interact with each other dynamically and thus inevitably influence each other, even when a speaker is supposed to be in monolingual mode. A 'Multicompetence' language system is totally different from a monolingual language system.

5. Cross-language Visual Word Recognition task

The aim of this cross-linguistic word recognition task was to investigate the existence and nature of special interconnections (relations) between a pair of Japanese loanwords of English origin, *Katakana-go*, and its original English word, in the mind of multicompetent users of Japanese and English.

The main subjects of this research were 50 native Japanese speakers living in the UK and studying at the university of Essex. They consisted of different people from those in the association task.

This research is an on-line language processing experiment, using a PC and a software package called Experimental Run Time System (ERTS) for psycholinguistic experiments, which measures the subject's reaction time (RT) for word recognition in different stimulus conditions. The experiment is designed to test the cross-linguistic relations between a pair of *Katakana-go* and the corresponding English word sharing a similar pronunciation and/or a similar meaning; the focus is on whether the presentation of one word from a cross-linguistic pair primes[4] the recognition of the other word between the languages.

The research procedure was as follows: The subjects were instructed to look at the computer screen; when the stimulus word appeared on the screen they had to read it aloud. After half a second, the test word appeared unclearly; the subjects had to press a computer key immediately when they recognised it. The RT of the recognition was measured. The accuracy of recognition was also measured by giving a multiple-choice question about the test word in each trial.

Presupposing that *form and meaning similarity* are two important factors affecting cross-linguistic influences, there are four different conditions of a Stimulus-Test word pair.

Condition 1. Cross-linguistic Japanese-English pair of words with **similar pronunciation** and **similar meaning**

(Stimulus word) bus – (Test word) バス */basu/*

Condition 2. Cross-linguistic J-E pair with **similar pronunciation** and **different meaning**

(SW) talent – (TW) タレント */talento/* (a TV star)

Condition 3. Cross-linguistic J-E pair with **different pronunciation** and **different meaning**

(SW) office – (TW) スプーン */supuun/*

Condition 4. Cross-linguistic J-E pair with **different pronunciation** and **similar meaning** (i.e. translation equivalents)

(SW) essay – (TW) レポート */repooto/* (essay)

And there are two control conditions to be compared with the above four main conditions

Condition 5. **The same word repetition** either in English or in Japanese (a pair of words with

the same pronunciation and the same meaning in one language)

(SW) candy – (TW) candy (or (S) ゲーム */geemu/* – (T) ゲーム */geemu/*)

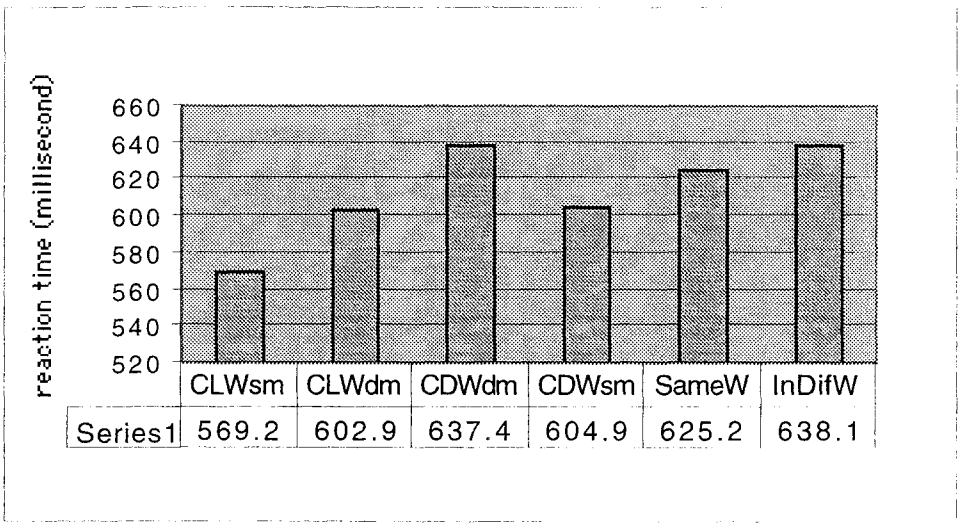
Condition 6. Two different words in one language, either in English or Japanese (a pair of words with **different pronunciation and different meaning within one language)**

(SW) green – (TW) wall (or (S) アイス *aisu* – (T) スカート *sukaato*)

The prediction was that Condition 1 would have the shortest RT because the stimulus word and the test word were almost identical in both pronunciation and meaning, although the two words are from different languages. If the interconnection between a Japanese loanword and its English equivalent in Condition 1 is very strong across the languages, the RT would even be as fast as the same word repetition in Control Condition 5. In contrast, the subject's RT in the Condition 3 would be the slowest as the stimulus word and test word have nothing in common either in their sound or meaning. As a result, the former would not prime recognition of the latter and as such, the Japanese and English pair of words have no strong interrelations.

The results of the cross-linguistic visual word recognition task are represented in a bar-chart in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The average RT of word recognition in different conditions



CLWsm (1) = cross-linguistic Japanese-English pair with similar pronunciation and similar meaning
CLWdm (2) = cross-linguistic J-E pair with similar pronunciation and different meaning
CDWdm (3) = cross-linguistic J-E pair with different pronunciation and different meaning
CDWdm (4) = cross-linguistic J-E pair with different pronunciation and different meaning
SameW (5) = the same word repetition (the same pronunciation and the same meaning in one language)
InDifW (6) = a pair of two different words in one language (with different pronunciation and different meaning)

Table 2: The order of the average RTs of the six conditions

Shortest RT

Condition 1 (569.2ms): cross-languages, same form, same meaning: bus – バス */basu/*
Condition 2 (602.9ms): cross-languages, same form, different meaning: talent – タレント */talento/*
Condition 4 (604.9ms): cross-languages, diff form, same meaning: essay – レポート */repooto/*
Condition 5 (625.2ms): same language, same form, same meaning: candy – candy
Condition 3 (637.4ms): cross-languages, diff form, diff meaning: office – スプーン */supuun/*
Condition 6 (638.1ms): same language, diff form, diff meaning: green – wall

Longest RT

The bar chart 2 above shows the average RT for word recognition for each condition by all the subjects. In Table 2, the six conditions are arranged according to their average RT.

The average RT for Condition 1 is 569 milliseconds, representing the fastest RT for all the conditions: it is significantly shorter than any other condition including the control condition. ($p < .000$) From this it would appear that one word from a cross-language pair of words, such as bus-バス*/basu/*, which share the same sound (form) and meaning, *does* significantly prime the recognition of the other word beyond the language boundary. This result supports the existence of strong interconnections between two words from different languages which share some kind of language properties (i.e. meaning and form), such as a Japanese *Katakana-go* and an equivalent English word.

Condition 3 and Condition 6 (as one of the control conditions) are the slowest; their RTs being 637ms and 638ms respectively. Condition 3 is a cross-language pair consisting of a stimulus and test word which do not share pronunciation or meaning; that is, two completely different words from English and Japanese, such as "office" and "スプーン" */supuun/*. Condition 6 consists of two completely different words from the same language (with no form or meaning in common): for example, the S-T pair of words "dog" and "book" in the English trials and "いぬ" */inu/* and "ほん" */hon/* in the Japanese trials. These pairs of words are not linked by any special interconnections between them and, thus, the activation of the stimulus word does not prime recognition of the test word, unlike the other conditions. The important point to be noted here is that whether such pairs of unrelated words come from the same language or two different languages did not make any difference in the above test result; as seen above, the RTs of Condition3 and 6 is so close (637ms & 638ms) and ANOVA showed no significant difference ($p = 1.000$) (by SPSS[5]) This means that if there is no connection between two unrelated words, there is no priming effect from one word to the other regardless of whether it is *within one language or across languages*. In other words, whether the interconnections between words can be formed and strengthened is *not affected by the language boundaries*, but by some other factors derived from the relations between individual words, such as a speaker's language experiences. The results seem to support our prediction.

Next, an interesting point to observe is that Condition 2 and Condition 4 have approximately the same average RTs: about 603ms and 605ms respectively. Condition 2 is the cross-linguistic S-T pair of an English word and a Japanese loanword from English (*Katakana-go*) with similar pronunciations but different meanings in the two languages: for example, English "talent" and Japanese "タレント" */talento/*. Condition 4, on the other hand, is a cross-language pair of 'translation equivalents' sharing the same meaning but not formal similarity, such as "cat" and "ねこ" */neko/*. The result of the very close average RTs in the two conditions might be sheer coincidence. However, there is one common characteristic between the pairs of S-T words in Conditions 2 & 4: in that the two words are related by one of the similarity factors (either pronunciation or meaning), but not by the other. The RTs of both Conditions 2 & 4 are slower than for Condition 1, but faster than for Condition 3 and 6, indicating that there are some priming effects in word recognition in Conditions 2 & 4 compared with the S-T pairs of two completely unrelated words, though not as much as for the cross-language pair of words sharing both form and meaning similarities, as in Condition1.

Surprisingly, the three cross-linguistic conditions 1, 2 and 4 marked faster Reaction Times than the control condition 5 of the same word repetition.

(Refer back to Figure 2 again.) Commonsense intuition predicts that the recognition of the identical test word to the previous stimulus word (i.e. the same word repetition) should achieve the most priming effect, but this was not supported by the results. The cross-language pair of English and Japanese words that share the same meaning and/or pronunciation primed word recognition more than the identical word repetition for the stimulus and test word in Japanese-English bilinguals. However, ANOVA shows that the difference of the RTs in Condition 2 and 4 to that of Condition 5 is not significant at all: $p=.677$ for Pairwise Comparison of Condition 2

(602.9 ms) vs Condition 5 (625.2ms); p=1.000 for Condition 4 (604.9ms) vs 5 (625.2ms) This means that even if the RTs of Condition 2 & 4 are both faster than the RT of Condition 5, strictly speaking, their differences are too marginal and, thus, no significant argument can be made for this comparison. On the other hand, the difference between the RT of Condition 1 (569.2ms) and that of Condition 5 (625.2ms) is very significant ($p < .000$). This strengthens our argument further for the existence of a very special relationship between certain types of words across two different languages, in which the stimulus word in one language activates the test word in the other language even faster than the repetition of the same word in the same language.

But why is it that the activation of the identical word in one language twice turns out to be slower than the activation of the cross-linguistically "identical" two words in the experiment? One possible reason could be the length of time between the presentation of the stimulus word and that of the test word (that is, the SOA: Stimulus Onset Asynchrony in psycholinguistic terminology). In the current experiment, SOA was set at 500 milliseconds; which meant there was a half-a-second gap between the presentation of the stimulus word and the test word. This might have been slightly too long for the (same word) repetition prime to perform to full effect. (In other words, the effect of the stimulus did not last up until the test word appeared.)

Another reason could be that the subjects might have looked more carefully and thoroughly at the test word when it seemed to look exactly the same as the previous stimulus word in order to double-check if there was any difference between them. Thus, it could have taken more time for the extra processing of double-checking before they made a reaction of recognition.

The major results are still consistent with our prediction. The cross-linguistic word recognition experiment showed that the most priming effect was observed in the cross-linguistic pair of a Japanese *katakana-go* and a corresponding English word which had the same sound-form and meaning in common, compared with any other word pairs, both within- and across-language, including the same word repetition. That is, a closely related pair of words does automatically activate each other even across languages, and we can verify the existence of very strong interconnections between cross-linguistic words. It may even be possible to postulate from this significant result that such a pair of words is represented as one cross-linguistic "identical" word in the Japanese-English users' mental lexicon.

Some priming effects were also found in word recognition of the cross-linguistic pair, where a stimulus word and a test word share either meaning or sound-form similarity. The two-word pairs that do not share any formal nor semantic similarity had the slowest RTs for word recognition, and the result stands the same within- and across- language conditions.

6. Discussion

The two tests were administered with two aims. First, the Japanese Association test examined whether the second language would exert a subconscious, automatic influence on the first language use of L2 speakers, just like the well-known phenomena of "L1 influence on L2". To check this rather minor, marginal phenomena of L2 impact on the mother tongue would function as a good test for the validity of the "multicompetence" perspective because its main claim is based on a dynamic cross-linguistic interaction between the two languages in a single, merged language system. Thus, each of the two unique languages, including their mother tongue, should be very different from its monolingual counterpart. In particular, the focus of the task was on the semantic transfer of L2 English meaning on L1 Japanese word association. The results clearly demonstrated that a considerable degree of English influence was found for the more advanced Japanese users of English living in UK; that there was a moderate amount of influence in the less proficient group learning English in Japan; and almost no L2 influence (i.e. the typically Japanese response) from the Japanese monolingual people. Thus, three clearly different groups

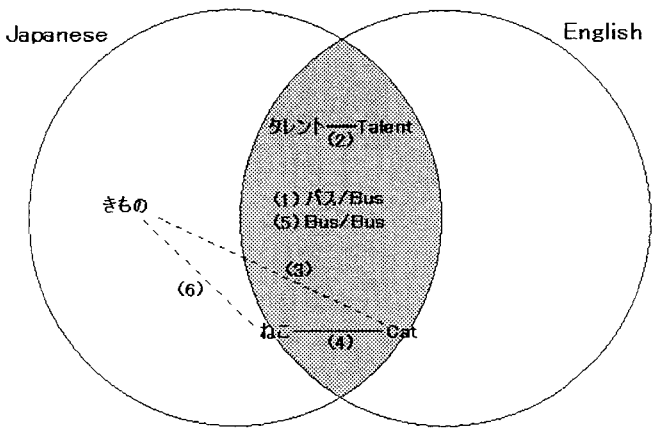
of mother tongue uses were observed for the same test. As a consequence, it is possible to say that our results support the multicompetence perspective.

Second, the cross-linguistic word recognition experiment, aimed to explore aspects of the internal-structure of Japanese-English bilingual's mental lexicon from the perspective of "multicompetence". In this experiment, we focused on the relationship between cross-linguistic pairs of Japanese loanwords of English origin and English words in English-Japanese speakers' mental lexicon. Especially strong interconnections were detected between the two words from Japanese and English that share the same pronunciation and meaning. The Reaction Time for the recognition of a word from such a pair after the presentation of the other had such a significant priming effect that it is even possible to claim that this type of Japanese *Katakana-go* and its corresponding English word have an identical representation across the languages, just as the same word in their mental lexicon.

Returning to the discussion of the possible models of bilingual mental lexicon, we have argued for the plausibility of a unique, holistic language system, rather than for two completely separate systems for each language, which was supported by evidence from the dynamic cross-linguistic interactions observed at the vocabulary level in the two tests. What does this mean for the organization of the mental lexicon of Japanese-English speakers? It could be suggested that there is a shared, merged area of word store in Japanese-English mental lexicon, where those specially related pairs of words like "bus" and "バス" */basu/* are represented together in the same place. On the other hand, there should be some language-specific levels of stores for each individual language as well, where more language-specific words (without any major cross-linguistic interconnections) are stored.

Diagram 3 illustrates how different cross-linguistic pairs of Japanese *katakana-go* and English words could be represented in different parts (levels) of the Japanese-English mental lexicon.

Diagram 3: A simplified model of the bilingual mental lexicon of Japanese-English users



(The numbers in parenthesis correspond to the language-pair conditions in the experiment)

Finally, does the current research have any implications for second language education?
As the research demonstrates, L2 users' languages, both their mother tongue and their acquired new language(s) are inevitable different from their monolingual counterparts because of the dynamic interaction between the two languages as a unique language mechanism. The question then arises as to why the teachers and students have to set monolingual, native competence as the learner's goal. "Multicompetence" and "monocompetence" are just two different states of

mind, but it is never the case that one of them is superior or inferior to the other.

I think one of the very important implications for the L2 language teachers is that they become fully aware of the complex structure of learners' state of mind, with their old and new-coming languages interacting as a unique entity, which is different from any monolingual system. In addition, L2 teachers should make more elaborate use of the learners' L1 knowledge in their teaching. I believe one of the important roles of a L2 teacher is to encourage the learner's language development in its own right and never to let one's students feel any inferiority or disappointment in their language performances by comparing them with monolingual native speakers.

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Notes

1 When I mention about first language (L1) speakers or native speakers in this paper, I refer to monolingual L1 speakers specially: that is, people who speak just one language as a mother tongue.
2 In Japanese, ボス */bosu/* means (a) 'a person who has gained control of his organization, especially political or criminal, with coercion' (Miura 1979): in short, a (strong) leader of gangsters or politicians; (b) a leader in a group of animals, typically monkeys and dogs
3 Strictly speaking, there should not be even a single score of "English influence of meaning" from Japanese monolingual subjects theoretically because they are not supposed to have any English knowledge. But in reality, it is almost impossible in Japan to find very pure Japanese monolinguals who don't know any English at all.
4 In psycholinguistic term, priming effect means to gain a faster speed in the recognition of a target word than its control condition.
5 ANOVA stands for Analysis of Variance. SPSS stands for Statistical Package for Social Science

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Practical Reports

An Example of How to Systematize Kanji Instruction -Teaching Phonetic Compounds –

Bridget Brody
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

1. Introduction

The purpose of the current paper is to report on the instruction in phonetic compounds of kanji to adult L2 learners at SOAS Language Centre, to show how kanji class hours can be organized systematically, and how learners' understanding of kanji can be enhanced and effective self-study habits established. A procedure for the teaching of phonetic compounds will be demonstrated, as well as a report on student progress.

2. The problems of kanji-learning

Students at SOAS Language Centre undertaking a year-long intensive Japanese course have a total of 40 hours of kanji classes out of 600 hours of tuition. The kanji classes take place once a week for 1_ hours in term 1, and 1 hour in terms 2 and 3. Students are expected to be familiar with 1,000 kanji (both reading and writing) by the end of the course, having covered 24-30 new kanji each week over the 3 terms. Taking into account that each class includes a 15 minute kanji test, the actual class hours are 45 (terms 2 and 3) or 75 (term 1) minutes a week, which is clearly not enough for students to absorb the shape, pronunciation(s), meaning and use of all new kanji, as well as revising previously learnt kanji. In their daily lives outside class, our students have little exposure to Japanese. Students' self-study therefore has to play a large role in kanji learning. One of the responsibilities of the instructor then is to motivate learners and to help them establish effective learning strategies.

3. Topic-based kanji syllabus

In order to systematize kanji instruction, I have employed a topic-based kanji syllabus, where once the introduction stage (the first few weeks) is over, each kanji class focuses on a certain topic related to the nature of kanji. For example, some of the topics covered are 'the relationship between *katakana* and kanji (e.g., 千→チ or タ+タ= 多)' (for some ideas on this refer to Takebe 1989: 58-60), 'use of kanji dictionary', 'similar-looking kanji (e.g., 未/末)' , 'kanji with opposite meanings (e.g., 暑/寒)', 'kanji with similar meanings (e.g., 暑/熱)', 'radicals with similar meanings (e.g., ウ/疒)' (for some ideas on this refer to Halpern 1987: 38-43), 'kanji with the same *kun*-reading (e.g., 暑/熱/厚)' and 'phonetic compounds (e.g., 紹/招/昭/照)'.

The above topics are often repeated in the following term, incorporating newly learnt kanji each time, thus reinforcing their knowledge and revising recently learnt as well as possibly forgotten kanji.

I find topic-based kanji instruction particularly effective for the following reasons:

- It is useful for revising confusing kanji, such as kanji with similar shapes or meanings.
- It develops awareness of the basic aspects of kanji, such as the rule of phonetic compounds, the formation of kanji (radical + other component) or the fact that many kanji share the

same components. Developing such awareness is useful both for beginners and for learners who have not previously received systematic instruction in kanji.

- It clarifies the objectives of each kanji class, enabling the learners to focus on a certain aspect of kanji.
- It can introduce activities which the students will not necessarily be able to do alone at home.

4. Instruction in phonetic compounds

4.1 The importance of the phonetic compounds

Among the six categories of kanji[1], four main categories are widely in use: pictographs, ideographs, semantic compounds and phonetic compounds. Of those four, the phonetic compounds are said to cover 80-90% of all kanji (Ogawa et al., 1989: 475 and Harada 1985: 123) and nearly 70% of the *Joyo* kanji (Miyajima et al. 1982: 216). Phonetic compounds refer to kanji which include a component that indicates its reading. For example, 交/校/効/郊 all contain the component 交indicating that their *on*-reading is *koo*. This only applies to the *on*-reading (not the *kun*-reading), because the *on*-reading is the pronunciation adopted from Chinese, where the formation of kanji and their pronunciation has a more logical base.

According to Miyajima et al. (1982: 218), about 60% of the phonetic compounds follow the regular pattern (e.g., 交/校/効/郊), and of the rest, about 33% have a 'semi-regular' pattern (e.g., 原/源/願). Less than 10% of the phonetic compounds are irregular (e.g., 砂/秒/省).

Thus, the existence of the phonetic compounds enables a reader to predict the *on*-reading of unknown kanji, though exceptions may have to be learnt individually. Heisig (1987: 20) calls the phonetic component 'the signal primitive' where 'primitive' refers to components of kanji.

Not all kanji have just one *on*-reading. However, research (Miyajima et al. 1982: 251) shows that out of the pronunciations given in the *Joyo* kanji list, nearly 80% have only one *on*-reading, making it not impossible to guess the *on*-reading of unknown kanji.

4.2 Teaching regular phonetic compounds

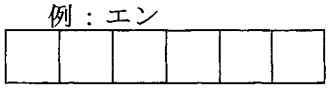
Below is an example of a procedure for introducing the phonetic compounds:

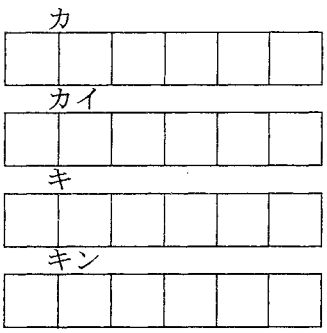
a. When students start learning kanji, explain the four main categories of kanji mentioned earlier and point out that the vast majority of kanji are of the phonetic compound type, without actually going into detail at this stage. I found that it is not productive to explain it in detail at a time when students are still familiarizing themselves with the basics of kanji.
b. Once they have learnt enough phonetic compounds to carry out a meaningful class activity (in the case of our students, this was when they had studied the first 150 –180 kanji, including roughly 20 phonetic compounds, from *Shin Nihongo no Kiso Kanji Workbook*), prepare a worksheet whereby students must group together kanji already learned by their *on*-reading (Chart 1). Provide the kanji in context so that it is easier for students to remember their pronunciation .

Chart 1 *On*-reading

Put underlined kanji in the sentences provided into the right column according to their *on*-reading, following the example.

例：エン





c. After completing this task, ask students to identify the common component in each group.
d. Provide a set of kanji not yet learned (Chart 2) and ask students to put them into the groups already made. Provide these unknown kanji without context so that students will pay attention to the phonetic component of the kanji, rather than try to figure out the reading from the context.

Chart 2 List of kanji not yet learned

猿、荷、可、誡、記、磯、欣

e. Let student pairs check each other's answers or go through the answers with the whole class together, and discuss any discrepancies. Provide a model answer at the end of the class (Chart 3 below).

Chart 3 *On*-reading – model answers

エン 袁

猿	遠				

カ 化 可

化	花	可	何	荷	歌

カイ 戒

械	誡				

キ 己 幾

記	起	機	磯		

キン 斤

f. Carry out revision the following week by using flashcards or hand-outs or simply draw kanji on the board (Chart 4). Ask students to pronounce kanji that contain the phonetic parts covered the previous week. Start from familiar kanji and then move on to unknown kanji to test whether they are applying the rule.

Chart 4 *On*-reading – revision

1. セン（泉、先） 2. ジ（寺） 3. カ（可、化） 4. シュウ（周）
5. ヨウ（翌） 6. カイ（戒） 7. キ（幾） 8. ボウ（亡）
9. キン（斤） 10. エン（玄） 11. コウ（交） 12. キ（己）

時 2 近 機 械 花 週 忘
曜 遠 先 可 何 持 洗
忙 校 起 園 荷 周 銃
腺 記 歌 貨 望 誠 侍

g. Show students a video which explains how phonetic compounds work as well as drawing attention to the semantic relationship between kanji having the same phonetic parts. (For example, 花、靴、訛、貨and 囮 all contain 化and therefore include an idea of 'transformation' in their meaning. Plant (艹) transforms (化) into flower (花), leather (革) transforms (化) into shoes (靴), and so on. The video I use is made for Japanese native speakers.).
h. Ask students to write down the kanji they saw on the video[2].
i. Explain that phonetic parts usually appear in one of six positions within the kanji (top 貨, bottom (花), left (韓), right (訛), inside (囮) and outside (問), and that to find the phonetic parts they should isolate the radical and see what remains. It is a pre-requisite of this exercise that students have some knowledge of radicals[3]. Then introduce some exercises that aim at enabling the students to look for the phonetic parts independently.

4.3 Introducing exceptions in phonetic compounds and exercises for consolidation

a. Once the basics have been introduced, introduce some exceptions (e.g., 寺/時/持/待). Kanji which are not phonetic compounds but include components that can be confusing (e.g., 歩/劣 as opposed to 砂/秒/省 introduced in section 4.1 above) could be added to the list.
b. From thereon, each time a phonetic compound is introduced, always point its component out to the students, until they are able to notice the rules by themselves. Add notes, drawing attention to phonetic parts as well as exceptions, on the kanji appearing on the weekly kanji sheets.
c. Occasionally repeat various revision exercises. Also incorporate exercises which test their knowledge of the exceptions, either in context or in isolation, so as to prevent them from over-applying the rules (Chart 5). See Heisig (1987: 89-120 and 150-197) and Covington et al. (1999: 212-248) for some ideas on how to prepare exercises to test exceptions.

Chart 5 Exercise in exceptions

例：系 係(孫) ケイ（ソン）

1. 未味妹＿（＿）
2. 映央英＿（＿）
3. 時待寺持＿（＿）
4. 産生姓星性＿（＿）

Having studied in this way, most students when they were presented with new kanji, were able to identify phonetic parts they had come across before, and were able to predict the *on*-reading of even the most obscure kanji (while still aware of possibilities to meet exceptions to the rule), thus making the learning of unknown kanji less difficult

In this way, learners can detect some logic (both phonetic and in some cases semantic as seen in the case of 化) behind what could otherwise seem to be endless numbers of unrelated characters. Such methods will enhance their understanding of the nature of kanji, and guide them to eventually finding these rules themselves in their future kanji learning.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Example of student progress

At the end of term 2, when 600 kanji have been covered, the ability of the students to identify the *on*-reading of unknown kanji is tested. 30 kanji are selected which they will be covering in term 3 and which have the same phonetic components as the kanji they have learnt in terms 1 and 2, and they are asked to write down the *on*-reading next to each of the 30 without consulting a dictionary (Chart 6). Those kanji which the students get right (e.g., 枯 → コ) are given 1 point, and those which are wrong due to mistakes in long/short vowels and voiced/unvoiced consonants (e.g., 枯 →コウ or 険 → ゲン) are given half a point. The total marks for correct answers per kanji are then converted into percentages, which are the figures given in Chart 6 below.

Chart 6 Students' ability to guess the on-reading of 30 unknown kanji, using their knowledge of familiar phonetic components.

85.7%	姓					
71.4%	令	齢	導	簡	伴	
64.3%	郊					
57.1%	河	靴				
50.0%	訪	剣	懸			
42.9%	果	判				
35.7%	枯	険				
28.6%	菓	議	儀	紹	効	際
14.3%	託	政				
0%	授	忙	請	泊	鎮	慎

The kanji with the highest correct answers were generally those where students were familiar with the compound using the phonetic part. Even with the kanji where students made mistakes, it seems that they were actively looking for a component which indicated the reading, but were not familiar enough with its *on*-reading to answer correctly. In a few cases, students were not able to isolate the radical of the kanji and made mistakes such as writing キンfor 鎮, but the majority of the students appeared to be able to distinguish the radicals from the phonetic components.

The result shows that while there were still phonetic components they were not entirely familiar with, the exercises in class helped them to identify many of the unknown kanji which they would be learning in term 3. It also showed that students were aware of the possibility that they might find a clue to the *on*-reading, and actively looked for it. The test is useful for identifying which phonetic component students need to work on in the following term, and where problems might occur.

5.2 Student feedback

Out of the 50 or so feedback sheets returned in 1998-99, 34 commented on the positive value of this teaching method, specifically the variety of methods used, the usefulness of hints and notes, and the provision of a base on which students were able to build in their own time.

Notes

1. These were identified by a Chinese scholar *Xu Shen* in one of the earliest dictionaries of Chinese script *Shuowenjiezi* (100 AD) and still in use nearly 2,000 years on. The other two categories other than the four mentioned are said to be related to the use of kanji rather than the type, and are therefore less in use (Todo 1968: 408-409).
2. I often provide a small whiteboard to each student for writing kanji down in class. It enables the teacher to see more clearly what the students are writing than if they were writing in notebooks. Students can also show each other what they have written, making the class more interactive. Many students like using whiteboards and some purchased their own to use at home for practicing kanji.
3. I find visual-training prior to learning kanji useful for developing awareness of formation of kanji (radical + other component). See Hatasa 1989 for some ideas on how to prepare such exercises.

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漢字語彙の定着をめざした教室活動の例

ガッチ 洋子
オックスフォード大学

1．初めに―漢字語彙[1]の学習における問題点

漢字語彙を学ぶ場合、学生が直面する問題点は数多くあるが、筆者が勤務する大学（4年間の日本学専修コース。漢字の授業は各学年、毎週60分。）で、3、4年生にアンケートを採ると、毎年出てくるのは次の二点である。

A．漢字語彙、特に漢語[2]を長期にわたって記憶できない。

B．漢字語彙の絶対量が多すぎて、勉強をしているのに知らない言葉ばかりが出てくる気がする。

Aの理由としては、字形が複雑で再生しにくい、漢語の読みが似通っていて紛らわしい、その言葉を見たり使ったりする機会が少ないなどが挙げられる。特に第三の点は、海外で日本語を勉強している者の宿命ともいえる点で、学生が日本に留学した後で「何となくいろいろな言葉が覚えられた。」とうれしそうに述懐するのは、この事実の裏返しであろう。

Bは、基本文法を習うときに登場した語彙は日常生活に頻繁に登場する基本語彙で、教科書に関わらずその中身は似たり寄ったりだが、中級に移ると急にたがが外れたように語彙の幅が広がり、従って特定の言葉に遭遇する回数も減るという外国語学習に共通する悩みである。ただし、一語を覚えるのにヨーロッパ言語より時間がかかると学習者が漢字るのは、漢字のもつ情報量の多さ（字形の複雑さ、複数の読み）や、ヨーロッパ言語の語彙を学んだときにはある程度可能だった英語やラテン語の字形からの類推が全くきかないことなどが理由だと思われる。

2．問題解決を目指すに当たっての留意点

学生の提起した上記の問題点に対処するために、筆者は漢字のクラスを担当するとき、次のようなことを心がけている。

Aについては、1)単漢字あるいは漢字語彙の導入時の指導を徹底させる（たとえば1年生の単漢字の認識、識別の訓練）、2)各語を通算3ー4回のテストの対象とすることにより次第に記憶を確かなものにするとともに、3)同じ漢字語彙に遭遇する機会を増やす。

Bについてはまず、1)Aの解決を目指すことで、未習語彙に向けられる時間とエネルギーを増やす。また、2)「環境」「宗教」といった個別のトピックの理解に必要な語彙を特定して[3]学生の注意を喚起することで、同じ分野の未習教材を読んだとき識別できる漢字語彙を徐々に増やしていく。

以上のうち、特にAの3)「同じ語彙に遭遇する機会を増やす」、Bの2)「個別トピックの理解に必要な語彙を学ぶ」を念頭に置いた教室活動を次に紹介する。

3．日英の新聞記事を読む

新聞記事はキーワードが繰り返し出てくる、いろいろな分野の材料が選べるなどの理由で読みながら語彙を習得する活動に適している。読解活動と語彙学習が相互に助け合っていることはSecond Language Acquisitionの研究で繰り返し指摘されている(Nation & Coady, 1988:98, Stoller & Grabe, 1995:30)。しかし同時に、文法、基礎語彙がしっかりしていないと、文意をとるのもままならず、語彙の学習が読解の学習に終わったり言葉の意味を誤解してとらえたりという望ましくない結果を生むことも報告されている (Coady, 1995:8-10, Laufer, 1997:21-32)。

これらの落し穴におちないようにしながら新聞記事を使って漢字語彙を学習するために、筆者は3年前から次のような作業を3年生の漢字の授業の一環として行っている。

日本の出来事でもイギリスの出来事でもいいが、特定の時事問題を扱うのに必要な漢字語彙を含んでいる、あるいは「環境問題」など特定の分野の重要語彙が多数入っているなどの理由で取り上げたい記事を選び、日本語の新聞記事と同じニュースを取り扱った英語の記事を用意する。前者には日本の新聞やイギリスで発行されている邦字新聞、後者にはイギリスの全国紙やJapan Timesなど日本の英字新聞を使っている。

まず日本語の記事から、導入したい漢字語彙を20から30選ぶ。たとえば「ジプシーが大量流入」というイギリスのニュースを扱った日本語の記事では、「東欧、入国審査、難民、渡航、申請」といった言葉に傍線がひいてある（資料1）。

授業では、まず、英文記事（資料2）を黙読させ、事件の背景、事実の前後関係を把握させてから、日本語の記事に移る。初めに各語の読みを確認し、次に一つ一つ、言葉の意味を学生に類推させる。そして教師が必要に応じて付加的な説明を与えたところで1回分の授業は終了する。

明確な文脈に助けられて、学生は8、9割の確率で言葉の正しい意味を言い当てる。ただし文脈から容易に意味が推測できた言葉は、その容易さゆえに定着しにくいことも指摘されている(Coady1995:18)ので、翌週、選んだ語彙の少なくとも半分を使うよう指示を与え、記事の内容を口頭で要約させたり、記事の文章からキーワードを抜いた文を使って穴埋めテストを行ったりして、語彙の定着をはかっている（資料3）。

4．終わりに一本活動の効果に関する考察

実際に記事を探す段階で気がついたことだが、新聞が違えば、同じニュースでもどこを取り上げどこを切り捨てるかという扱いにはかなり差がある。よって日英の記事を読み比べるのは、英文を読んだ後その対訳を見る作業とは全く異なっている。各語の意味を突き止めるためには学生は積極的に類推力を働かせなければいけない。しかし文脈がはっきりしているため、話題や構文が難しくても、上記3で述べたように、学生はかなり正確に各語の意味を推測する。何回も出てくるキーワードだけでなく、事件の詳細を説明している言葉についても同様である。上述のような翌週のフォローアップと組み合わせれば、着実な語彙の獲得に結びつくと思われる。

この教室活動に対する学生の評価についてはまとまった集計はだしていないが、学生からは「1時間の授業で一つの記事を読み終えることができた」、「言葉の意味がはっきりわか

って満足感を得られた」と概して肯定的な感想が返ってきている。教師の側には、文意の理解に時間をとられないため、肝心の漢字語彙の指導に使える時間が増えたと実感できる。2で挙げた「同じ語彙に遭遇する機会を増やす」という目標は、文意のくみ取りに時間をとられることなくまとまった新聞記事を一時間で読み終えたということで、一応達成できたとしていいだろう。

またもう一つの「個別のトピックの理解に必要な語彙を学ぶ」については、この教室活動に使用する記事の題材を教師が十分に吟味し、系統立てて取り上げることで、必要な語彙を着実に増やしていけるのではないかと思う。

注）

1. 和語であれ漢語であれ、漢字を含む語彙を「漢字語彙」と呼ぶことにする。
2. 日本で作られたものを含め、音読される漢字が1字以上集まってつくる言葉を「漢語」と呼ぶことにする。
3. ただし現時点では語彙リストがある程度で、どの語がどんな頻度で登場するかという統計を取るところまでは到っていない

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資料１　英国ニュースダイジェスト１９９７年１０月３０日

ジプシーが大量流入

東欧から「政治亡命」

チェコとスロバキア両国からジプシーが大量に入国し、英政府とケント県は、入国審査官の増員や仮宿舎の準備などの対応に追われている。

十八、十九日の二日間で、両国から合計百七十人余りのジプシーがドーバーに到着した。うち約九十人が政治亡命を申請。今後、さらに二千人が英国に渡航してくると予想される。

今回のジプシー難民ラッシュの背景には、欧州連合（EU）加盟国間での移民に関する条約の見直しがある。元来、難民申請希望者は最初に到着したEU加盟国で申請するよう定められていた。しかし九月に締結された新協定により、難民申請望者は受け入れ先を選択できるようになった。さらに、英国は難民受け入れが緩やかとチェコで報道されたことが、難民ラッシュに拍車をかけたと見られている。

難民の一時受け入れ費用は二百万ポンドに上ると見積もられており、ジプシーに対する地元住民の反発が高まっている。

スロバキア政府は、英国に行かないようジプシーに呼びかけている。また、ジプシーが政治亡命の理由に挙げている「人種迫害」の事実は一切ない、としている。

資料２　The Daily Telegraph October 20th

Gipsies lured by TV portrayal of 'good life'

By Tim King

AN INFLUX of gipsies from the Czech and Slovak Republics arriving at Dover to claim political asylum was being blamed last night on a television programme.

The Slovak embassy in London said the asylum-seekers were not suffering persecution in the Slovak Republic and were simply economic migrants seeking to take advantage of British benefits.

There are reported to be as many as 800 refugees in the Dover area. The arrival of almost 200 in the past three days is said to have been prompted by a Czech programme showing gipsies enjoying life in Britain while waiting for their asylum applications to be processed.

Earlier this year a similar item on Czech television about gipsies settling in Canada prompted a flood of refugees there, until Canada introduced a visa requirement for Czechs.

Keith Ferrin, deputy leader of Kent county council, said last night: "The people we are dealing with need emergency housing and it could take the Home Office up to two years to process their claims.

"The bill we are facing could already be £2 million. It is an open chequebook. We need government help."

A consul from the Slovak embassy in London will meet council officers today to help to draft a message to be broadcast in Slovakia.

The gipsies travel with Central European coach companies offering cut-price fares and have been carried across the Channel by P&O, Stena Line, and Sea France.

A spokesman for P&O said: "We as ferry operators can't stop them. Their documents were in order."

If the gipsies are accepted at the port of arrival as asylum-seekers, they can claim income support at a reduced rate of £44·23 a week and housing benefit. They are not entitled to benefits if they do not register their claim for asylum immediately.

If they are accepted as asylum-seekers, they are also entitled to be treated under the homelessness legislation, which obliges local authorities to provide emergency accommodation.

Vierá Viskupova, the Slovak Embassy press attaché, said the gipsies had no grounds to claim political asylum. "This is a case of economic migration to get economic benefits, to get an easy life and not to have to work."

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We are satisfied that both countries are fully committed to their ethnic minorities. We monitor human rights."

Gwyn Prosser, Labour MP for Dover, will meet Michael O'Brien, Home Office minister, this morning.

Mr O'Brien said yesterday: "If they are seeking to abuse the asylum system they are going to go back home."

資料 3

「ジプシーが大量流入」

A. 下から適切なことばを選んで、（　　）の中に書き入れなさい。

今回のジプシー（　　）ラッシュの（　　）には、欧州連合（　　）国間での移民に関する（　　）の見直しがある。

[条約　加盟　難民　背景]

B. 次のことばの読みを書き、「する動詞」になるものにマルをつけなさい。

1 宿舎　2 流入　3 人種

4 迫害　5 渡航　6 元来

日本語教育における伝統と革新

松岡　弘

御紹介にあずかりました松岡でございます。まず、何はさておき、英国日本語教育学会のこのような非常に重要な発表大会にお招きいただき、大変光栄に思っております。私の今日の話が皆さんにとって本当に役に立つかどうか、実は、自信はないのですが、先程田中会長がおっしゃったように、バーミンガムとの縁もあって、断われない、ということでお受けすることに致しました。

今、田中会長のほうから紹介がありましたけれども、私は今、一橋大学の留学生センター長を兼務し、社会学部に所属しております。６ヵ月間暇をもらいまして、ウィーン大学で在外研修ということになりました。そういうことでこちらに伺う縁ができたわけです。

このお話しを受けるとき、私は、３月に東欧圏に国際交流基金からの派遣で巡回指導に出ていました。そこで文法教育の話をしましたし、また学会誌の委員を勤めており、その内容について少し紹介しようということで、原稿を作っていました。それから、これまで学会の常任理事をしておりましたし、結構裏話のほうは豊富なはずなので、それでもやろうかとも思っておりました。講演のテーマは「日本語教育における伝統と革新」ですけれども、これはもう窮余の策、何か最終的に決定案が出ないので、一応それでごまかしという形で出したのです。けれども、田中会長から昨年度の発表大会の報告書が送られてきて、それを見て愕然としました。石田先生が学会誌のことについてかなり詳しくお話ししておられる。私のネタの一つがつぶれてしまいました。でも、その時に既にどういう内容かということを書いて出していたものですから、皆さんの手元に届いている案内の中にそういう書き方がしてあるのです。今日の話が石田先生と同じようになってしまってはまずいのでやめようと思うのですが、それでは、「『日本語教育』掲載論文を探りながら」という看板が『偽りあり』になってしまいますので、徹底して裏話はできませんけれども多少役に立つお話を少しだけさせていただきます。

学会誌を担当してきた人間として、最近の学会誌の動向をちょっとお話しします。まず研究論文中心になってきたということがあります。もっとはっきり言いますと修士論文の要約、主要点を発表するという形の投稿が非常に多くなっている。それはそれでいいのですけれども、なにしろ4000人の最大規模の学会ですから、現場の先生方の不満も多少出てきまして、現場と結び付いていないといった声が強くなってきました。それで、私が学会誌の委員をしているときに実践報告的なものも取り入れるという方向が打ち出されまして、かなり改善されたと思います。それから、内容については、学習論、第二言語習得論、異文化教育論年少者の為の教育、日本語教育史の分野といったものが、相対的に増えてきました。これはなぜかというと、日本語教育学が非常に盛んになってきて、多くの大学院でコースを持つようになったからです。それとともに、研究者的志向が高まり、日本語教育そのものだけではなく他の分野からの取り組みが多くなっていると言えると思います。それから、海外の非ネイティブの日本語教師からの投稿も増えてきました。特に中国、韓国が多いです。それから対照研究的なものも増えましたから、それを適切に審査できるようにということで、中国語を専門にする人、韓国語を専門にする人も審査員の中に入っています。更には外国の方を入

れるべきであるという意見も強くなってきました。私は実は在外研修に出るということで、編集委員は辞任したのですけれど、その時に、こちらとも縁のあるカイザー先生を強く推薦しました。こういったことの中から、日本語教育、日本語教育学会、日本語教育学会誌の傾向を要約するとすれば、「学問的、学際的、国際的」ということになると思います。「学問的」というのは実践より学問的な、「学際的」というのは、他の分野からの投稿、それから「国際的」というのは海外からの非ネイティブからの投稿も増えてきた、ということです。これは、ありきたりのことを言っているのではないか、と言われるかもしれませんが、私は30年日本語教育をしていて、そのかなりの期間は日本人が国内で日本語教育をする、というのが当り前で、非常に孤立的な学会でもありましたから、それがそうでなく、他の学会と同じになってきたということが、これで言えるのではないかと思います。それを「学問的、学際的、国際的」という言い方で要約してみたのです。

以上のところは、前置きと言いますか、看板に偽りなしにしたくて入れたわけです。ここから私の本論に移りたいと思います。「日本語教育における伝統と革新」という題を掲げました。この題は苦し紛れと先程申し上げましたけれども、実はこういう言葉というのは1960年代、私が大学を出たころによく使われた言葉であります。私の母校、東京外国語大学ですけれども、経済学者の伊東光晴という非常に有名な方がいらっしゃいました。その方が『経済学における伝統と革新』という本を書いてベストセラーとは言わないまでも、学生達によく読まれていました。つまりその影響で30年前のはやり言葉を用いたという面があります。それから、ちょっと話は飛ぶのですけれど、伊東先生というのは一橋大学出身でマルクス経済学と近代経済学の両面を心得た経済学者として知られています。1960年代は、そういうタイプが非常にもてはやされた時代でもあるのですけれども、一橋大学には、私の大学の宣伝みたいになりますが、そういう対照的、異質なものが共存する伝統があるのです。私が12年前に一橋に行ってから、それを深く感じ始めました。先程の例で言うと左と右が共存するような学風があるのです。私の今日の話も実はそういうところに、流れていきます。非常に大きく隔たっていると思われるものが、実は基本的には似ている、そして共存できる、あるいは、現在は非常に軽視され、過去のものになっていると思われているけれども、実は今でも大切だ、そういったものがあるのだということを、最終的には私は述べることになります。最終的にではなくて最初から述べていきます。気が短いので最初に結論を言うところがあります。はじめにお断りしますけれども、「伝統と革新」と言いながら、革新のほうはちょっと置いておいて、伝統のほうを今日はより多くすることになると思います。どうぞお許しください。

皆さんにお渡ししたハンドアウトの１、「私の主張したいこと、結論」とありますけれども、書いてある通りです。

・文型を大事にすること。

・創造（内容重視）と形式性は表裏一体であること。

この２点を私は最終的な結論としています。

言語教育における文型というのは何かについては、もう皆さんの一定の理解があると思います。ですから、私はここで改めて、文型とは何ぞやという話はするつもりはありません。文型の大切さについては、日本語教育94号に文法教育という項目を担当させられましたので、そこで私の意見は少し述べております。そこでは、かなり観念的に書いたのですが、実は、文型の大切さというのを最近改めて知らされました。それは第二言語教育というよりも第一

言語教育におけるものです。それをちょっと御披露いたします。日本語文型教育研究会というのがあります。これは林四郎先生を師と仰ぐ、長野県の小中学校の先生方を中心とするものです。林先生の『基本文型の研究』を読んで、非常にそれに感激し、林先生をリーダーにお願いして30年以上も活動を続けている長野県の国語教師を中心とした研究会です。私も縁があってそこに入っているのですけど、林四郎先生の喜寿のお祝いのときに、そこに出席しておられた湯沢正範先生という、今は退官されて、悠々自適でもなくいろんなことをされ、著作活動に入っておられる方で、その先生から次のような話を聞きました。ちょっと読み上げましょう。感激したもので、すぐにメモにして書き残したのですけれど、このようなものです。「自分の担当しているクラスで、子供たちが暴れて困ったことがあった。いろいろ考えた末、この子たちは自分の気持ちを表わす方法を知らないのではないか、そういうことに思い至った。そこで、みんなを全員、校庭に出して、石かボールを校庭の桜の木にみんなに投げつけさせた。それを言葉で表現しなさい、言葉で言えと命じた。すると、中で最も乱暴な子供がいて、その子もやっと表現するようになった。『ボールが桜の木に当たった。桜の花がはらはらと散った』と言った。気持ちが言葉で表わせるようになると、子供たちの乱暴がなくなってくる。それ以来文型を教えることがいかに重要かを自覚した」。以上ですが、このころは湯沢先生は文型というところまでいっていなかったようですけれど、そこに『基本文型の研究』という林先生の本に出会います。30年以上前の話です。そこで、湯沢先生は文型は型を丸飲みにするのではなくて、人の思考に形を与えて、その人の考えを引き出していくものだ、ということがわかった。文型にはいろいろな枝葉がついて現実の文になるけれど、指導の際は枝葉を落としたシンプルなものから出発しなければならない。基本的には何がどうだ、何がどうする、「なるの文」、「するの文」という言い方をしますけれども、この二つでもいいというわけです。私はこれを聞くまで、中学校の文法の時間というのは実にくだらない、つまらないものだという印象があって、30年間そう思ってきましたので、文法教育が、それも文型という具体的な教育手段が、人間の教育にこれほど強い影響を与える、とは思っていませんでした。そういうわけで、私はこの話に非常に感激しました。それで、ますます文型というものの重要さを感ずるようになりました。

それから、主張の２番目の「創造性と形式性は表裏一体である」ですけれども、これも、申し訳ありませんが、日本語教育でないところから、それも大正時代の論争から例を引きたいと思います。ハンドアウトをちょっとごらんいただけますか。資料１です。大正10年、1921年に刊行されました『小倉講演：綴方教授の解決』という本から引用しました。芦田恵之助と友納友次郎の論争で非常に有名です。簡単に言いますと、芦田恵之助は自由選題という作文教育で知られています。友納友次郎は課題主義ないしは練習目的主義という立場で知られています。この二人が、まさに巌流島で宮本武蔵と佐々木小次郎が対決したように小倉で対決したわけです。私は、留学生の作文教育を考えているうちに、結局、芦田恵之助と友納友次郎の対立というか、この二人に行き着いたわけです。作文教育はその後友納友次郎よりも芦田恵之助が神格化されるという形で進んでいきましたが、しかし私は友納の意見のほうにむしろ共感を覚えます。前置きが長くなりましたけれども、資料の１を御覧ください。前半の１から４は芦田氏の講演で、後半の５から10が友納氏の講演です。ピックアップ致しますと、芦田氏の講演の中で、アンダーラインが引いてありますね。　１の「模倣からは決して創作の芽は出ません」、ちょっと飛んで、「自己のない所に自己独自の創造が生まれるならば、石ころからでも芽が出なければならないでしょう」。これは、後半、友納さんが違う意

見を述べますので、ちょっと指摘しておきます。それから２のほうは、「随意選題よりとるべき道はない」。随意選題、自由作文という言い方でいいでしょうか。「随意選題というのは生活を文章化することだ」ということも言っておりますが、これは後の生活綴方にも共通するものです。それから、４に行きますが、「児童が発達していく後に意義をつける」ことだと言っております。これは、学習者主体の教育観につながります。一方、友納の講演ですが、５のところで「内容主義・形式主義と二元の争闘」を続けてきたと、これは当時の綴方教育界の現状です。折衷主義はおれは嫌だ、要するに「柳は緑、花は紅で、芦田は芦田、友納は友納で進む」と、これは私の大好きなところで、私の意見というのは、いわば少数派でありますけれども、俺は俺だと、友納さんが言ってくれている。非常に私を力づける言葉です。それから、６、７、９では、いわゆる練習目的主義とか、課題主義についてのポイントを引用してみました。８の後半、「創作はまねのできない型で、創作家は自分の型を歩歩きざんでいるのでいるのであります」。つまり創造性といっていても結局は型だと、型の追求だと言っているのです。それから10、やはりアンダーラインしたところ、「この場合、石は教材であって、それがその場合の指導の内容を含んでいるのであります。つまりその石が一度その師匠の経験の中に編み込まれ、その人格の中に織り込まれなければなりません。すると、その弟子は石から学んでいるように思われますが、実は師匠の経験から学んでいるのです。ここが技能教授の最も大切な呼吸で、この呼吸を会得した人でなければ技能の教師としての資格がない」。芦田さんは、（模倣から創造が生まれるなら）石からでも芽が出なければならない、石から芽が出るはずはないと言っているのに、友納さんは、石は内容を含んでいるという言い方をしている。あてこすっているというか、自分との対立点を明白にしたわけです。それから、ここで大切なのは、技能の教師、つまり国語教師、綴り方、作文教師は技能の教師だと言い切ったところです。私は、創造性と形式性は表裏一体であるという、友納さんの方に傾きますが、同時に芦田、友納、このお二人の考えは、いずれも大切である。それが日本語教育においても全く同じであろうということで今二人の意見をここで引用したわけであります。以上、結論を最初に言ってしまいました。しかし、それに少し肉を付けていかなければなりませんので、次の話に移りたいと思います。

さて、こういう主張をするからには、どうしてそれを主張するに至ったのかということを皆さんにお話ししなければなりません。それで、そのための前提として項目２の「日本語教育における伝統と革新ー形式主義と創造主義」に移りたいと思います。伝統的な教授法と言えば、皆さんはだいたいご存じのことと思います。割り切って言えば、70年代頃までに使われていたというか、信じられていた方法です。非常にこれは形式性を重んじますから、形式主義の教授法であったと言っていいと思います。文法翻訳法とかオーディオリンガル・メソッドはまさにその典型でしたし、直接法と言われているものもこれに入るかもしれません。これは、今ではネガティブな評価を加えられることが多く、私もこれを擁護する気はあまりありません。ただ、私は文法翻訳法ではないのですが、オーディオリンガル・メソッドを教えられてきたし、職場では直接法を叩き込まれていますから、それこそ、伝統的というか、保守的な考えで凝り固まったりしているように思われたりするのですけれども。（議論するときそう言ってしまいますから）、実際はそうではなくて、それほど文法翻訳法やオーディオリンガルを弁護する気持ちはありません。ただ直接法については私の周囲がだいたいそれでやってきて、「これしかない」と言う人達も多いので、これについては私はその一派かなと、そのうちの一人かなという気がします。私の仲間がやっているものを、直接法というの

はこういうものだと、ハンドアウトにも書いておきました。

1. 媒介語を使わないで導入し、練習をし、定着させる。
2. 文型を積み上げていく。パターン・プラクティスや問答法を組み合わせていく。
3. 音声や話しことば、会話から入る。これは直接法に限りません。近代教授法の特徴です。
4. 対訳のある単語帳、あるいは母語による文法説明書が、別冊としてある。

だいたいこれは、ものの本によると文型積み上げ式と名付けられていますけれど、そのほうがわかりやすいかと思います。私の周囲は大学に送り込むために半年ないし一年間で教育をするという場ですから、この方式でないと大学につながる日本語は養成できないと信じている人が多いです。それから、革新的な教授法といえばコミュニカティブ・アプローチという名が出てきますけれども、私の理解した範囲では、自然であること、教師主導ではなく学習者中心であること、創造性を尊重すること、文法能力よりも伝達、コミュニケーション能力に徹すること、教える方法より教える内容のほうが問題だ、等々。これらは、いずれも納得できる意見です。従来の形式主義が行き過ぎた、そのマイナス点を正しく批判したと思います。ただ、先程芦田恵之助を紹介しましたが、それらは時代が違うというだけで、芦田の主張と大きく変わるものではありません。今これが主張されていて、それがマジョリティーになっているとするならば、形式主義的な教授法が行き過ぎた、ということが、その原因であろうと私は思うのです。しかし、私が申し上げましたように、友納友次郎という人を否定できないように、形式主義そのものを否定することは無理です。

友納友次郎が形式主義、創造主義と言ったので、私もこの言葉を使いましたが、形式主義というのはいったい何だろうか、どういった教授法なんだろうか、どういう考え方なんだろうかを、私としては皆さんにお話ししたいと思うわけです。そこで、ハンドアウトの項目3になるのですけれど、「形式主義の再評価とその思想」に入ろうと思います。結論的には文型を大事にしよう、創造性と形式性は表裏一体であるというのが私の主張です。では、なぜ、そういうことを大事にしようと思い始めたか、そして、それを主張しようかと考えたかと言いますと、具体的には日本語教育の分野でコミュニカティブ・アプローチ、革新的な教授法が出てきたときに、その特徴が非常に強調されて、伝統的な教授法が否定されたかのようになってしまいました。伝統的教授法を擁護する意見もあまりありませんでした。ところが、教育の現場、少なくとも私の周囲の現場では相変わらず伝統的なやり方が使われていて、これじゃないと力はつかないと思っている人が多い。この現状をどう説明したらよいか。それから、伝統的な教授法には学ぶものがあるけれども、それは指導技術であって、思想ではない。一方、コミュニカティブ・アプローチは思想であるといったことを人が言ったりする。それを聞いていると、伝統的教授法には思想はないのだということになる。ということは、私のようにそこから出発した人間は、馬鹿にされたような、こけにされたような、気になってしまう。そうすると、ここでやはり、理論付けをして少し対抗しようかという気になったわけです。そういったところから、形式主義についての理念を少し考えてみよう、と思ったわけです。これは私が言うまでもなく、例えば、ハンドアウトに書いておきましたが、Riversという人が、私はこのRivers先生の本に非常に触発された、影響受けた一人なのですが、その先生がformalist、activistという用語で、これは教授法の流れの中ではいつもこの対立があるのだ、ということを言っておられますから、私が初めて言うわけではありません。でも、今日は、両方あるという言い方ではなくて、一方の形式主義について話をしようと思

います。

形式主義には３つの理念があるというのが、これまで考えてきた結論です。形式主義の理念、それは、ハンドアウトに書いておきましたが、（A）言葉は技術である、（B）言葉は思考である、（C）言葉はフィクションである、この３点が一応形式主義の理念に見られるあるいは伝統的教授法、学習法の優れたものです。優れてないものが多いので、優れたものということを強調しておきますが、優れた伝統的教授法の中には、必ずこの３つがある。それが意識されているかどうかはわかりません。ただ、この３つの理念がともかく、根底にあって主張され、実践されてきたというのが私の考えです。では、さっそくその説明に入ります。

（A）の「言語は技術である」。これは、改めて説明することはないですね。ただ、わざわざなぜこんなことを取り上げるかと言いますと、これは非常に単純なことなのです。つまりコミュニケーションは一回限りの創造である、などと言われてしまうと、技術などというのはなんとなく肩身が狭くなってきて、影が霞んでしまうのです。私は先程も友納友次郎が技術だと言ったところに、アンダーラインを引いておきましたけれども、やはり言葉を教えることは、一つの技術だと思うのです。だから、創造性が大事だと言い過ぎて、技術という側面が見えなくなるのは問題だ。友納さんはこれを第一言語の国語教育で考えたわけですが、現実的に考えても、技術というのは模倣と繰り返し、というのがあるのです。第一言語であれ、第二言語であれ、模倣や繰り返しがなくて習得されるだろうかという、それが私の30年間の実感なのです。その非常に単純なことがちょっと忘れられてしまうことがある。それをきちんとできることが技術の教授の非常に大きな役割だと私は思うのです。それで、一挙に私は伝統派ですから、古いところに行きまして、ハンドアウトの資料２のほうを見てください。そこに、ヤン・アモス・コメニウス『大教授学』（原著は1657年刊行。鈴木秀勇訳、明治図書）より、引用しておきました。これは、第21章「技術の教育法」です。コメニウス、チェコではコメンスキーですが、おそらく名前を聞いたことがおありだと思います。コメニウスは、大教育者、哲学思想家として知られている人ですが、私はこの本を読んだときに、そこに語学教師としての目を感じました。コメニウスはラテン語の教科書を作るということから始まっているので、この本では教授法全般について述べていますけれども、語学教師だなあと思わされるところがあり、私は読むたびにうならされます。引用ではその中で一番極端なところを掲げました。これを詳細に読んでいくと、皆さん、今の教授法や教育観とかなり違うので、びっくり仰天し、とんでもないものを松岡はハンドアウトに出したと思われそうなので、一つ一つ解説するつもりは、ありません。あとで、読んでください。ただ、先程言ったように模倣と繰り返しというのがやはり重要だということが、そしてこれが一つの形式主義教授学、敢えて言うなら形式主義教育学の基本であるということがわかると私は思っています。一つだけちょっとおもしろいところがあるので、触れておきます。・「模倣の第一歩は、できるだけ精密であって、毛筋ほども原型からはずれてほしくない。...初めが狂えば、その後全部に支障をきたします。音楽家チモニウスが音楽の初歩をよそで習った弟子には二倍の謝礼を要求したのもこの理由によるものです」。今でも表現を変えて同じ意見を言う人がいると思います。つまり、イギリスで下手に日本語を勉強してくるよりも、何も習わないで日本に来てもらったほうがありがたい、ということを唱える日本語教師がいたりします。２、３年こちらでやっても、日本に来たら、２、３か月で追い越してしまうから、してこないほうがいい。発音の点から考えてもそうだと言う人がいます。私はそう思いません、

下手でも、発音がちょっとおかしくても、やはりやりたいと思って始めた人を尊重したい。それについて、あなたはやってこなかったほうが良かったのに、なんていう失礼千万なことは教師として言ってはいけない。そういうことを思っている人が意外に多いので、取り上げてみましたが、私は、この点についてはコメニウスに賛成しません。

次に、（B）の「言葉は思考である」というところに触れていきたいと思います。思考を運ぶのははっきり言って文型です。文型なんてと思われるかもしれませんが、文型についてはいろいろ話したいのですけれども、とにかく、ここでは一般的に理解されている文型と思ってください。その重要性は、湯沢先生が看破されています。日本語教育にしぼって考えると、思考の世界は無限であるが、それを有限の単語と有限の文で網羅し、そして学習者に示して、学習させる、それが文型教育である。だから、日本語教育では文型を選択するところから始まるのですけれど、どういう文型を選択して、どういう世界を構築していくか。これはまさに思考そのものなのです。また、型を大事にするという教育は、実は、私は間接的にしか学んでいませんが、ヨーロッパの外国語教育、ヨーロッパの自国語教育においては当然のことのようになっていて、日本よりはるかに徹底していると思います。イギリスの場合は知りませんが、そういう印象が強いです。こうした型の教育を、そして形式の教育をなおざりにして、コミュニカティブに、そして話すことを中心ということはありえないのではないか、というのが私の意見です。それをちょっと具体的にするために、資料３に、米原万里という人の本を引用しました。この本は、タイトルは『不実な美女か貞淑な醜女か』で、読売文学賞も受賞しています。お読みになった方もあるかもしれません。米原さんは、ロシア語の同時通訳者です。タイトルは少し過激ですが、中味は非常に真面目で、私は一つ一つ同意するというか、賛成できることが多くありました。これもずっと一つ一つ読んでいったら大変なので、やめますけれども、ハンドアウトのその１とその２に分けた、その１のほうの主旨。それも１と２に分けましたけれども、１のところでは、自国語がいい加減だと、外国語はもっといい加減である。自国語がいい加減な人が外国語が上手になるはずがない、と言うのです。それから、２のほうは、10歳くらいまでは中途半端なあれもこれもというのは駄目なのだ、自分の国の言葉で徹底的に思考力を高める教育をしなくては駄目だ、というのが米原さんの主張です。そこから私が読み取るのは、思考によって支えられないような言葉を操る技術は、本当の意味でその人が言語力があるとはいえない。つまり、言葉が本当に正しく駆使されるということは、思考力がそれを支えているという主張であろうと思います。それから、その２のほうは、米原さんは小学校３年から中学２年までチェコスロバキアのソ連大使館の付属の学校で勉強しているのですが、そこで、ロシア語を教え込まれたのです。ここに紹介されているのはロシア人のためのロシア語教育です。まさに形式主義の教え方そのものです。徹底的に形式主義で教える。これをお読みになれば形式主義がどういうものかおわかりになります。私は、これだけでは心配なので、これについての質問を、一橋大学にみえたロシア語の先生とロシア教育大学からの教育学の先生にもぶっつけました。どういう教育をしているのですか、と。答えはほぼ同じですね。私から見れば、それは形式主義の教育なのです。創造性を大事にしようなんていうのではないのです。まずともかく型を叩き込むのです。私は米原さんの本の中から、私なりに日本語教師として学ぶのは、外国語教育、つまり私は日本語教育を外国の人にしているわけですけれども、日本語教育に携わる者は、もしプロであるならば、第一言語教育に携わる人に負けない、あるいは互いに協力して、学習者の真の言語力を高める、そういうような教育を目指すべきだということです。ちょっと目標

が高過ぎるかもしれませんけれども、そのくらいの自負というか意気込みを持っていいと思います。具体的に言うと、思考力を高める教育ということですけども、日本の国語教育はいい加減だ、というのはよく知られたことで、少なくとも私が学校時代そうだったのですが、英語を勉強することによって、言語の論理的な構造とか、論理的な考え方ということを学んだという意見を持つ人が多いです。国語教育ではそれはできなかったけれども、英語を学んだことでそれができたというわけです。ということは、言葉を教えるということは第一言語ではもちろん、第二言語教育においてもその人間の思考力を高める、それが大袈裟すぎるなら、思考力を高めることに寄与する、そういった教育でなければならないのではないか。それが、私なりに米原さんの主張から学んだことです。それで、「言葉は思考である」という言い方にしてみました。

最後に、（C）の「言葉はフィクションである」。時間がもうなくなってきつつありますけれども、これもなにかちょっと唐突なような言い方をしてしまいましたが、言葉の教育では全て教えることはできないと思うのです。文型は有限ですし、どれを取りどれを捨てるかというのも、教授者、又は教科書を作成する人の作為、意図が入っています。そこで選択されるわけです。私も教科書作りは２、３携わっているのですけれども、その戦いは何を取り入れるかもありますが、結局は何を落とすかの戦いです。それで、作成者同士でお互いに喧嘩になるわけですけれども。会話練習にしても、場面作りにしても、教室作業は全て現実そのものではなくて、何を落とすか、それは結局落とす人の作為ですから、私はそれをフィクションと呼んでいますが、その範囲を超えることはできないと私は思います。話はまた唐突になりますけれども、山口喜一郎という日本語教師がいて、私はこの人の教授法の本を、二十何年か前に、読んで非常に感激したことがあります。昭和１６年に『日本語教授法概説』という本を書いていますが、この本を読んで私はあまり違和感を感じなかった。これは太平洋戦争の始まる年に書かれたもので、本来ならばここに「神国日本」とか、戦争礼賛の言葉が出てくるはずなのに、ないのです。「しばらくは国家とか国民とかという立場を括弧に入れて」などと書いて、ほとんどその時代、時局のことに触れていないのです。それと対照的にそういうものを取り入れた教科書がこの年、そして昭和17年、18年、19年に山ほど出ています。これが分かってきたのは日本語教育史が非常に盛んになってきたことの効果でして、そういう研究成果を皆さんも見ることができるかと思います。山口喜一郎はなにも反体制派であったわけではなく、むしろ植民地における日本語教育を50年にわたって推進した、まさにその最先端にいた人です。日本語を世界に普及させよう、植民地において普及させようとした、取りようによっては一番責任の重い人なのですけれども、本ではほとんど触れていません。例としてはあまり適切ではないのですが、私の言いたいことはあまり現実を取り入れると、その内容がすぐ陳腐になってしまうということです。極端な例ですけれど、私の結論としては、教科書は適度に抽象的であり、シンプルであるほうが生き延びることができる。適度に現実的、そして適度に抽象的というのが、まさにこれが文型ではないかというのが私の意見で、それが私の第３番目の主張になります。実は「言葉はフィクションである」という言い方は、私の大学のフランス語の先生も「以前は、とにかくフランス人が話すように、フランス人が考えるように、自分もフランス語を話したいと考えてやってきた。ところが、そうじゃないんだ。日本人の思考で日本的な言い方で話してもかまわないのではないか。結局、相手の言語の全てをマスターすることは不可能なのだから、それに成り切れないのだから、それはフィクションに過ぎないのだから」という言い方を、数年前の大学の中の研究会

でしたことがあります。その時に、ああそうか、日本語教育において私が考えたことに似ているなあ、と思って、これを第3番目の形式主義教授法の主張の一つとして挙げたわけなのです。

以上、伝統的教授法には理念がないと言われたことに対して、私なりに少し整理をしてみました。かなり抽象的な話をしてしまいました。それに加えて日本語教育を話す場なのに、湯沢正範一国語の先生、友納友次郎一綴り方教育の理論家、コメニウス一400年前の人を引き合いに出しました。私はここへ来る前に、コメニウスが亡くなったオランダのナールデンというところを訪ねたのですが、そういう400年前の人を引き合いに出し、また米原万里さんというちょっと過激な女性のロシア語通訳者の話を出して、日本語教育と関係のないようなことを言い、それから文型、文型と言いながら、文型の説明を、定義をあまりしないできました。おそらく皆様の頭の中にあるかなり手垢のついた、「文型、ああ、あれか」という文型があるかもしれません。それでイメージをして、何か古いことを言ってるなあと思われるかもしれませんが、私の考える文型というのは、私自身もそれについて考えてきましたが、途中で林四郎先生の論文に出会い、『基本文型の研究』や『文の姿勢の研究』を読んで、すごいなあと思ってきた、そのようなものです。林先生の文型論については近著『文章論の基礎問題』をぜひお読みください。

そういうことで、これで終わりにします。本日はかなり一方的な観点から持論というか、私が辿り着いた結論を皆さんに直接ぶつけました。大変蕪雑な話でお聞き苦しかったかと思いますが、議論のきっかけになればと思います。御清聴、ありがとうございました。

資料 1

白鳥千代三編『小倉講演：綴方教授の解決－芦田恵之助氏友納友次郎氏講演』東京(1921)

芦田氏の講演より

①「・・・文の想は、作者の人生観のひらめきだと思う。・・・人の想を模倣した文のごときは、作者の人生観のひらめきと見ることが出来ないから、生きた想とはいわれない。よく模倣より創作へという人がありますが、模倣からは決して創作の芽は出ません。模倣には自己がない。自己のない所に自己独自の創造が生まれるならば、石ころからでも芽が出なければならないでしょう。」

②「・・・綴方教授に当るに於ては随意選題より外にとるべき道はありません。・・・真の文章生活とは自己生活内に題材を求めて、自己に満足できるように書く、それ以外に何物もありません。故に随意選題とは、生活を文章化することなりとも言いうると思います。」

③「随意選題に対して無系統だと非難する人が甚だ多いのですが、果たして完全な系統などというものが得られるでしょうか。・・・私はただ立案者の気休め位なものではあるまいかと思います。」

④「・・・随意選題に伴う指導は、文の発達を自覚させることであります。児童が発達していく後に意義をつけることであります。児童が体験の結果、種々なる文則にふれていく、そのふれたところを注意してその自覚を促すのです。」

友納氏の講演より

⑤「我綴方界は内容主義・形式主義と二元の争闘を続けて参りましたが、今や形式と内容とは一元に帰するまでに進んで来た。・・世にはいわゆる折衷主義と称する一派がある。・・・これはすこぶる根拠のない間に合わせの議論で真の研究を妨げること甚だしい。・・・要するに柳は緑、花は紅で、芦田は芦田、友納は友納で進むことが何よりも大切なことだと考えます。」

⑥「（練習目的主義）・・・もしも練習目的が自由を妨げることがありましたら、それは教師が悪いからです。・・・練習目的は児童に知らすべきものではありません。児童がそのことに没頭して喜んで綴っているうちに、知らず知らず目的を達するように仕向けなければなりません」

⑦「私は課題は賛成しない。私はやはり作業そのものの繁簡難易を考えて、そこにはっきりとした練習の順序というものを定めたいと思うのであります。

⑧「練習目的によると型ができやすいという非難ですが、型ができるということは、随意選題でも同じことではありませんか。・・・創作はまねのできない型で、創作家は自分の型を歩歩きざんでいるのであります。」

⑨「随意選題派ははっきりした傾向というものがみきわめがつかないから児童に追随して指導するといい、私の方では先に目的を予定しておいて指導するというのであります。」

⑩「児童の綴方の力が向上するのは児童の力で教師の力ではないが、その児童の力を十分に発揮させるのは教師の力であります。・・・石屋が弟子を養成するのに毎日カチンカチンと鎚をふるわせている、弟子は別に教えられることもない。この場合石は教材であって、それがその場合の指導の内容を含んでいるのであります。つまりその石が一度その師匠の経験の中に編み込まれ、その人格の中に織り込まれなければなりません。するとその弟子は石から学んでいるように思われますが、実は師匠の経験から学んでいるのです。ここが技能教授の最も大切な呼吸で、この呼吸を会得した人でなければ技能の教師としての資格がない。」

（原文の歴史的仮名遣いは現代仮名遣いに改めた。下線は松岡による。）

資料２

ヤン・アモス・コメニウス『大教授学』(1657)（鈴木秀勇訳・明治図書1962）より

２１章　「技術の教育方法」

1　技術は何よりもまず３つのものを必要とします。１）手本ないし原型。これは、いわば目に見える元型で、技術者は、これを見ながらこれと同じものを作り出そうとするわけです。

２）素材。これは、新しい形態が刻み込まれなくてはならない当のものです。

３）用具。この助けを借りて作業が進むのです。

2　しかしながら、技術訓練に必要なのは、１）これらのものを正しく使わせること。２）上手に指導してやること。３）始終訓練を重ね合わせること、であります。

3　これについて、１１の法則を記さなければなりません。

①　作業は、作業することによって学んでほしい。

②　作業については、常に適格な元型と基準があってほしい。・・・要するに、本当のもので、適格で、簡単であって、認識能力と模倣力とに受け入れやすい原型でなくてはなりません。

③　用具の使い方は、言葉よりは事物で、言い換えれば公式よりは実例で見せてやってほしい。・・・よき先達は、よき後進を見いだす。・・・公式は文字通り魂を刺す茨です。張りつめた注意力と鋭い精神とを必要とするからです。ところが実例は、恐ろしく頭の働きの遅い生徒にとっても助けとなるのです。

④　訓練は、完成した作品からではなく、基本から始めてほしい。・・・どんな技術の場合でも、段階を踏めば、敏速に着実に成果が上がらないはずはないのです。

⑤　初心者の場合の初歩の訓練は、既知の素材について行われてほしい。

⑥　模倣は、教わった元型どおりに、行われてほしい。やがて自在なものになるであろう。・・・文体の練習も同じで、著作家の作品の中から一つの構文、一つの命題、１節の文章を取って、これをなぞってそっくりの文章を作らせるようにしてほしい。

⑦　作業の元型は、できるだけ完全なものであってほしい。これを十分模倣して表現すれば、その技術を習得したといえるように。

⑧　模倣の第一歩は、できるだけ精密であって、毛筋ほども原型からはずれてほしくない。・・・初めが狂えば、その後全部に支障をきたします。音楽家チモテウスが、音楽の初歩をよそで習った弟子には二倍の謝礼を要求したのも、この理由によるのです。

⑨　道からそれた場合には、居合わせる教師が、守るべき事項をそえて訂正してやってほしい。われわれはこの事項を規則と呼び、規則の例外と呼ぶ。

⑩　完全な技術訓練は、総合(Synthesis)と(Analysis)とからなる。この場合に総合の方に重点があることはすでに明らかにしたとおりです。・・・しかしながら、どんな場合でも、人の工夫や仕事について綿密な分析を加えることは忘れてはならないのです。

⑪　以上の訓練は、技術が習い性となるまで続けなければならない。（以上、省略箇所多し）

資料３

米原万里『不実な美女か貞淑な醜女か』（徳間書店）より

その１

① 私どもにとっての母語、つまり生まれてこのかた最初に身につけた言語、心情を吐露しモノを考える時に意識的無意識的に駆使する、支配的で基本的な言語というのは日本語である。第二言語すなわち最初に身につけた言語の次につける言語、多くの場合外国語は、この第一言語よりは決して上手くならない。単刀直入に申すならば、日本語が下手な人は、外国語を身につけられるけれども、その日本語の下手さ加減よりもさらに下手にしか身につかない。コトバを駆使する能力というのは、何語であれ、根本のところで同じなのであろう。通訳者にとってもう一つの商売道具である、外国語の能力もまた、母語の能力に左右されるということだ。 （２７０頁）

・・・・・

② もちろん、ハーフの人達や帰国子女の中にも日本語と外国語の両方を縦横無尽に操る超一級の会議通訳者がいる。個人的な資質もさることながら、その人たちの言語習得史を尋ねてみると、一つの共通点が浮かび上がる。一定の年齢（８～１０歳ぐらい）に達するまでは、日本に生活の拠点がある場合は、徹底的に日本語のみで意志疎通をはかる生活をしてきたというのだ。これは外国語学習にあたって、おおいに参考にすべき点だ。まず何はさておき母国語の能力を高めていくことは、外国語が上手く身につく可能性を開くことでもあるのだから。（２７３頁）

その２

小学校３年から中学２年に相当する時間を両親の仕事の都合でチェコスロバキアの首都プラハで過ごした私は、ソ連大使館付属の、すべての授業を本国のカリキュラムに基づきロシア語で教える８年生普通学校に通った。

アルファベットを習い覚えた入学半年目で、ロシア語の授業は文学と文法にハッキリ分けられ、３年までは、１週間２４コマのうち半分を占める。

文学の授業の特徴は、次の４点を特徴とする。

その一。子供用にダイジェストされたり、リライトされていない文豪たちの実作品の多読。

その二。古典的名作と評価されている詩作品や散文エッセーの主なものの暗唱。
低学年では、週二編ほどの割合で大量の詩作品を暗記させられていく。

その三。ソ連式授業では、まずきれいに読み終えたら、その今読んだ内容をかいつまんで話せと要求される。一段落か二段落読まされると、その都度、要旨を述べない限り座らせてもらえない。この方式の訓練を受けると、自分の読む速度と理解する速度がシンクロナイズされる。

その四。作文の授業は、主題を決めると、そのテーマに関する名作を数編まず教師が読んで聞かせる。例えばトルストイの『戦争と平和』のナターシャという女主人公の場面の抜き書きを読ませたうえで、そのコンテを書かせる。つまりテキストの構造図のようなものを書かせるのである。その上で、今度は自分がしたためようと思っている、友人に関する作文のコンテを書かされる。そのコンテに基づいて、文章を綴るのである。

文法の授業は、母国語をもう徹底的に客観的に分析しよう、その構造を冷やかにつき放して明らかにしようというもの。ここでは母国語が外国語のように意識的な対象とされる。

（274-277 頁、部分的に省略した箇所がある）

要　旨

日本語のコミュニケーション・スタイルの獲得

バルバラ ピッツィコーニ

本稿は英語母語話者の日本語学習者を対象にした中間言語語用論についての横断的研究の中間的結果を紹介する。研究内容は日本語の「授受表現」、いわゆる「やりもらい動詞」と呼ばれる特殊な動詞に関する言語的・語用論的能力の発達である。本稿で検討するのはこれらの動詞の本動詞としての使用ではなく、事象を記述する、あるいは描写する際の補助動詞としての使用法である。直接話し相手に働きかける言語使用は、発話の場に強く左右される待遇的配慮を前提にするため、排除した。

言語テストと口頭インタビューを利用し、初級から上級までの日本語学習者と、日本語母語話者のコントロール・グループの言語行動を調査した。

本稿では、その調査をもとにして日本語学習者はこれらの動詞をどう認識するかを検討した。日本語学習者の発話文を母語の英語、及び日本語能力レベルとの関連で考察した。その結果preferred統合的構造が確認された。つまり、全ての学習者は受け身的構造より能動的構造を好んで使用することが分かった。また、日本語能力は使用頻度と相関しているが、統合的構造の種類とは相関しないことも明らかになった。さらに、言語能力と個別な意味論的コンテキスト（本稿では参加者を必要とする出来事とそうではない出来事）との関連も観察されなかった。本動詞には授受動詞を補助動詞として付け加えることが文法性判断の観点から義務的であるのか任意的であるのかは、描写されている事象に参加者が直接関わるか否か（つまり、本動詞が項を二つ以上持つか否か）による。しかし、本調査では文法性という基準は習得過程の制約要因ではないことが明らかになり、更に言語習得は文法に強制されるものからそうではないものへと直線的に進むものではないことも示唆している。

カタカナ語の利点：英国人学習者のカタカナ英語認識力について

内田 恵美　　中村 太一

多くの教師用ハンドブックや第２言語学習研究は、同族語彙、即ち、学習者の母語と関連している第２言語の語彙を認識することは有用であると示唆している。しかしながら、この認識力が第２言語としての日本語教育においてどのように伸長しているかについての研究は少ない。そこで、本研究では英語を母語とする日本語学習者が初出のカタカナ英語を

同族語彙と認識する能力において、リスニングとリーディングの間に相違が見られるかどうか、さらに、日本滞在期間の長短によって認識力がどう変化するかを実証的に調査した。８１名の英国人大学生を対象にカタカナ英語（32語）とその他のカタカナ外来語（８語）について視覚と聴覚による認識力をテストした。その結果、次の３点が判明した。（１）日本滞在期間１年未満の学習者は、視覚的よりも聴覚的に同族語彙を認識しやすいこと、（２）日本滞在期間が長くなるにつれて、視覚的認識力が聴覚的認識力よりも伸びること（３）日本滞在期間１年以上の学習者は視聴覚ともに同族語彙の認識が容易になることである。統計的分析に加えて、日英語の音韻・筆記システムに基づいて考察をおこなった。

日本語ポライトネスの意図的用法の考察

西郷 英樹

これまで言語的ポライトネス（ＬＰ）という概念は、外国語としての日本語教育の中で待遇表現や敬語などの観点から学習者に提示されてきたが、それらのほとんどは、社会的な慣習やルールに従って日本語待遇度の高低が決定される「義務的」な用法であった。しかし、日常での様々なインターアクションの中で日本語母語話者がどのように待遇度を用いているかを考えれば、彼らがいつも社会的な慣習に従い待遇度を設定しているばかりではないことは明らかである。日本語母語話者は、聞き手との間に彼ら自身が望む関係を構築するために待遇度を「意図的」に操作していることもまた明らかな事実である。

この待遇度の「意図的」な操作の重要性（日常性）を軽視し、「義務的」な用法を過度に強調している日本語教育での教授方法が、日本語学習者に偏った日本語ＬＰに関する情報（印象）を与え、彼らが現実のインターアクションの中でコミュニカティブにＬＰを運用することを妨げている一因になっているのではなかろうか。

本稿では、筆者自身の実体験を例に、この日本語母語話者の「意図的」な待遇度の操作を考察し、日本語教育における今後の日本語ＬＰの教授方法を模索する。

「から」と「ので」の違いについて

福島 佐知

この論文では、接続助詞「から」と「ので」の違いについて語用論的観点から考察し、両者の違いはそれらが基本的にもつ主節との論理関係によるものであるとする仮説を提出す

る。「ので」は基本的に因果関係接続をになう。因果関係とは規定の出来事や状態の間に認められた関係のことである。一方「から」は含意関係接続をになう。含意関係とはあらゆる背景的知識に基づいて推論される意味をさす。

この基本的論理関係に関する違いは文の情報構造の違いを生み出す。「から」を用いる場合、主節の事柄と「から」節の事柄が関連をもつという情報は、話し手と聞き手との間で共有されていると見なされる。一方「ので」の場合は、主節の事柄と「ので」節の事柄が関連をもつという情報は話し手のみがもつと見なされる。丁寧さに関する両者の違いはこのことと関連がある。「から」を用いることによって聞き手の信念を仮定することはBrown&Levinson(1987)におけるポジティブポライトネスを実現することであり、「ので」を用いそのような仮定を避けることはネガティブポライトネスの実現となる。

日本語の英語借用語（カタカナ語）と英単語の関係
“マルティコンピタンス”論の概念に基づく日英両話者の語彙使用における一考察

徳丸 夕輝

第二言語（外国語）使用者の言葉はネイティブスピーカーのそれと違っているのだろうか？このような問いに対して、「第二言語話者の能力は、決して母語話者のレベルに到達しない」とかなり悲観的な口調で嘆く人が多いが、二つ（以上）の言語が頭の中に共存する人の言葉が、一つの言語しか所有しない人の言葉と違っているのは当然のことであり、その性質の違いを単純に優劣で判断できるのであろうか。

クック（１９９１）において、“マルティコンピタンス”という新しい観点から第二言語習得を見直していこうという考が提案された。“マルティコンピタンス”とは二つの言語が融合され一つの言語体系をつくりだしている状態と定義され、その二つの言語は様々なレベルで、相互に関連・影響し合い一つの全体をなしているのである。従って、この総合言語体系は二つの別々のモノリンガル言語システムを単純に足し算したものと同一ではないのである。

本稿は日本語の中の英語借用語と英語との関係に焦点を当て、日英両語使用者のメンタルレキシコン（語彙記憶構造）の一面を探るべくリサーチが行われた。研究方法として、連想タスクと二言語間単語認知タスクの二つが使用され、ともに、“マルティコンピタンス”論を裏付ける結果が得られた。この結果の報告とともに、外国語（第二外国語）教育の現場に立つ教師として見直す点を考えていきたい。

「メソッドを持たない漢字指導」を変えるためのクラス活動の一例

ブリジット ブロディ

漢字に費やす授業時間が比較的短い日本語学習者に適した漢字指導の一例として、形声文字の指導を紹介する。

形声文字は漢字全体の７、８割を占めると言われるため、効果的な漢字学習には欠かせない事項である。基本的な形声文字とともに、規則の過剰適応を防ぐための例外の導入法や復習も紹介する。また、初級クラスでの生教材の使用例として、ネイティブ・スピーカー向けの形声文字学習ビデオの利用にもふれる。

体系だった漢字教育を通して学習者がみずから法則を発見したり、将来の学習に適用できる知識を養うことができることを示したい。

最後に学生の進歩やフィードバックを紹介し、結論へと結びつける。

漢字語彙の定着をめざした教室活動の例

ガッチ 洋子

漢字語彙を長期にわたって記憶できない、新しい語意が次から次へと出てきて不消化に陥るという学生の問題意識に焦点を当て、その解決の一助として、「同じ語に遭遇する機会を増やす」、「個別のトピックの理解に必要な語彙を獲得する」を念頭に置いた教室活動をを紹介する。

これは英語の新聞記事でニュースの詳細を確認してから、同じニュースを扱った日本語の記事を読み、ターゲット語の意味を推測するもので、学生ははっきりした文脈に導かれて、かなり正確にターゲット語の意味を言い当てることができる。扱われているニュースの詳細が英語の記事によってわかっているので、１時間の授業でひとまとまりの新聞記事を読み終えることができる。また、読解ではなく、漢字語彙に学生の注意を向けることが容易になる。

その結果、キーワードが繰り返し登場するという新聞記事のメリットを漢字語彙学習に十分に活用することができる。

Abstracts

The acquisition of Japanese communicative style

Barbara Pizziconi

My paper presents the preliminary results of a cross-sectional study on interlanguage pragmatics conducted on a group of native English speakers learning Japanese as second language. The object of inquiry is the development of linguistic and pragmatic competence in the use of a particular set of Japanese verbs - the verbs of giving and receiving, or 'benefactive' verbs - specifically in their use as auxiliaries, and in event reports (as opposed to addressee oriented speech acts, more crucially constrained by setting-related face-work).

A linguistic test and an oral interview were carried out in Japan on learners ranging from beginner to advanced proficiency level, and on a Japanese-speaker control group.

The paper attempts an analysis of how the function of these auxiliary verbs is represented by the language learners. Several examples from the NNS's production are discussed in relation to the subject's mother tongue -English- and their level of proficiency. Preferred syntactic constructions are identified: all learners prefer active-like to passive-like constructions. Proficiency relates to frequency of use, but not to type of preferred construction. Additionally, no clear relation between proficiency and specific semantic contexts (in this paper, events that involve a participant and events that do not) has been identified. Depending on whether the event directly involves a participant or not (i.e. whether the V has more than two arguments or not), the inclusion of a benefactive in the main predicate is either compulsory or optional from the viewpoint of grammaticality judgments. Evidence in this research rules out the criteria of grammatical obligatority as a constraint on learning, and indicates that acquisition does not proceed linearly from more compulsory to less compulsory environments.

The advantage of *katakana* words: English learners' ability to identify English loan-word cognates in Japanese-

Emi Uchida and Taichi Nakamura

Many studies of L2 learning suggest it is useful for learners to identify cognates, i.e., L2 words considered as related to L1 words by L2 learners, but there are few studies of how learners' ability develops in this area, particularly in Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language. This empirical study investigated how the ability of English-speaking learners of Japanese to use cognate strategies differs between listening and reading on their first meeting of cognates in Japanese and how their ability changes over the period of their stay in Japan. 81 British elementary and intermediate learners of Japanese in a British university were tested on audio and visual identification of 32 English loan-word cognates and 8 non-cognates that they had never met before. The main finding was that, in contrast with the outcomes of Hammer (1975) and Browne (1982) for English learners of French, (a) spoken cognates were significantly easier to identify than written cognates for those who had stayed in Japan for less than one year, (b) learners improved cognate identification skills in reading significantly better than those in

listening over the period of their stay in Japan, (c) written cognates became as easy to identify as spoken cognates for those who had stayed in Japan for more than one year.

Volitional use of Japanese linguistic politeness

Hideki Saigo

The use of Japanese linguistic politeness (LP) [1] is a subject which has long been emphasized in the field of Japanese language teaching as a second language. It has, however, for the most part been considered in terms of its obligatory aspect - that is to say, in terms of the constraints put on the individual by Japanese socio-cultural norms. This article proposes instead, that this obligatory aspect of how Japanese LP is used accounts for only a part of the processes by which Japanese language speakers manipulate LP. This article, which focuses on polite forms such as *desu/masu* [2] and address forms, therefore, proposes that another aspect - what the author considers might be termed the volitional use [3] - demands investigation in order to bring both students and teachers of Japanese to a more rounded understanding of the practical applications of Japanese LP use.

In conclusion, the author will propose the importance of using real life examples of social interactions observed between Japanese native speakers at both the classroom and textbook level in order for the Japanese non-native speaker to acquire communicative competence in Japanese LP.

A pragmatic account for the difference between *kara* and *node*

Sachi Fukushima

The aim of this paper is to examine the general characteristics and differences between two Japanese conjunctive particles *kara* and *node* from the point of view of pragmatics. We propose a hypothesis that the difference can be attributed to their basic relations. The usage of *node* is based on causality, the relationship between events or states of affairs that have already occurred, whereas that of *kara* is based on implication, defined as inferable meaning dependent on any background knowledge.

This difference generates different information structures of the sentences. When *kara* is used the information that the two clauses are connected is regarded as shared, while when *node* is used it is regarded as only belonging to the speaker. Their difference in politeness is explained by this relation: to presuppose the hearer's beliefs realises positive politeness and to avoid such a presupposition realises negative politeness, in terms of Brown and Levinson (1987).

A study on the bilingual mental lexicon of Japanese-English speakers in terms of cross-linguistic influences between L1 and L2 vocabularies

Yuki Tokumaru

Does the language used by second language speakers differ from that of native speakers? Most people would think of less proficiency or inferiority of second language learners compared with native speakers in terms of the mastery or command of the language. It is natural, however, that the language used by the second language learners would be different from that of monolingual native speakers in that the former language users have two (or more) different, but coexisting languages in mind, while the latter possess just one language in the same human capacity of mind.

Cook (1991a) introduced a concept of "multicompetence" in the field of Second Language Acquisition research and claimed that multicompetence as 'a compound state of mind with two languages' is totally different from a monolingual competence rather qualitatively than quantitatively. That is, the two languages in one brain are inter-related and influence each other as a single, unique language system as a whole, and this holistic language system is not just an addition of two individual monolingual systems.

Small-scale research was administered to investigate whether and how the cross-linguistic influences can be observed in the use of Japanese loanwords of English origin and their corresponding English words by Japanese-English speakers. Two different paradigms were used for the purpose of the current research: Japanese word-association task and cross-linguistic word recognition experiment. In both tests, some significant results of strong cross-linguistic influences were gained between those Japanese loanwords and English words.

Taking into consideration of the observed results that support the "multicompetence" perspective, some aspects of the nature of the bilingual mental lexicon of Japanese-English speakers are discussed.

An example of how to systematize kanji instruction Teaching phonetic compounds

Bridget Brody

Some approaches and methods to make kanji instruction more suitable for non-native learners of Japanese are suggested, paying attention to the fact that kanji classes are short so that it is necessary to seek the most efficient ways to make use of limited class hours. In particular, a detailed procedure for teaching the phonetic compounds is introduced.

Instruction in the phonetic compounds is important as it covers 70-80% of all kanji. The method of teaching students the basic rules as well as ways of introducing the exceptions and avoiding over-application of rules are discussed. Use of authentic video material for kanji teaching is also mentioned.

The paper shows how systematic kanji classes can enhance students' understanding of the nature of kanji and guide them to find rules and strategies for their future learning of kanji.

Students' progress and feedback are introduced and conclusions drawn.

Classroom activities to assist in acquisition of kanji-related vocabulary

Yoko Gutch

Students learning kanji-related vocabulary often experience an inability to keep long-term memory and suffer from 'indigestion' from learning new vocabulary all the time. As an aid to solving these problems, a classroom activity is introduced which focuses on increasing the opportunities for repeated encounter of the same words and on acquiring vocabulary that is required for understanding particular topics.

This involves reading English newspaper articles and checking on details in the news, and then reading the Japanese counterparts and trying to guess the meanings of the target words. Led by clear contexts, students can guess the meaning quite accurately. And by knowing the content of the news, they can finish reading the whole article by the end of a one-hour class. It also becomes easier for the teacher to channel students' attention to towards kanji-related vocabulary rather than reading comprehension. The teacher can take advantage of the fact that newspaper articles use key words repeatedly.

List of Contributors: 執筆者一覧

Bridget Brody ブローディ ブリジット
University of London
School of Oriental and African Studies, Co-ordinator of Japanese language courses.

Sachi Fukushima 福島 佐知
University of Essex
Department of Languages and Linguistics Master's Degree, graduated April 1999.

Yoko Gutch ガッチ 洋子
University of Oxford
Oriental Institute, Instructor in Japanese.

Hiroshi Matsuoka 松岡 弘
Hitotsubashi University, Director of the Foreign Student Centre.

Taichi Nakamura 中村 太一
University of Essex
Department of Languages and Linguistics, PhD student and a Japanese teaching assistant.

Barbara Pizziconi ピッツィコーニ バルバラ
University of London
School of Oriental and African Studies, Lecturer.

Hideki Saigo 西郷 英樹
University of Durham
Department of Linguistics and English Language, PhD student.

Yuki Tokumaru 徳丸 夕輝
University of Essex
Department of Languages and Linguistics, PhD student.

Emi Uchida 内田 恵美
University of Essex
Department of Languages and Linguistics, PhD student and a Japanese teaching assistant.

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基調講演 「文法の中の文化をどう教えるか」

米国プリンストン大学

東洋学部教授、日本語学科主任教授

牧野成一

Application and enquiries to

Mrs Miyoko Yamshita or Ms Fumie Goto
The Japan Centre
The University of Birmingham
32 Pritchatts Road
Edgbaston
Birmingham
B15 2TT
Tel: 0121 414 3306/3048
Fax: 0121 414 3270
E-mail: M.Yamashita@bham.ac.uk or F.Goto@bham.ac.uk

BATJ Journal *Guideline for Contributors*

BATJ Journal is a refereed journal of BATJ. **BATJ Journal** welcomes contributions from all the members.

1. Eligibility: Contributor must be a member of BATJ at the time of application. With regards to articles by multiple authors, the first author must be a member of BATJ.

2. Content, Category, and Length
   BATJ Journal publishes articles in the following categories. An article must be an original unpublished work and not under consideration for publication elsewhere.

   A: Research paper
   An original academic research on teaching and learning of Japanese language or other subjects on Japanese language and linguistics.
   Articles should be in English and not exceed 6000 words in lengths.
   All articles submitted in this category are subject to review by anonymous referees.

   B: Reports
   Report of practical applications, case studies, evaluative studies, and surveys, etc.
   Articles can be written in English, approximately 3000 words, or in Japanese, 2000 characters in lengths.

   C: Research Note
   A short article on pedagogical issues, interim report of research, etc.
   Articles can be written in English, approximately 3000 words, or in Japanese, 2000 characters in lengths.

   BATJ Journal will also publish keynote speech of annual conference and special papers, which contribute to
   the enhancement of teaching and learning of Japanese language.

3. Deadline
   BATJ Journal will be published annualy. Articles can be submitted at any time, but the deadlines are:
   A: 10th of December of the previous year for Research papers.
   B: 10th of January of the publishing year for Reports.
   C: 10th of January of the publishing year for Research Notes.

4. Acceptance: The editorial committee reserves the right to select or reject submitted articles, and will notify the contributors of the results.

5. Submissions: Contributors are requested to follow the style guideline and notes on submission outlined in the "Guideline for Submission" which can be obtained from the editor. Manuscripts will not be returned.

6. Copyright: The copyright of the published articles will be assigned to BATJ.

『BATJ Journal』投稿規定・案内

The British Association for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language (BATJ)
では、日本語教育を研究分野の一つとして位置づけ、会員相互の理解を深め研究の発表の場を提供する目的で学会誌『ＢＡＴＪ　Ｊｏｕｒｎａｌ』を発行します。皆様からの積極的な投稿をお待ちしています。

1. 資格
原稿提出時にBATJ会員であること。共同執筆の場合は筆頭者が会員であること。

2. 内容･種類･分量
次のいずれかの種類のもので、未刊行のものに限る。

Ａ：研究論文
日本語教育学ならびに日本語学に関するオリジナルな知見の提供を含む学術論文。
英語のみ、4000～6000語。
研究論文への投稿原稿は原則として編集委員会が依頼した複数の覆面審査員により匿名で審査。

Ｂ：報告
日本語学習、日本語教育に関する実践報告ならびに調査報告。
日本語、2000字程度、または英語、3000語程度。

Ｃ：研究ノート
問題提起、事例報告、中間報告などの小論文。
日本語、2000字程度、または英語3000語程度。

このほか、年次大会における基調講演、あるいは、現時点の課題・将来の展望など、日本語教育学
への貢献となる原稿を依頼、掲載することもある。

3. 締め切り日
本誌は年1回６月発行とし、原稿は随時受け付けるが、締め切りは以下の通りである。
Ａ：研究論文は前年の12月10日
Ｂ：報告は発行年の1月10日
Ｃ：研究ノートは発行年の1月10日

4. 採否の決定：編集委員会が採否を決定し、結果を通知する。

5. 投稿提出方法
投稿希望者は『執筆基準』をBATJ事務局に申し込み、提出方法を厳守すること。
提出の際は、「氏名･所属先･連絡先･原稿の種類」を規定の申込用紙に記入し、原稿２部を編集委員会に送付する。投稿原稿は原則として返却しない。

6. 著作権
掲載された論文等の著作権はBATJに帰属する。

The British Association for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language

CONSTITUTION

1. Name

The Association shall be called "The British Association for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language" and is hereinafter referred to as "The Association".

2. Objects

The primary object of the Association shall be to encourage and promote Japanese language education in the United Kingdom through teaching and research. To further this object, conferences will be organised, publications dealing with Japanese language education will be produced, and any other activities that might be appropriate in conjunction with the primary object will be carried out. The Association shall not engage in trading other than such as may be necessary for carrying out its primary object.

3. Membership

(a) Membership of the Association shall be open to any person who supports the object of the Association whose appointment or occupation or qualifications in the field of Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language are accepted by the Executive Committee and is prepared to pay the annual subscription as prescribed by these rules.

(b) New members may join by application to the Secretary. The method of assessing applications shall be determined by the Executive Committee, and reported to the Annual General Meeting.

(c) Every member shall have one vote.

4. Administration

(a) The affairs of the Association shall be managed by the Executive Committee.

(b) The Annual General Meeting shall elect the following Officers; a Chair, a Vice-chair, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

(c) The Executive committee shall consist of:
--the Officers specified in 4(b)
--the Immediate Past Chair
All members of the Executive Committee shall hold office for not more than three consecutive years, except that the progress of a Chair to the position of Immediate Past Chair shall not be interrupted. Four members of the Committee shall form a quorum.

(d) The Executive Committee shall have power to set up Sub-Committees for such purposes as it may deem expedient
from time to time.

(e) The Executive Committee shall have power to fill any vacancy occurring among the Officers or the rest of the Committee.

(f) The Executive Committee shall have power to do all such other lawful things as are necessary for the achievement of the objects.

5. General Meetings

(a) Annual General Meeting
An Annual General Meeting shall be held at such date and place as is determined by the Executive Committee, to consider an Agenda prepared by

the Executive Committee and to transact any other business of which notice has been given in writing to the Secretary. Fifteen members of the Association shall form a quorum.

(b) Special General Meeting
Ten or more members of the Association may at any time call a Special General Meeting by giving notice in writing to the Secretary stating the motion or motions to be brought forward. A Special General Meeting shall be held at a time and place within six weeks of receipt of such notice by the Secretary. Not less than four weeks' notice shall be given of a Special General Meeting. Such a Special General meeting shall deal only with business for which it is called, which shall be clearly stated in the requisition, at which fifteen members shall form a quorum.

6. Voting
Voting at all General meetings shall be by a show of hands except in the matter of elections to the Executive Committee where the Executive Committee may arrange a secret ballot; in the event of an equality of votes the Chair may give a second or casting vote; the Chair's decision on the result of any vote shall be final.

7. Finance
(a) The financial year shall be from 1 October to 30 September in the following year.
(b) The capital and income of the Association shall be applied solely to support the object of the Association; and no part thereof shall be distributed among members.
(c) The annual membership subscription for members shall be determined at the Annual General Meeting.The subscription shall fall due on the first day of the Association's financial year.

8. Cessation of Membership
(a) A person shall cease to be a member if:
i. He or she shall submit to the Secretary his or her resignation in writing.
or
ii. The subscription remains unpaid by the AGM of the year for which the subscription was due.
(b) The Executive Committee may by unanimous vote terminate the membership of any individual: provided that the individual concerned shall have the right to be heard by the Executive Committee, before a final decision is made.

9. Amendment of the Constitution
A change in the Constitution shall only be effected by a postal ballot of all members, if it is approved by a two-thirds majority of those returning properly completed ballot papers.

10. Dissolution Upon dissolution of the Association any surplus assets remaining after the satisfaction of all debts and liabilities shall not be paid to or distributed amongst the members but shall be given or transferred to such charitable institution or institutions having similar objects to the Association, as may be determined by the Executive Committee whose decision shall be final.

September 1998

編集後記

紆余曲折、試行錯誤、一喜一憂、一難去ってまた一難。ここまでの道のりは、なかなか険しく厳しいものでしたが、その甲斐あって、ＢＡＴＪ　Ｊｏｕｒｎａｌ第１号発行の運びとなりました。英国から学会誌という形で発信できるのも、多くの方々のご協力と、会員の発刊によせる信念があってこそ実現しました。ここに深く感謝の意を表したいと思います。本誌が、会員のみならず、日本語教育に携わる方々の連帯を深め、明日への活動に勇気と元気を与えることができればと願ってやみません。さらにＢＡＴＪ　Ｊｏｕｒｎａｌが号を重ね、成長し、日本語教育の発展に少しでも寄与できるものとなるよう研鑽を積み重ねていきたいと思います。

It is with great pleasure and pride that we publish the first issue of ***BATJ Journal***. My heartfelt thanks goes to all those who gave their support that enabled this journal to materialise. It is my sincere wish that ***BATJ Journal*** will give the members and beyond enlightenment, courage and hope.

ＢＡＴＪ会長　田中和美

今までやったことのない仕事を、経験ある方々に助けていただきながら、何とかやり終えました。論理的で緻密な頭脳があったらいいだろうなあと、つくづく感じた半年でした。（YG）　いい勉強になりました。(KO)　昨年度の大会報告集編集後記を読み返し、「今年度から始まるBATJJournal一読者として楽しみにしています！」という自分ののんきなコメントに思わず苦笑してしまいました。夏休み用読書リストの上のほうに本ジャーナルを加えていただければ幸いです。(RM)　BATJは私達一人一人の努力と協力で成り立っているのだということが実感できる良い機会でした。ジャーナルの方向はBATJの将来を示唆しています。実際に教えていらっしゃる皆様の試みやそこから芽生えた研究論文が増えていけばいいなと思います。(TA)　一冊のジャーナルを発行するということはやはり大変なことですね。まだまだ学ぶことがたくさんあると痛感しました。(SA)

編集委員

天野貴子	Takako Amano	*University of Central Lancashire*
穴井宰子	Suzuko Anai	*University of Essex*
ジョナサン・ブント	Jonathan Bunt	*University of Manchester*
ガッチ洋子	Yoko Gutch	*University of Oxford*
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奥村圭子	Keiko Okumura	*University of Sunderland*
マグダレーナ・プレッチ	Magdalena Pletsch	*University of Luton*
田中和美	Kazumi Tanaka	*University of London*
山下美代子	Miyoko Yamashita	*University of Birmingham*

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