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# The Question of English Language Varieties in <br> <br> Japanese English Language Teaching and Learning 

 <br> <br> Japanese English Language Teaching and Learning}

Junko Inoue

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University

Except where it is otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

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#### Abstract

Over the past few decades, globalization has progressed rapidly in many disciplines. English symbolically reflects this globalization, and pragmatically it performs the role of an international lingua franca. Under such a milieu, issues of English varieties and of English-related language policy and planning have become more significant. This significance arises not only in societies where English is used for daily communication but also in societies where it is used as a foreign language, such as Japan.

This thesis is a study of English varieties and of Japan's English language education policy and planning. It explores the objectives, implementation, and efficacy of Japan's postwar Englishrelated language policies from the viewpoint of English varieties.

This study analyses and provides an interpretation to better understand Japan's English-related policy development. In Japan, although the English-related policies have been developed under Monbusho (Ministry of Education) education policy, this traditional policy making approach does not apply to the recently released policies. As a result of examining the education policies and their development process, it was found that, in general policymaking, English has become a more substantial concern in terms of strengthening a human resource, in addition to the traditional concern for English as a school subject. Thus, Japan's education policy and the comprehensive language policy released after 2000 have amplified and reinforced English's importance.


The policy examinations performed in this thesis also question the connection between the policy and its implementation. Comparing the English varieties aimed at in the policy with those actually being offered in related-plans revealed an inconsistency between them. This inconsistency highlights a problem in the efficacy of the policy implementation.

This thesis also examines the actual linguistic and attitudinal impact on the learners. Although other studies have pointed out that American English is the dominant variety learned in Japan, such studies do not provide much detail, such as in which linguistic component or how strongly this tendency appears. In this study, a survey revealed that the learners who studied English under the 1989 Course of Study (national guidelines) showed strong familiarity with the American English in accent recognition, spelling, and grammar, but not in vocabulary and stylistics. In addition, the survey showed that the most positive attitudes were toward British English, and a significant attitudinal gap was found between Englishes in the so called Inner Circle (i.e. the US, the UK, and Australia) and those in the Outer Circle (i.e. South Africa, India, and Singapore).

The findings from the learners' survey and the policy examination show that the policies are not always implemented effectively. This study suggests possible solutions that can be applied to improve formal English education in Japan, and to teach English better as a global lingua franca.

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## List of Abbreviations

| ALT | Assistant Language Teacher |
| :--- | :--- |
| BETS | British English Teacher Scheme |
| CIR | Coordinator for International Relations |
| CLAIR | Council of Local Authorities for International Relations |
| EFL | English as a Foreign Language |
| ELT | English Language Teaching |
| ENL | English as a Native Language |
| ESL | English as a Second Language |
| FF | Foreign Language |
| FL | Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas |
| GARIOA | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| IPA | The Japan Exchange and Teaching (Programme) |
| JET (Programmese Teachers of English |  |
| JTE | Monbusho English Fellow |
| MEF | Nippon Hoso Kyokai/ the Japan Broadcasting Corporation |
| NHK | Physical Education |
| PE | Sports Exchange Advisor |
| SEA | Teaching English as a Foreign Language |
| TEFL | Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages |
| TESOL | Target Language |
| TL | Second World War |
| WWII |  |

## A Statement about the Romanization of Japanese Words and the Translations of Japanese Texts

Due to the nature of the topic，this thesis includes many Japanese original names and titles． Japanese and Korean personal names，in particular，are written with the family name first，such as Nakahama Manjiro．Non－Japanese／Korean names，on the other hand，are written with the first name first，such as William Adams．

In addition，in order to transliterate the original Japanese terms into the Roman alphabet，this thesis principally conforms to the modified Hepburn system（Hebon－shiki）．Historically，several documentation systems have been proposed，such as Hepburn，Japanese，Kunrei（which means government＇s instruction），and ISO3602 system．Although the ISO3602 system is the worldwide standard system，it has yet to be finalized formally．The Japanese system was the most precise system to transliterate the original hiragana，but it was modified to the Kunrei system，which was advocated by the Cabinet．While the Kunrei system has been taught in the subject，Japanese as a national language，at elementary schools，under the Ministry of Education＇s guidance since 1947， the Hepburn system has the longest history and is the most widely accepted system in the world． Therefore，this thesis consistently uses the Hepburn system，unless specifically indicated for a particular spelling．It is important to note，however，that for typesetting convenience $ん$ is consistently represented by an $n$ instead of an $m$ ，regardless of the phonological environment （before $\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}$ ，or， k ），and that a long vowel is described by repeating the vowel letters（instead of locating ${ }^{\wedge}$ or $^{-}$above the vowel letters），i．e．，$a a, i i, u u, e e$ ，and $o o$.

Exceptions where the Hepburn system is not followed include some loanwords，when the sound （combination of katakana）cannot be properly rendered using the Hepburn system；for example， トゥデイ，which was originally borrowed from the English word today．In this thesis，lu is assigned to denote the small－vowel letter ウ，so that トウデイ is transliterated as toludei．

Other exceptions to the Hepburn system are some proper nouns，which are already well established．These words include place names，such as Tokyo instead of Tookyoo，the Japanese system of era names，such as Showa instead of Shoowa，and so on．Also，alternatives to the Hepburn system are used when the person／matter in question prefers an alternative transliteration． Such words are often found in publication titles or personal names，for example，Ito instead of Itoo or Toyama instead of Tooyama，in which case 富山 and 遠山 cannot be distinguished．

Throughout this thesis，Monbusho is used to refer to the Japanese Ministry dealing with educational matters．Although some scholars use acronyms such as MOE or MESC，these acronyms based on English names are difficult to associate with the original Ministry．Moreover， the Ministry has employed several different English names during the past 10 years：the Ministry of Education，Science and Culture（prior to 1994），the Ministry of Education，Science，Sports and

Culture (1995-2000), the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2001-). Therefore, using different names depending on the time period can confuse the main argument. Similarly, using different Japanese names would also obscure the point. Among the two Japanese names: Mombukagakushoo, as currently called, and Mombushoo, as called prior to January 2001, Mombushoo is preferable because the Ministry had referred to itself as Mombushoo for most of the postwar period, which is the period that this thesis mainly discusses. Furthermore, Mombushoo is transliterated as Monbusho. Although the transliteration Mombusho appeared in its own publication titled Mombusho (1981) and in the title of projects such as Mombusho English Fellows, the ministry itself and most of the literature prefer Monbusho to Mombusho, Mombushoo, or Monbushoo. Therefore, Monbusho, an exceptional transliterated term for the former official name in Japanese, will be consistently used in this thesis.

In addition, following the way to transliterate Monbusho, a long vowel is also omitted for other Ministries, as listed below:

| Monbusho | Monbushoo/ the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (-1994) and <br> Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (until January |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | 5th, 2001), or Monbukagakushoo/ Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, |
|  | Science and Technology (since January 6th, 2001) |
| Homusho | Hoomushoo/ Ministry of Justice |
| Gaimusho | Gaimushoo/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| Okurasho | Ookurashoo/ Ministry of Finance |

Finally, this thesis introduces quotes from the literature, many of which are published in Japanese. In the cases where the literature is not available in English, the translation is my own and is indicated as such. In several cases, however, in addition to the original documents which are written in Japanese, there are several official policy documents issued by the Japanese government that are available in English (e.g. Nihon no Furontia wa Nihon no Naka ni Aru -Jiritu to Kyoochi de Kizuku Shinseiki; English translation is given as Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium). Since the policy documents are central to this thesis, the quotations in Japanese were presented as the primary document. The English equivalents from the Japanese government's official translation were then presented for non-Japanese speakers. However, there are a few cases where some words/phrases are missing from the Japanese government's official translation, or where the nuance is not exactly the same. Because the original quotation in Japanese is the primary document, and because these differences are minor and do not affect my discussion or conclusions, the Japanese government's official English translations were left as they appear in the original publications.

## Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Focus of the study

Today, English is an essential linguistic tool for many people throughout the world (Suzuki 1987, Hashiuchi 1992, Crystal 1997). The English language, so called, has been widely used around the world as a lingua franca for things such as business and academic purposes, while many English language varieties have been regionally established at the same time (Strevens 1980, Platt et al. 1984, McArthur 1987, Kachru 1992b, Crystal 1997, McArthur 1998, Honna 1999). For example, English is spoken not only in the traditional English speaking countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US), but also in some African and Asian countries such as South Africa and Singapore, and these English varieties differ from each other. Regardless of the differences among the varieties, however, because of its role as a lingua franca English works as an indispensable communication tool for those who speak English as a first or second language, as well as for those who speak English as a foreign language, including the Japanese.

While English has established its firm position in different parts of the world, the arrival of different English varieties has had a significant impact even in Japan, where English has been recognized as a single foreign language. For more than 100 years Japan has considered the UK as one of the important countries for diplomatic purposes. Accordingly, since the Meiji period (1868-1912), textbooks and English teachers were introduced into schools in Japan and, consequently, British English was the variety most familiar to the Japanese. In addition, the occupation by the US after the Second World

War (WWII) brought strong diplomatic ties between Japan and the US and, as a result, American English has become a familiar variety to the Japanese. More recently, the recognition of English varieties (including such varieties as the UK or Singaporean), as well as economic and diplomatic circumstances, has meant that the Japanese government and its people have had to confront different English varieties.

Considering the fact that English is established as a lingua franca and that English varieties have become recognized now more than ever before, both in the worldwide and in the Japanese domestic contexts, this thesis primarily aims to analyze the English varieties in Japan's English-as-a-Foreign-Language (EFL) education. The question of English variety was previously considered by Japanese people in the mid-1960s, when the main concern was whether British English or American English was worth learning (Matsunami et al. 1983: 1011). Today, however, what it means to learn English has shifted. In Japan, one of the Asian countries where English is often used as a lingua franca, the negligence of Asian English varieties has been pointed out (Honna and Takeshita 1998: 119). The recent alteration to the education policy, together with current sociopolitical and economic circumstances, provides a different setting to discuss this issue from that of 40 years ago. Today, the issue of which English variety should be taught in Japan's formal EFL education has never been more significant.

In addition to existing nation-based English varieties, such as British English or Singaporean English, this thesis also introduces theoretical varieties-World Standard English (Crystal 1995: 111) and English as a global lingua franca. Neither of these theoretical varieties refers to a particular variety of English, which means that they are not codified varieties. In fact, 'English as a global lingua franca' is used throughout this thesis to avoid some of the issues raised by the pluricentric nature of English in Japanese policy contexts. Before delving into the details of Japan's current English education from the viewpoints of English varieties and of English as a global lingua franca, the remainder of this chapter establishes the significance of this study from three perspectives. These three perspectives are the policy perspective, the EFL education practice perspective, and the societal perspective. Furthermore, the research objectives and the outline of the thesis will be described in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 respectively.

### 1.1.1 The Policy Perspective

Long before the significance of the English language as a global lingua franca and the appreciation of different English varieties were strongly recognized, English was continuously taught to secondary school students as an elective foreign language subject under the postwar education policy in Japan. While its objectives, content, and number of hours per week were modified each time Monbusho revised the national guidelines for education (hereafter, national guidelines), which happened almost every ten years, there was no substantive change in policies until the national guidelines issued in 1989 (cf. Monbusho 1951, 1959a, 1969, 1977a, 1989a).

Recently however, radical changes that reflect the significant role of the English language as a global lingua franca have been made to the education policy. One of the major changes in the new national guidelines to be implemented in 2002, for example, alters the English subject's status from elective to compulsory. Another change to be implemented is the introduction of a new course, International Understanding Study (Kokusai Rikai Kyooiku), in which English may be taught, in the elementary school curriculum (Monbusho 1998b). Furthermore, in early 2001, the government announced that English is destined to be an independent elementary school subject (Monbukagakusho 2001a). These changes, with their strong emphasis on the English language, affect the government's recognition of its significance.

Among these changes to the education system, which emphasize the significant role of English language as an international lingua franca, introducing the new course International Understanding Study, in particular, relates to the significance of different English varieties. According to Kageura (1997), the former Monbusho subject investigator (kyooka choosa-kan) who created a blueprint of its implementation, the prospective objectives of International Understanding Study can be summarized in two goals:
> pupils should be able to gain a basic command of English as an international language,
$>$ positive attitudes toward various cultures should be cultivated.
(Kageura 1997: 16)
The first goal, targeting 'a basic command of English', affects selecting different vocabulary and pronunciations, for example, used in different English varieties to be presented to the learners. For instance, pronunciation is controversial since young
learners are more receptive to the sounds of a new language, and they are likely to acquire the sounds that they frequently listen to. Kageura further points out that the listening and speaking components, instead of the reading and writing components that are currently taught in junior high schools, will be more strongly emphasized for young pupils (Kageura 1997: 16-17). In addition, the second goal, targeting 'positive attitudes toward various cultures', concerns the cultural aspects that the English varieties carry. Since the attitudes toward cultures are more influential on younger learners, it is also important to consider the target culture that accompanies the chosen English variety.

As well as introducing International Understanding Study, the fact that Monbusho intends to alter the English course's status and to introduce English as a future elementary school subject provides a good opportunity to consider which English variety should be taught in the formal EFL education framework in general. Given the real meaning of multicultural understanding, one goal of International Understanding Study, which is to be cultivated in formal EFL education at secondary education level, the issue of which variety to teach must be considered. In addition, interacting with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds will also confront the English variety issue from the oral-aural perspective of language teaching. Moreover, a more suitable curriculum which considers English varieties has to be developed specifically aimed at younger children, because the current curriculum for secondary schools, which is grammar-based, is aimed at more analytical and cognitively mature learners. In this way, Japan's EFL education system presently expects many changes in the way English varieties are considered. Therefore, it is worthwhile analyzing government policies that affect learners' acquisition of a particular variety, especially because power in the Japanese political system is quite centralized within the Ministries.

### 1.1.2 The Educational Practice Perspective

As well as the policy perspective, the significance of this study arises from the educational perspective. In the background of educational practice lies the changing purpose of learning English in general, and this change contributes to some problems that relate to English varieties. Traditionally, foreign language learning was directed at improving the learners' mental discipline and logical training. For example, in Europe, Latin was traditionally learned in elite education. Japan also had a similar tradition in the
learning of classical Chinese understanding in Japanese language. If Japan's current EFL education was still primarily serving this purpose, the outcome of language learning would only be measured for academic records or entrance examinations, and so oral-aural communication, receiving and producing information, as such, would not need to be considered. Consequently, if the target language did not have to be a living language, but merely a school subject, it would not be significant which variety, or even necessarily which language, should be learned, as long as the variety/language were strictly rulegoverned.

However, mental discipline and logical training are not the only purposes for learning a language. Learning a language as a communicative tool is an ideal and practical purpose, particularly in today's global community. Clearly, in addition to demonstrating academic achievement, Japanese people learn English expecting to use it in real life. A language might be learned for future career prospects (Yamada 2000), or alternatively, for personal amusement, such as to better enjoy an overseas sightseeing trip or to appreciate subcultures, including movies or music, in their original versions. Moreover, this communicative purpose, such as learning language in order to use it for pragmatic communication, does not completely deny the mental discipline and logical training purposes. Accordingly, something important will be lacking if the practical use of English language is underestimated when learning English.

The transition in the EFL course objective's emphasis from the traditional mental purpose to the practical purpose is due to the fact that the current communication style is different from what it used to be. Formerly, the majority of the Japanese people learned about worldwide events, or about ideas newly developed overseas, through Japanese language-based media. The latest information technology and the processes of globalization, however, have brought about a significant change in communication style. For example, while the traditional interactions were between countries, companies, and so on, now more individuals as well as organizations have become directly involved with one another across the world. Therefore individuals have to employ a foreign language, which is most likely to be English. In addition, communication tools have increased, have become more varied, and have become more flexible. This means that communicative skills refer to both text-based (reading and writing) and speech-based (listening and speaking skills). Furthermore, communication requires less time, which
means that such communicative skills have to be drawn upon spontaneously. In this way, these changes in the communication style have placed the emphasis on cultivating communicative skills rather than on mental discipline.

As EFL learning attaches increasing importance to communicative purposes, new teaching styles and materials have become fashionable in EFL teaching in Japan. Particularly in the 1990s, 'expressing yourself in English', 'being productive rather than passive', and 'oral communication', for example, have been the key issues in both formal EFL education and in private sector English teaching. In addition, traditional learning activities, such as reading comprehension or grammar exercises, have become less predominant. Games and simulation activities that learners can use to practice target components orally have been introduced, and computer assisted learning software has been developed.

Although Japan's EFL teaching has improved in its styles in the 1990s, many learners who received the traditional formal EFL education were not satisfied with their level of practical skills. It has often been pointed out that many Japanese adults are dissatisfied with their English proficiency despite their efforts during their six year EFL education (Koike 1992: 231, Kato and Kunihiro 2000: 79-80, Kunihiro 2000: 2, Terasawa 2000: 224). It is also reported that office girls in Marunouchi, known as a financial and business district, spend about 130,000 yen on privately learning English conversation after work (Horii 2001). Moreover, English conversation is one of the most popular subjects for undergraduate students to learn outside of university (Monbusho 1996: Part 1 Ch. 1 Sec. 1 column). The responses from those who have learned English through formal EFL education reveal that English communicative skills, the outcome of formal EFL learning, did not satisfy the learners' demands.

The fact that the outcome of the traditional EFL education did not satisfy the learners is partly caused by a neglect of teaching English varieties since the variety of English used is a significant concern in real communication (Chida and Kunihiro 2000: 242). The differences caused by English varieties often bring problems, especially to EFL speakers. This is because EFL speakers' communicative proficiency is already limited relative to English as Native Language (ENL) speakers' proficiency. Such limited communication for EFL speakers becomes even more pronounced when the differences in English varieties work as a handicap and block the communication flow.

For example, ignorance of English varieties, such as in spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and styles, causes crucial interference in communication flow for EFL speakers. As an EFL speaker, I actually encountered communication difficulties when overseas, due to different English varieties, and felt quite out of tune with unexpected forms of unfamiliar English varieties. For example, having become familiar with the US spelling system, aside from obvious pairs like color-colour, without looking them up in a dictionary I could not understand words such as maneuver-manoeuvre or jail-gaol. It took a while for me to familiarize myself with alternative spellings that refer to the same entity. Furthermore, I often became confused with the different expressions due to the different English varieties. Having known only one expression such as would you like a ride? I was lost when I heard would you like a lift? until I found that both lexical items have the same meaning. Also, not only comprehension, but also production, is confusing. For instance, although it was natural for me to say in my senior year at university as a result of living in the US for one year, upon returning from the US I wondered if I should say in my fourth year at university. Moreover, grammatical differences also brought hesitancy, for example, in which expression to choose among it is different from mine, it is different than mine, and it is different to mine. Finally, I was easily confused by dates that were written only using numbers. For example, seeing 05/06/01, I was not sure if it referred to June the fifth in 2001 or May the sixth in 2001. I sometimes incorrectly filled out the date section on forms.

In addition to spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics (such as documenting dates), various accents also cause serious problems for EFL learners, particularly in oral communication. For example, upon my arrival in Australia I needed to open a bank account and I encountered a serious difficulty. I could not understand what the bank teller was saying to me. His words sounded like gibberish, not chunks of meaningful message. I felt very sorry for the teller because I had to ask him to repeat the sentences again and again. I had had no trouble opening an account in the US several years prior to this encounter with the Australian bank teller. Since the bank account opening procedure should be similar at American and Australian banks, it is possible that the difference in accents made communicating with the Australian teller very difficult.

As well as the deficiencies in communication from the EFL learner's point of view, English varieties are sometimes problematic from the EFL teacher's point of view, too.

Based on my personal experiences as an EFL teacher at a public junior high school, teaching raised my awareness regarding English variety issues for students' better communicative skills in English. Moreover, through personal communication with several assistant language teachers, who also taught at junior high schools, I found that other teachers are also confronting the dilemma as to which English should be taught.

How problematic the English varieties are for EFL teachers is seen in various linguistic aspects, for example in spelling, as the following episodes show. One day, when I was marking a midterm (or final) examination, I found a spelling mistake in playte (cf. player) and the answers were marked as incorrect. It is clearly a spelling mistake in this case. Then I came across words such as metre (cf. meter). Because the spelling taught in the class was meter, it seemed to me that the student had become confused and misspelled the word. However, metre also exists: this -re ending is equivalent to the many eer ending words that the students are familiar with. So I wondered if they might have become familiar with this spelling outside the class. I had great difficulty in deciding how I should determine those who misspelled the words from those who used the alternative words. Moreover, in class, it felt odd just to be introducing the words, expressions, and spellings as they appeared in the textbooks and to ignore the alternatives to them. For example, the spellings color and colour both exist in Standard English. However, only color is used in the textbooks, while colour is also often used as a correct form among English speakers. Knowing that there is more than one way of spelling some words, other than the spelling in the textbooks, I felt as if I were hiding the real English usage. I felt that introducing only one way of spelling the word was being dishonest to the students because I could easily imagine that they might get confused with the English varieties, just as I, myself, had puzzled over the different varieties when I dived into the real English speaking environment.

English varieties can cause a serious problem in teaching English, not only for Japanese teachers of English, but also for Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs). I have come across several occasions where the ALTs, who are native speakers of English and teaching English as assistants at secondary level schools in Japan, were concerned about the pronunciation of the word tomato. ${ }^{1}$ In English, tomato tends to be pronounced as /ta mé

[^0]itou/in the American varieties and as /to má tou/ in the British varieties. On the other hand, tomato has now taken a firm hold in Japanese language as a borrowed word and is pronounced as /to ma to/ without stressing, which is closer in its pronunciation to /to má: tou/, particularly in the second syllable. According to the ALTs, they naturally pronounced tomato as /tə má: tow/, so they pronounced the word in their way. However, the Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) emphasized tomato as /to mé itou/ and gave negative feedback about /to má: tou/. The JTEs, however, might not have rejected the /to má: tou/ pronunciation. Instead, they may have denied the Japanese way of saying tomato (/to ma to/) and may not have even considered the closer British pronunciation/ta má: tou/. Regardless of what the truth is, this JTEs' instruction gave a negative impression to these ALTs and a similar impression could have been given to the students there. If the JTEs were familiar with the English variety issue, the problem could have been avoided.

Having observed the significance of English varieties from the educational practice perspective, it is clear that the outcome of the traditional EFL education did not satisfy the learners, in part due to a neglect of teaching English varieties. Indeed, the deficiency in communicative skills that is due to the formal EFL teaching may be attributed to the students' starting age, the class size, the (little) time spent on English learning, or to the teachers' poor proficiency. However, the neglect of English varieties is one of the significant factors affecting learners' proficincy. As a result of concentrating on a few varieties in the formal EFL courses, learners will only be familiar with these specific varieties. Consequently, the instruction may be effective as long as learners are communicating with the speakers of the English variety they have learned, but not necessarily effective with speakers of other English varieties. Therefore, the question of English variety is a significant one in terms of the practical aspect of Japan's formal EFL education.

### 1.1.3 The Societal Perspective

In addition to the English varieties being problematic, both in Japan's EFL education-related policymaking and in the educational practice, they are also significant considering the fact that Japan is becoming a more multicultural society. For example, Japan now accepts more foreign visitors than ever before. The number of foreign visitors,
who are very likely to have poor Japanese language proficiency, has increased more than 150 percent over the past ten years (Homusho 1991: 34, 2001: 38) ${ }^{2}$. Furthermore, the Japanese government is now encouraging more international students for international understanding, and immigrants as part of the workforce, anticipating the problems associated with an aging population and falling birthrate (21-seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000: Ch. 2 Sec .II). Accordingly, it is very likely that contacts with people of different linguistic backgrounds will increase in the future. As these contacts increase, the lingua franca role of the English language becomes more crucial, even inside Japan where the Japanese language is another lingua franca. When Japanese EFL speakers interact in English as an international lingua franca, it is more likely to be with ESL and EFL speakers than with ENL speakers. Consequently, understanding a range of English varieties is important for broader communication.

On top of the increase of immigrants, another societal change, the cultural diversity movement, emphasizes the significance of the English varieties. In today's Japan, cultural diversity is becoming more respected. In 1997, a law was implemented to preserve Ainu culture, ${ }^{3}$ and many projects have been administered to protect other indigenous cultures. In addition to the indigenous cultures, accepting immigrants' cultures is also encouraged in the name of international understanding and multicultural understanding. Accordingly, when learning English as an international lingua franca, it is desirable to avoid emphasizing a specific English variety since the various cultural and linguistic features inherent to English varieties should be equally respected. Thus, it is worthwhile reconsidering English variety as part of current formal EFL teaching from the societal perspective.

### 1.2 Research Objectives

As discussed in Section 1.1, English variety is currently a significant issue in Japan's EFL teaching from the policymaking, the educational practice, and the societal

[^1]perspectives. This thesis, then, aims to explore Japan's current English teaching from the view points of English varieties and of English as an international lingua franca. Consequently, the questions to be investigated in this thesis are:

1. What does the question of English language variety mean in Japan's EFL education?
2. What is the sociolinguistic and historical background regarding language varieties and English varieties?
3. Which variety of English is targeted under the current education policy?
4. Which variety of English is taught to Japanese EFL students?
5. Which variety of English have Japanese EFL students learned?
6. Is it possible to control the factors that affect the English variety acquired?
7. If it is possible to control the factors that affect the English variety acquired, how can this be done from a national education-policymaking point of view at primary and secondary school levels?

### 1.3 Thesis Overview

In order to analyze Japan's current English teaching in terms of English varieties, this thesis addresses the above-mentioned questions in successive chapters. These seven chapters contribute to developing a more thorough understanding of this issue.

The present chapter, Chapter 1, contains the motivations for the study, the aim of this thesis as mentioned above, and an outline of the whole thesis that follows. This chapter addresses the issues raised in Question 1: what does the question of English language variety mean in Japan's EFL education?

Chapter 2 discusses the sociolinguistic and historical background regarding language varieties and English varieties (Question 2). The first half of the chapter covers Japanese as a majority language, languages used by minority groups, major foreign languages that are observed as community languages, foreign language education, the position of English language in society, and English varieties in Japan. The latter half of Chapter 2 discusses English varieties: the framework of English varieties in the world, both in the wider settings for speakers of English as a native or second language, and for speakers of English as a foreign language. Consequently, these sociolinguistic and historical descriptions provide the background knowledge needed to fully understand the English variety issue in Japan's formal English education.

Chapter 3 discusses the direction formal English education is taking in Japan (Question 3). The significance of English teaching in the formal school curriculum is revealed through examining Japanese governmental documents. These legal documents include the Constitution of Japan, Fundamental Law of Education, School Education Law of 1947, and Enforcement Regulations for the School Education Law. These education-law-related materials indicate where English teaching stands within Japan's formal education framework. This chapter also examines the white papers on education and national guidelines, in order to capture current and historical English teaching-related policies that focus on the English variety issue. In addition, the green papers such as The Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium, and several reports from the advisory commissions to Monbusho concerning English education reform, are investigated in order to understand the future blueprint plan.

In Chapter 4 the question of which variety of English is taught to Japanese EFL students is answered through examining four factors that are considered to reflect governmental intention. These factors are the textbooks and audio-visual teaching materials, the Japanese English teachers, the native English speakers as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), and the overseas training programs for in-service teachers. Overall, the results show that there was an orientation to the Inner Circle English varieties, particularly to US English. Moreover, as a result of examining the nationalities of ALTs that are associated with English varieties, this orientation to US English was found to be weakening in the ALTs' invitation scheme in the late 1990s.

In Chapter 5, the characteristics of English actually acquired by Japanese learners are discussed from both linguistic and attitudinal perspectives. These characteristics provide the answer to Question 5: which variety of English have Japanese EFL students actually learned? The discussion in this chapter is based on the results of an original quantitative questionnaire-based survey, which was administered in 1999-2000 in Japan. These tests include an accent recognition test, a variety preference test through spelling, as well as an examination of vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics, and the learners' attitudes toward English varieties. These results confirm the overall orientation toward Inner Circle English varieties, especially American English.

The discussion in Chapter 6 seeks to answer Questions 6 and 7: is it possible to control the factors that affect the variety acquired, and if so, how can this be done from a
national education-policymaking point of view at primary and secondary school levels? Based on the findings reported in the previous three chapters (Chapters 3, 4, and 5), this chapter explores how the intended variety and the learned variety are similar to or different from each other. Finding any identical combinations means that there are possible factors that can be used to refine EFL education. Chapter 6 also discusses the ways in which policy can be changed in order to achieve the foreign language educational objectives more effectively. Suggestions intended for educational implementation are provided.

In the conclusion (Chapter 7), English varieties that should be included in Japan's EFL teaching are summarized and future research suggestions are provided.

## Chapter 2

## English and Its Varieties

### 2.0 Introduction

English is a language that has developed in many different ways and that accommodates numerous varieties within itself. When discussing English in the Japanese context, its function and significance are not the same as those in, for example, the UK or Singapore, where English is spoken as part of daily life. In Japan, people can easily go about life without any English language proficiency. Because the Japanese do not acquire English naturally as they do with Japanese, considerable language planning is required for them to learn English, especially if they expect a successful outcome in terms of language skills. Because it is critical to understand the social and sociolinguistic context in any language planning situation, this chapter reviews Japan's social and sociolinguistic background with regards to language varieties in general, and to English varieties in particular, and establishes what English varieties Japan should focus on in its EFL education.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The first section (Section 2.1) describes the languages that are presently used in Japanese communities. This description is important since sociolinguistic circumstances are crucial for understanding the significance of English relative to other languages. The following section (Section 2.2) presents English varieties in the global as well as the Japanese contexts. There are different types of English varieties, and it is a fact that not all English varieties are treated equally. This section also discusses the English varieties targeted in the Japanese EFL education program. In the final section (Section 2.3), these English varieties are reviewed
in a historical context. This historical review and the analysis in this chapter will be used for analyzing Japan's EFL policy and language planning in the following chapters.

### 2.1 Languages in Contemporary Japan

This section examines the languages currently used in Japanese communities. These languages include Japanese, Ainu, various Ryukyu languages, Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, and Spanish.

### 2.1.1 Japanese, the Most Prevalent Language in Japanese Society

It is stating the obvious to say that Japanese is the most prevalent language in Japan. However, there was in fact a period of time during which the Japanese language was in danger -- that is, during the US occupation. In Okinawa, which experienced the longest US post-WWII occupation, the US government tried to carry out a plan of teaching English to selected students at school. The local people in Okinawa interpreted this plan as a sign that the US intended an everlasting rule over Okinawa. Since the people there wanted to be returned to Japan, they rebuffed the plan, sticking to Japanese as the language of education (Funabashi 2000a: 97-99). In the other parts of the country, where the US military is stationed, the language contact brought about Japanese-English pidginization (Goodman 1976, Passin 1982: 186). Moreover, at the national level, the United States Education Mission to Japan ${ }^{4}$ had a deliberation with Japanese representatives as to whether the writing system used in school textbooks should be switched from the Kanji-Kana system to the Roman system (Tsuchimochi 1991: 147156). Although a radical shift in the writing system did not occur at that time, since 1946, the date when the National-Language Institute ${ }^{5}$ first regulated the Japanese language, Roman characters have been introduced and simplified Kanji-characters have been adopted.

Despite the threats facing the Japanese language during the US occupation, during the half century following the occupation Japanese has maintained its exclusive position

[^2]for official purposes．English has，in fact，mainly influenced Japanese through vocabulary（Passin 1982：172－181），but this phenomenon can be interpreted as Japanese absorption of English rather than as an invasion by English．${ }^{6}$ Indeed Japanese is used as the language for teaching at schools and is taught as a subject entitled National Language． In addition，statutory documents－including the Constitution－are written in Japanese， and official business is administered in Japanese．Although there is no other document or policy that declares that the Japanese language has special status，a law requires that Japanese be used in Japanese law courts．

> 裁判所法•第5編 裁判事務の取扱•第2章 裁判所の用語• 第 74 条裁判所では，日本語を用いる。（Saibansho hoo 1947）

> Law Court Law，Volume 5 Legal Administration，Chapter 2 Terms in Law Court， Article 74，
> Japanese is to be used in law courts．（Translation my own）

Therefore，as shown above，Japanese language clearly dominates society and is the only official／national language recognized in Japan．${ }^{7}$

## 2．1．2 Languages other than Japanese in Japanese Society

Aside from Japanese，the following languages are listed as languages of Japan on the Ethnologue linguistic database（SIL International 2000）．${ }^{8}$
a）Ainu
b）Central Okinawan，
c）Kikai，
d）Kunigami，
e）Miyako，
f）Northern Amami－Oshima，
g）Oki－no－Erabu，
h）Southern Amami－Oshima，
i）Toku－no－Shima，
j）Yaeyama，
k）Yonaguni，
1）Yoron（the previous 11 languages，b）－1），are called Ryukyu languages ${ }^{9}$

[^3]hereafter.)
m) Korean

In addition to the above languages, languages such as Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, and English are also used in some communities.

One of Japan's indigenous languages is Ainu, which has been undervalued in history (Sawada 1996). Ainu was originally spoken in the northern region of Honshu, Hokkaido, the Kuril Islands, and Sakhalin. The assimilation policy ${ }^{10}$, imposed on the Ainu people by the Meiji government, deprived the Ainu people of their language (Otsuka 1985: 49). As the human rights of minority peoples and cultures have gained increasing attention, the Ainu language, in particular, has become a target for conservation by law ${ }^{11}$. For instance, the Ainu language is taught at universities and through radio programs, and other projects are underway to describe and maintain the Ainu language (Refsing 1983: 36, Bunkacho 1999, Monbusho 2000e). However, at this stage, Ainu is not spoken as a community language and only a very small number of living Ainu speakers remain (Tamura 1985: 61).

The Ryukyu languages have also been undervalued in history (Takemae 1983: 53, Sawada 1996). The Ryukyu languages are spoken in Okinawa and in the islands in that region. According to Chew (1983: 355), although the Ryukyu languages are related to modern Japanese (unlike Ainu), they have become unintelligible to Japanese speakers who live on the main islands due to the languages' sustained separate linguistic development from Japanese. Since the early 19th century, through the education system and through interaction with the Japanese language, Ryukyu languages have lost their distinctiveness from Japanese. In addition, particularly in the twentieth century, the mass media, such as radio and TV, which mostly use the Tokyo dialect of Japanese, have accelerated the influence of Japanese on Ryukyu languages (Nakamoto 1985: 101).

Unlike Ainu and Ryukyu languages, Korean is one of the immigrant languages that operates as a community language. Korean has its origins on the Korean peninsula and is

[^4]spoken by the largest ethnic minority group of Koreans, who live throughout Japan. ${ }^{12}$ According to Ethnologue linguistic database (SIL International 2000), 0.5 percent of the total population in Japan speaks Korean. Despite the historical ties between Korea and Japan, as far as first language speakers of Korean are concerned, maintaining Korean culture and the Korean language in Japan is still not easy. For example, although Korean ethnic schools ${ }^{13}$ have been founded in order to maintain the Korean language and culture, 85 percent of Korean children in Japan enroll in Japanese regular schools (Kan 1995: 197). According to some statistics (Lee 1983: 291, KEJ 1993: 830), among the approximately 688,000 Koreans that inhabited Japan in 1990, approximately 90 percent were Japanese-born, and many had never been to Korea or learned to speak Korean. Moreover, an experienced Korean-ethnic-school teacher, who is involved mainly with those of South Korean background, describes one Korean family, which uses Korean at home as much as possible as a rare role model (Kan 1995: 73). These facts establish that Japanese is dominant over Korean, even among the many Koreans living in Japan.

Another immigrant language, which lacks prestige in current society, is Chinese. Chinese is spoken by an ethnic minority of Chinese in Japan as well as among Japanese WWII orphan-returnees from China, and their families. Historically, since the 6th century when books were written in Japanese with Chinese characters, Chinese has significantly influenced the development of the Japanese language, particularly the writing system and vocabulary. Japanese has also influenced some Chinese speakers as the Japanese language was once imposed on the Chinese in Manchuria and on Taiwan during Japanese colonialism in the early 20th century. Currently, Chinese ethnic schools, which are classified separately from the mainstream education system, are available in Japan in order to maintain the Chinese language and culture. Yet, according to the law, students who finish these ethnic schools are not qualified to enter higher mainstream education (Kuwabara 1985, Gaimusho 2000). ${ }^{14}$ This educational situation practically

[^5]ensures that the Chinese language will be undervalued in society. ${ }^{15}$
While each of the above languages originated in the Asia region, some European languages, such as Portuguese and Spanish, are also being used in Japan. ${ }^{16}$ These languages are predominantly spoken among immigrants, mainly Japanese descendents and their families, from South American countries, such as Brazil and Peru, whose ancestors emigrated from Japan to these countries in the 1900s. The Portuguese and Spanish speaking population increased significantly in the early $1990 \mathrm{~s}^{17}$, largely due to the 1990 immigration law amendment (Watanabe 1995: 23-26, SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002g). Many of these Portuguese and Spanish speakers reside in Aichi, Shizuoka, Nagano, Mie, and Gunma, where they are in demand for work at various factories (Homusho 2001: 204-5). In some public schools which accept these Portuguese and Spanish speaking children, serious problems regarding Japanese language training are reported (Ogawa 2002: 3-6). At the same time these students contribute to the Japanese students' deeper multicultural understanding (Furuya 2002, Harashima 2002, Hatori 2002, Kikuchi et al. 2002, Shozawa 2002a, 2002b).

Among the immigrant languages, English is the most widely used language in Japan. Not only is English intensively used in the US military communities, such as in Okinawa and Atsugi, but English is also a working language for many non-native speakers of English. For example, several universities, such as the International Christian University and the campuses of several American universities based in Japan, and so called international schools, use English as a language of education. Moreover, English is also used as an official language within some foreign companies headquartered in Japan, and English proficiency can be crucial for winning promotion even in Japanese companies (Ishikawa 1999, Chida and Kunihiro 2000: 264-267, Yamada 2000). English
students who only received unapproved ethnic schooling could also apply for tertiary education provided they successfully passed the university entrance qualification examination (Daigaku nyuugaku shikaku kentei).
${ }^{15}$ The same argument is also applicable to the Korean language and its ethnic educational situation. According to Kitahara (2000: 16), although at least two department stores in Tokyo announce messages in Chinese and Korean in addition to Japanese, it is merely a 'beware of pickpockets' type of recorded message. Kitahara points out that such multilingual announcements do not fully consider the non-Japanese speakers' needs.
${ }^{16}$ The Ethnologue database does not include the current situation of Spanish and Portuguese speakers in Japan.
${ }^{17}$ For example, immigrants from South American countries showed a 226.5 percent increase between 1989 and 1990 (Homusho 1991: xvi).
is used as a lingua franca among people who have other language backgrounds. ${ }^{18}$ Most bilingual broadcasting in Japan is in Japanese and English (as a sub-channel), regardless of whether the broadcaster is Nihon Hoso Kyokai (NHK, that is, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) ${ }^{19}$ or some other commercial broadcasting station. The government's official documents are released in Japanese, but at the same time the government is more likely to provide English translations than translations in other languages. Furthermore, information displays are bilingually shown in Japanese and in Romanized characters. Displaying local names in Romanized characters clearly indicates a tendency toward Western languages that use Roman letters, such as English.

This section has detailed the languages that are currently used in Japanese society and it has shown that Japanese - as the only national/official language in Japan - is the most prevalent language in Japanese society. This section has also shown that other languages, such as Ainu, Ryukyu, Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, and English, are used as community languages. Among these community languages, English, in particular, is widely used as a lingua franca. It is used outside of English speaking communities for inter-lingual communication. In fact, the popularity of English as a lingua franca is surpassed only by Japanese. It is to be emphasized, therefore, that English is considered to be the most dominant foreign language in contemporary Japan.

### 2.2 English Varieties for Japanese EFL learners

The varieties of any language can be classified under several subcategories, such as dialect, sociolect, creole, depending on what creates the differences or how they are created (Richards et al. 1992: 347, 397, Higuchi 1994: 165-167). English varieties are no different, and today's English differs in its appearance according to aspects of the speaker's background, which include age, nationality, regionality, ethnicity, education

[^6]status, socioeconomical status, and gender, or according to the speaker's first language (McArthur 1992: 355-356, Takeuchi 1992: 121). ${ }^{20}$ The differences among English varieties are observed in pronunciation, grammar, and word choice. For example, differences between the varieties can be seen in the speech of TV announcers on the British Broadcasting Corporation relative to those on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, or in the lexicon in articles published in The New York Times compared to those published in The Times.

It is due to these differences that selecting the appropriate variety for a learning model is a significant issue in Japan. For ENL speakers, the environment where they were born, raised, or educated largely decides which English variety they will acquire. Similarly, it is natural for ESL speakers to target the local varieties (Strevens 1980: 88-90). EFL speakers, however, do not face the same restrictions as the ENL/ESL speakers and they can select their target variety. Although there may be cases where there is no choice as to the English variety learned, perhaps due to diplomatic relationships or the availability of learning materials, EFL learners in theory should be able to choose the model variety they learn according to their purpose. Therefore, the following sections will identify the particular varieties that are important in Japanese EFL education.

### 2.2.1 One English: World Standard English

One appropriate model for the Japanese EFL learners might be World Standard English (Crystal 1995: 111), ${ }^{21}$ which is a supra-variety that goes beyond any specific English variety. Since the national guidelines in Japan exclude learning varieties that are

[^7]peculiar to specific regions, ethnicity, educational background, socioeconomical status, gender, etc (Monbusho 1998a, 1999b), this section focuses on World Standard English.

World Standard English should not be confounded with similar terms such as World English, International English, Global English, or World Englishes. These terms often refer to any English variety that is used for international communication purposes. For example, The Oxford Companion to the English Language defines International English as follows:

The English language, usually in its standard form, either when used, taught, and studied as a lingua franca throughout the world, or when taken as a whole and used in contrast with American English, British English, South African English, etc. (McArthur 1992: 523)

With this definition, an existing English variety, such as American English, could be International English when it is used in international settings, or several varieties, as a whole, including American English, British English, and Singaporean English may be called International English. In contrast, World Standard English is a supra-variety that goes beyond all existing English varieties, including the national standard varieties, such as American Standard and British Standard English. Consequently, World Standard English is a unique variety that differs from International English, Global English, World English, or World Englishes.

Given the non-nationalistic attribute distinguished across English varieties, it is ideal to target World Standard English in EFL education in Japan because it would avoid ideological issues concerning English. Some scholars have pointed out that the spread of English is the manifestation of imperialism by linguistic power rather than military power (cf. Nakamura 1989, Phillipson 1992, Tsuda 1993, Pennycook 1994). ${ }^{22}$ Moreover, the jeopardy of having World Standard English as an international lingua franca can be argued by analogy to Tanaka's (1978: 289) warning about the problem of having one national language within a nation. Tanaka argues that:

The ideology of a national language conceals the real linguistic inequality by distributing the philosophy of equity among the citizens through sharing a language. Furthermore, by sanctioning only one exclusive language, the ideology of a national language not only denies linguistic diversity but also rejects cultural diversity. Empirically, this is the more likely scenario as long as nations determine a single national language. (Translation my own.) ${ }^{23}$

[^8]By substituting＇national language＇and associated references with＇World Standard English＇and inserting＇global＇to make the meaning clear in Tanaka＇s，the revised text brings out the jeopardy of having World Standard English in full relief．

The ideology of World Standard English conceals the real linguistic inequality by distributing the philosophy of equity among the global citizens through sharing World Standard English．Furthermore，by sanctioning only World Standard English，the ideology of World Standard English not only denies linguistic diversity but also rejects cultural diversity．Empirically，this is the more likely scenario as long as nations determine World Standard English． （Underlined words show replaced／inserted words of my own）

It follows that World Standard English，which may possibly stifle cultural and linguistic diversity，is not appropriate．However，since global communication demands a worldwide lingua franca，and since Japanese EFL education is aiming for multicultural communication（Hashiuchi 1992：156），it is desirable to target a variety that is not biased toward national／ideological varieties，such as World Standard English．

The nature of World Standard English，as a supra－variety，is indeed expected to be beneficial for global communication．A letter to the editor that appeared in International Herald Tribune（Kiyoi 1995）${ }^{24}$ points out a problem for non－native English speakers that is caused by having many English varieties．In the letter，Kiyoi，a Japanese EFL speaker working for an international organization，makes an emotional plea，requesting that ENL speakers＇not stick to their hometown＇s brand of English＇in international contexts．The plea further proposes the use of＇a cosmopolitan English－a lingua franca，written or spoken－that is clearly different from what native English speakers use unconsciously ［unintentionally］in their daily life．＇Since＇a cosmopolitan English＇can be interpreted as World Standard English，any Japanese EFL user could encounter similar experiences to Kiyoi＇s when communicating in English，and these users will benefit from a supra－variety， World Standard English．

Although having a World Standard English，as a lingua franca，would benefit those

[^9]participating in global communication through increased intelligibility, targeting World Standard English in EFL education in Japan has not happened. In fact, World Standard English, which does not refer to any existing English varieties, is merely an abstract concept. Some researchers suggest possible avenues for World Standard English to be realized. For example, Crystal expects that:

1. an existing variety, such as the American variety, can be gradually adopted by leading international institutions;
2. the different English varieties can gradually merge into one by frequent contact, such as Euro-English; and
3. a brand new variety can be created specially for international communication purpose, such as the proposal made in the early 1980s. (see Crystal 1995: 113)

Crystal's expectations roughly overlap with Hashiuchi's (1992), who reviewed the possibilities of creating a single world-wide standard variety of English (without mentioning World Standard English). Hashiuchi anticipates World Standard English to be:

1. an English variety purged of the idiomatic expressions that connote AngloSaxon cultures from the British and American English;
2. an English variety that is the greatest common devisor among many English varieties currently used; and
3. an English variety to be created purely for international communication in the future. (Hashiuchi 1992: 161-162, translation my own)

The idea of having World Standard English gradually adopted by leading international institutions is attractive, but so far has not eventuated, although researchers suggest that the American variety has become dominant in some fields such as media or science (Crystal 1997: 82-95, Date 2002, Ehlich 2002). Moreover, the emergence of a merged variety created as a result of natural contact between different English varieties, such as Euro-English, has also not happened at the global level. Furthermore, although proposals to introduce modified English as an international auxiliary language have been made by researchers such as Quirk (1982) and Ogden (1930, 1968, see also McArthur 1992: 107109) ${ }^{25}$, no proposal has yet come to fruition.

The unsuccessful results, and the difficulty of implementing many proposals of World Standard English in the past, hints at its impracticability. Suzuki (1990: 61-62)

[^10]asserts that creating a language (whether it is natural or artificial) that is a universal language among all humans is impossible, considering both the nature of a language and the difficulty of implementation. Therefore, the emergence of an English variety that is neutral among all speakers and that goes beyond the global linguistic hierarchy of power is unrealizable.

### 2.2.2 Many Englishes: Geopolitical English Varieties

An alternative to World Standard English for Japanese EFL learners could be varieties, such as American English or Singaporean English, which are associated with various geopolitical regions. The term 'geopolitical'26 is largely defined as 'national', but the term 'geopolitical' is preferred, because it is more flexible and precise than 'national'. For example, considering the fact that Irish English is not only spoken in Ireland but also in Northern Ireland, which is politically part of the UK but geographically part of Ireland, the term national would be less appropriate.

Although ideological problems similar to those pointed out with World Standard English may not be avoidable with geopolitical varieties (because of their political nature), it is worthwhile exploring the possibility of geopolitical varieties. There are two major paradigms to view the English language: the monolithic view and the pluralistic view. The monolithic point of view considers only major varieties, such as the British and the American varieties, to be correct English. In contrast, minor English varieties are considered to be fractured/imperfect English. The monolithic view is widely held, as demonstrated by the large share and popularity of American and British English in the ESL teaching industry. The pluralistic view, which emerged in the mid-1980s (Kachru 1992a, Crystal 1997, McArthur 1998), sees English as a language for both native and non-native speakers; in other words, ESL varieties, Pidgins, and Creoles are recognized as legitimate varieties of English. Under the pluralistic view, differences between English varieties are linguistic markers that indicate the varieties' individuality, as opposed to the dichotomic correct (native use) versus incorrect (non-native use) distinction held under the monolithic view.

From the monolithic perspective, geopolitical varieties are viewed according to the

[^11]hierarchy headed by American and British English. For example, although neither Strevens (1980) nor Crystal (1995) espouses the monolithic view, the two figures they present (Figure 1 and Figure 2) show the global spread of English using tree models, and describe the varieties accurately from the monolithic view of English. In particular, both figures emphasize the geographical and developmental aspects of the English language. Early work by Strevens (1980) projected English's spread, or geographic expansion, as branches on the world map (Figure 1 below). Crystal (1995) modified Strevens' model by extending some areas and renaming some branches as seen in Figure 2 below.


Figure 1 Streven's tree model of English varieties (1980:86).


Figure 2 Crystal's tree model of English varieties (1995: 107).

There are also models of geopolitical varieties that clearly reflect the pluralistic view. For example, the models proposed by McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1990) successfully describe the pluralistic view of English varieties, with each variety presented equally under either 'International English' or 'World Standard English'. McArthur's (1987) presentation is like a wheel: World Standard English represents the hub; the eight subcategories representing geographical regions extend spokewise; and each variety (regional/ ethnic/ register) is listed around the circumference (Figure 3). Görlach (1990) developed a similar wheel-shaped representation with International English in the center (Figure 4). Görlach's framework differs from McArthur's in that it indicates standardness (standard, semi standard, and semi/ non-standard circles).


Figure 3 McArthur's circle model of English varieties (1987: 11).


Figure 4 Görlach's circle model of English varieties (1990: 42).

Another well-known framework that depicts the pluralistic view is presented by Kachru (1988). He presents English using three levels, with these levels represented through three core circles: Inner Circle (historically, major ENL countries or territories), Outer Circle (ESL), and Expanding Circle (EFL). Using the three-circle representation and terminology, he describes the current sociolinguistic interpretation of English's global use; he does not use the traditional ENL/ESL/EFL terminology, for this terminology reflects the monolithic view. Kachru (1992a) then employs a cascade of circles, with the circles inter-linking to indicate the expansion of the English language (the circles extend from English speakers in the Inner Circle countries, to those in the Outer Circle countries, and then finally to those in the Expanding Circle countries) as shown in Figure 5 below.


Figure 5 Kachru's circle model of English varieties (1992a: 356).

Shifting the paradigm used to view English language from the traditional monolithic view to the modern pluralistic view, in which each variety is perceived to be equal, makes geopolitical varieties a more realistic and more reasonable model to discuss in relation to Japanese EFL learners. Geopolitical varieties are realistic possibilities because, unlike World Standard English, they do, at least, exist. In addition, geopolitical varieties are reasonable target varieties in the sense that they are not too specific, which is important because the national guidelines (Monbusho 1998a, 1999b) preclude students from learning varieties that are peculiar to specific regions, ethnicity, educational background, socioeconomical status, gender, etc.

Despite the fact that geopolitical varieties are reasonable and realistic learning models, some problems still remain. For example, an ideological concern pointed out with World Standard English also applies to geopolitical varieties since these varieties
reflect geopolitical entities such as nations. Suzuki (1987: 251-252, 269-270) warns that choosing an existing variety based on grounds of practicality undermines the significance of English as a worldwide lingua franca because the effort needed to learn the variety should be equal for everybody (regardless of ENL, ESL, EFL speakers). In fact, the advantage that mainstream English speakers have is obvious, as highlighted in Kiyoi's (1995) letter to the editor discussed earlier. Moreover, Kubota (2001) describes the unfair disparity between native and non-native speakers of mainstream English as follows:

For native speakers of mainstream English, who are privileged to be at the top of the global linguistic hierarchy of power, it is particularly difficult to imagine a situation where one's own language is stigmatized and threatened, or a situation where English is appropriated to express a different world view (2001: 60).

Unless students learn every variety equally, which is unachievable, this ideological problem cannot be solved. Moreover, allowing multiple options makes having standardized tests for authorities or teachers, and developing teaching materials for publishers or teachers, complicated. Therefore, although geopolitical varieties could be potential target varieties for Japanese EFL learners, they may not be perfect learning models.

### 2.2.3 A Compromise among English Varieties

As the previous sections argue, although feasible, it is ideologically problematic to choose a single geopolitical variety as the target variety, and although it is ideal, it is unfeasible for students to be familiar with all geopolitical varieties (Section 2.2.2). In addition, although it would be convenient, it would be unrealistic to use World Standard English (Section 2.2.1). Since none of the varieties discussed above (geopolitical varieties or World Standard English) are entirely appropriate to target as English as a global lingua franca ${ }^{27}$, it is a plausible and reasonable compromise for Japanese EFL learners to learn several (but not all) different English geopolitical varieties.

It is crucial to be able to communicate in different geopolitical English varieties in light of the fact that English is learned for international understanding in Japan. In international communication, participants are expected to recognize the different accents of English varieties, and also to comprehend the different linguistic rules and expressions.

[^12]Since many likely communication partners are not speakers from Kachru's Inner Circle, Japanese EFL learners need to be familiar with varieties of the Outer Circle, too. In particular, considering geographical location, Asian English varieties are widely encountered. Consequently, EFL education in Japan needs to include not only the mainstream, Inner Circle English varieties, such as American, British, and Australian English, but also the Outer Circle varieties, such as Hong Kong, Singaporean, and Philippine English.

Targeting several English varieties, however, should be undertaken for perception only, and the goal in terms of production should be distinct from the goal for perception, in order to be fluent in one prevalent variety. Among the geopolitical varieties, not all varieties are suitable to be used as models for EFL teaching. In selecting a language learning model, stability has to be considered because it is critical whether or not the variety's norms are explicitly presentable to the learners. Asian and African varieties, which have not completed the standardization process ${ }^{28}$ according to McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1990), may not be suitable as a learning target for EFL speakers, although ignoring or underestimating the importance of learning Asian and African varieties cannot be justified simply because standardization is incomplete. Furthermore, among the standard English varieties, varieties such as Australian, Canadian, or Caribbean English may also not be practical learning targets for EFL speakers because appropriate teaching materials (for example, textbooks and audio materials) for these varieties are not widely available. Even in Australia, where another major standard English is used, the 'political and economic significance' of teaching English has just been recognized (Singh and Singh 1999: 76). ${ }^{29}$

Excluding varieties that are unsuitable as learning models because teaching materials are unavailable leaves only a few major standard varieties as possible options. British and American English are traditionally used as the major target varieties, particularly for EFL speakers (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 1-4, Crystal 1995: 111, McArthur 1998: 6). British English could be a target variety, considering the fact that

[^13]English originated and developed mostly in the UK, and that a rich cultural heritage has been amassed. More recently, the American variety is another mainstream candidate as a target variety, because the US dominates several areas such as science, the Internet, and commerce. It should be stated, however, that the Japanese education system should not target the UK or US English in order to learn English as foreign nations' language, but rather as compromise target varieties that facilitate learning English as a global lingua franca. While learning English as a global lingua franca requires avoiding culturally unique expressions as much as possible, learning the UK or US English is justified because the most important goal is to enable the learners to express themselves in English. Therefore, as traditionally accepted, the US and UK standardized varieties, which are based on the educated native speakers' speech and writing and have high status in general, may be more practical as models for EFL learners in Japan.

In summary, Section 2.2 explored the potential target English varieties for Japanese EFL learners. Among the many English varieties, World Standard English would appear to be the most appropriate variety to teach EFL learners because it is culturally and ideologically neutral. However, World Standard English has yet to be codified. As a result, Japanese EFL education needs to consider the existing geopolitical English varieties, which are codified. On the one hand, it is desirable to focus on one variety (American or British) in terms of production, so that the learners/teachers can concentrate on learning/teaching one linguistic system. On the other hand, in terms of perception, it is essential that learners be exposed to different accents/expressions, etc. that arise due to geopolitical and cultural differences in English varieties. This exposure allows learners to benefit from using English as a lingua franca in international communication, and not just in bilateral communication with American or British people. Considering the demand for English by Japanese people, Asian varieties (such as Singapore or Philippine English) should also be included in addition to mainstream English varieties.

### 2.3 English Varieties in Japan: Past and Present

Having established the English varieties relevant for Japanese EFL education, it is now important to understand how these English varieties have been viewed and treated in Japanese society. From when the first British English speaker arrived in Japan in the late

16th century, until the present time, Japan has encountered and been exposed to several geopolitical English varieties. Although the literature suggests that the predominant position of British English was overtaken by American English after WWII (Suzuki 1987: 58, Hashiuchi 1992: 158), the entire history is more complicated. This section, therefore, describes from a historical perspective the English varieties observed in Japanese society. Three time periods are relevant: the prewar period, the post-war period, and the 21 st century.

### 2.3.1 From the Arrival of English to the Second World War: The Duopoly of the UK and US Varieties

British English was the only variety brought to Japan between the late 16th century and the late 18th century. At this time English was not a major foreign language for the Japanese. ${ }^{30}$ The first English speaker to visit Japan is recorded to be William Adams (1564-1629), a British native. American independence from the UK did not happen until the late 18th century (although immigration started much earlier), and American English had yet to establish itself as a distinct variety. Noah Webster (1758-1843), who made a remarkable contribution to an emerging American English through compiling an American dictionary, was not born until the mid-18th century.

In the late Edo period (from the later 18th to early 19th centuries), when English became a more significant foreign language, ${ }^{31}$ Ike argues that American English became

[^14]more influential after Japan opened its ports in response to a request from the US (with military force) in 1868 (1995: 3-5). After Japan opened its ports to the US, the growing bilateral relationship between Japan and the US raised the profile of the US English variety compared to the UK variety. In addition, the US dominance can be observed from a tertiary education perspective. For example, in 1875, when Monbusho's reformedstudy abroad program was administered for the first time, it did not include the UK as a destination. The 11 Tokyo University students officially sent overseas in 1875 were sent to the US, France and Germany. But, in addition, three other students were sent to the US to study education under another Monbusho program (Monbusho 1992: Ch. 1 Sec.3). Moreover, in 1867, Nakahama Manjiro (1827-1898), also known as John Manjiro, was sent to the US as a member of a government US mission and brought a Webster Dictionary back to Japan. Nakahama used this dictionary to write English-Japanese conversation textbooks. Given the fact that Nakahama worked as an interpreter and professor at Kaiseijo, a former body of Tokyo University, it is plausible that through Nakahama the US variety spread to government officials and intellectuals.

Although US English was influential in Japan after the late 18th century, this does not mean that the Japanese government regarded British English as less important. British English was considered to be a significant target variety (Hashiuchi 1992: 158). In 1922, Monbusho invited Harold Palmer, the head of the Research Institute of English Language Teaching at London University, to visit Japan. From this visit the Oral Approach, which Palmer promoted, became influential in formal EFL education (Takanashi and Takahashi 1990: 63-64). The invitation to Palmer resulted in the British variety of English and English teaching being viewed in a positive light.

In the pre-WWII period, when English education itself became less significant as it was viewed as the enemy's language (the language spoken in the UK and the US), the question of English varieties was not an official concern. As the war came closer, nationalism emerged, English became less crucial in Japan, and the pros and cons of English education became a controversial topic among many famous politicians and scholars (Kakita 1985: 362, Takanashi and Takahashi 1990: 4-6, Ike 1995: 5-6). Ike further notes that English was abolished from the curriculum at several schools, and the

[^15]junior high school English textbooks were censored (1995: 5-6). Therefore, no particular English variety was emphasized during the prewar period.

### 2.3.2 Postwar Period: The Rise in the Popularity of the US Variety and the Increasing Relevance of Other English Varieties

Following WWII, English became a more important foreign language for Japan. Moreover, the dual US and UK dominance present prior to the war changed because the experience of the American occupation led American English to become crucial in society. The occupation brought changes in various socio-political systems, including the education system (Kanda 1989: 88, Saeki 1998: 132), and English learning boomed as the ruler's language (Hashiuchi 1992: 157). The handbook for Japanese-American conversation (Nichibei Eikaiwa Techoo), featuring American English, became a bestseller (sold 360 million) in 1945. In 1946, the radio program to teach English conversation (Kати Кати Eikaiwa), organized by a Japanese personality who was educated and trained (as an actor) in the US, became widely popular for young and old (Imura 1992: 105-110). Because English learning materials published in the mid-1940s featured the US variety, American English spread throughout Japan.

Even after the occupation period, the strong ties between Japan and the US led to the popularity of American English continuing, as reflected in the migration statistics and sister-city affiliation statistics. While these statistics do not directly reflect the value that the Japanese people place on English varieties, because not all the Japanese go overseas or interact with immigrants, they do indicate some aspects of the common English varieties in Japan. Since those who study abroad gain language skills as well as substantial knowledge and experience in the destination countries, the students' feedback contributes to Japanese society upon their return. In particular, students who study in English speaking countries bring specific varieties back into Japan. In addition, the statistics on the countries where the foreign scholars come from, such as the US, and UK, and Australia, and the statistics on domestic-foreign sister-city relationships, can reveal the common English varieties in Japan.

The fact that more Japanese students and scholars study in the US compared to any other English-speaking county indicates the US English variety's potential to influence Japanese society. As revealed in the distribution of Japanese students across their
declared destination country (Table 1), the US has been positioned in first place for more than thirty years, ever since the statistical data has been made public. The number of students who have been abroad to the US ( 1,348 in 1965 and 87,157 in 2000) was over ten times the number of those who went to France (120, the second most popular country in 1965), and more than three times the number of those who went to the UK $(26,297$, the second most popular country in 2000). Moreover, the US's popularity as a destination country is clearly shown in the high proportion of Japanese students who have chosen to go to the US (Table 2). The number of students who have been abroad to the US as a proportion of the total number of Japanese students who went overseas was more than 90 percent in 1965. Although the proportion had dropped dramatically, in 1998, it was still more than 60 percent of the total number of overseas students. The US's significant lead as the most popular destination for Japanese students who go to study abroad indicates that the US English variety has been by far the most prevalent English variety learned among those who study abroad.

| 1965 |  | 1970 |  | 1975 |  | 1980 |  | 1985 |  | 1990 |  | 1995 |  | 2000 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| US | 1348 | US | 2839 | US | 6002 | US | 9242 | US | 14435 | US | 68944 | US | 82008 | US | 87157 |
| France | 120 | France | 558 | France | 939 | France | 1201 | UK | 1995 | UK | 12061 | UK | 19494 | UK | 26297 |
| Germany | 86 | Germany | 296 | Germany | 857 | UK | 969 | France | 1296 | China | 5882 | China | 12947 | China | 14072 |
| UK | 51 | UK | 148 | UK | 827 | Germany | 706 | China | 1128 | Canada | 4639 | Canada | 8938 | Canada | 12430 |
| Russia | 42 | Russia | 98 | China | 307 | Canada | 306 | Germany | 1072 | Australia | 4277 | Australia | 8704 | Australia | 10369 |
| Italy | 25 | Australia | 90 | Australia | 254 | Taiwan | 284 | Canada | 593 | France | 4252 | France | 5450 | France | 7293 |
| Spain | 23 | Canada | 72 | Switzerland | 146 | Australia | 240 | Australia | 472 | Korea | 3553 | Korea | 3823 | Korea | 5008 |
| Canada | 23 | Spain | 61 | Canada | 142 | Mexico | 161 | Taiwan | 431 | Hong Kong | 2846 | NZ | 3474 | Germany | 4869 |
| Hong Kong | 15 | Italy | 60 | Mexico | 141 | Switzerland | 125 | Italy | 353 | Germany | 2637 | Germany | 3128 | NZ | 4630 |
| Austria | 15 | China | 52 | Korea | 134 | Italy | 121 | Korea | 281 | Taiwan | 2533 | Heng Kong | 2121 | Italy | 3563 |
| Australia | 15 | Korea | 43 | Taiwan | 111 | Korea | 109 | Austria | 236 | Singapore | 1334 | Italy | 1991 | Taiwan | 2413 |
| Holland | 12 | Holland | 41 | Italy | 94 | Austria | 109 | Switzerland | 193 | Italy | 1169 | Singaporé | 1710 | Hong Kong | 2009 |
| China | 11 | Austria | 33 | Russia | 90 | The Phillppines | 104 | Spain | 193 | NZ | 1036 | Taiwan | 1507 | Spain | 1527 |
| Switzerland | 10 | Hong Korng | 28 | Austria | 79 | Spain | 68 | Mexico | 150 | Thailand | 769 | Russia | 1216 | Switzerland | 1344 |
| India | 7 | Sweden | 24 | Spain | 67 | China | 62 | The Philippines | 117 | Spain | 710 | Spain | 823 | Thailand | 1227 |
| Brazil | 7 | Switzerland | 22 | The Philippines | 58 | Hong Kong | 54 | NZ | 86 | Russia | 474 | Switzerland | 793 | Ireland | 936 |
| UAE | 5 | Denmark | 22 | Denmark | 57 | Sweden | 37 | Holland | 73 | Switzerland | 472 | Austria | 685 | Russia | 860 |
| The Rhillppines | 5 | India | 18 | Hungary | 43 | India | 30 | Hong Kong | 71 | Holland | 466 | Holland | 631 | Austria | 794 |
| Sweden | 5 | The Philippines | 18 | India | 37 | Denmark | 29 | singapore | 59 | Austria | 459 | Brazil | 586 | Holland | 721 |
| Mexico | 5 | Thailand | 16 | Poland | 34 | Indonesia | 27 | Sweden | 56 | Indonesia | 397 | Thailand | 526 | Singapore | 663 |
| Total | 1882 | Total | 4659 | Total | 10826 | Total | 14279 | Total | 23830 | Total | 121645 | Total | 165257 | Total | 193779 |

Extracted from (Homusho 1966: 128-131, 1971: 130-135, 1976: 136-141, 1981: 140-145, 1986: 132-137, 1991: 146-151, 1996: 150-155, 2001: 150-155)
Table 1 Top 20 destinations of Japanese who declared to study abroad on departure. ${ }^{32}$

[^16]| The Destinations | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Inner Circle Countries | 98,2 | 97,8 | 98,2 | 98,2 | 98,4 | 95,2 | 96,8 | 97,9 |
| US | 91,8 | 88,2 | 81,2 | 84,1 | 80,8 | 72,1 | 64,5 | 60,2 |
| UK | 3,5 | 4,6 | 11,2 | 8,8 | 11,2 | 12,6 | 15,3 | 18,2 |
| Australia | 1,0 | 2,8 | 3,4 | 2,2 | 2,6 | 4,5 | 6,8 | 7,2 |
| Canada | 1,6 | 2,2 | 1,9 | 2,8 | 3,3 | 4,8 | 7,0 | 8,6 |
| New Zealand | 0,3 | 0,0 | 0,3 | 0,1 | 0,5 | 1,1 | 2,7 | 3,2 |
| Ireland | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 0,6 |
| Outer Circle Countries | 1,8 | 2,2 | 1,8 | 1,8 | 1,6 | 4,8 | 3,2 | 2,1 |
| India | 0,5 | 0,6 | 0,5 | 0,3 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,1 |
| The Philippines | 0,3 | 0,6 | 0,8 | 0,9 | 0,7 | 0,3 | 0,1 | 0,2 |
| Singapore | 0,0 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,3 | 1,4 | 1,3 | 0,5 |
| Hong Kong | 1,0 | 0,9 | 0,4 | 0,5 | 0,4 | 3,0 | 1,7 | 1,4 |

Table 2 Percentage of the students by destinations out of total overseas students for English speaking countries (extracted based on Table 1).

The fact that more foreign visiting scholars come from the US also provides evidence supporting the orientation towards a US variety over the other English varieties. As shown in the distribution of foreign visiting scholars by nationalities (Table 3), between 1960 and 2000, the US has continuously secured the leading position. The number of scholars who came from the US (73 in 1960 and 3,330 in 2000) was over 18 times as many as those who came from Germany (4) ${ }^{33}$, the second ranked country in 1960, and more than two and a half times as many as those visiting from China $(1,177)$, the second ranked country in $1995 .{ }^{34}$ Furthermore, the US orientation is clearly shown through the fact that the numbers of foreign visiting scholars coming from the US have been a majority of the total (Table 4). The number of visitors who came from the US (105) as a proportion of the total number of foreign visiting scholars (141) was more than 90 percent in 1965 (Table 3). Although the proportion of foreign scholars coming from the US has declined since 1960 (from $97.3 \%$ in 1960 to $54.4 \%$ in 2000), it has never gone below 50 percent of the total number of foreign scholars (Table 4). As shown above, because the foreign visiting scholars teaching at tertiary institutions in Japan have come predominantly from the US, Japanese students are most likely to be influenced by the US English variety.

[^17]| 1960 |  | 1965 |  | 1970 |  | 1975 |  | 1980 |  | 1985 |  | 1990 |  | 1995 |  | 2000 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| US | 73 | US | 105 | US | 99 | US | 198 | US | 419 | US | 794 | US | 1512 | US | 2953 | US | 3330 |
| Germany | 4 | Germany | 8 | Germany | 21 | Germany | 51 | UK | 149 | UK | 248 | UK | 375 | China | 1177 | China | 3085 |
| China | 2 | UK | 7 | UK | 21 | UK | 42 | Germany | 78 | Germany | 100 | Canada | 182 | Korea | 871 | Korea | 2246 |
| UK | 2 | Canada | 5 | Korea | 7 | Korea | 17 | France | 66 | China | 85 | Germany | 157 | UK | 717 | UK | 974 |
| Austria | 1 | Korea | 3 | Switzerland | 7 | Taiwan | 16 | Taiwan | 50 | Canada | 77 | France | 126 | Canada | 525 | Canada | 636 |
| Italy | 1 | NZ | 3 | China | 6 | France | 13 | Canada | 43 | France | 70 | China | 120 | Germany | 387 | Australia | 532 |
| Switzerland | 1 | China | 2 | France | 4 | Canada | 13 | Korea | 20 | Australia | 36 | Korea | 115 | Russia | 261 | Germany | 490 |
| Chile | 1 | Switzerland | 2 | India | 3 | Spain | 9 | Australia | 19 | Korea | 35 | Taiwan | 98 | Australia | 236 | Russia | 443 |
|  |  | Italy | 1 | Spain | 3 | Australia | 8 | Switzerland | 13 | Italy | 17 | Australia | 78 | France | 234 | France | 350 |
|  |  | India | 1 | Canada | 3 | Switzerland | 7 | Italy | 10 | Spain | 11 | Italy | 27 | Taiwan | 173 | Indial | 303 |
|  |  | France | 1 | Malaysia | 2 | India | 5 | Spain | 9 | Sirigapore | 11 | NZ | 26 | NZ | 82 | Taiwan | 203 |
|  |  | Norway | 1 | Denmark | 2 | NZ | 4 | Austria | 7 | Austria | 10 | Austria | 26 | India | 73 | NZ | 124 |
|  |  | Brazil | 1 | NZ | 2 | Ireland | 4 | Thailand | 6 | Switzerland | 9 | The Phlipplines | 25 | Thailand | 68 | The Prillippines | 95 |
|  |  | Australia | 1 | Iran | 1 | Italy |  | Greece | 6 | Egypt | 7 | Ireland | 21 | Spain | 59 | Italy | 84 |
|  |  |  |  | Pakistan | 1 | Iran | 3 | China | 6 | The Phillippines | 6 | Spain | 17 | The grivpoines | 53 | Spain | 76 |
|  |  |  |  | The Philippinos | 1 | Austria | 3 | Indonesia | 4 | India. | 6 | India | 15 | Ireland | 53 | Thailand | 75 |
|  |  |  |  | Austria | 1 | Indonesia | 3 | Mongolia | 4 | Greece | 6 | Sweden | 13 | Italy | 52 | Bangladesh | 74 |
|  |  |  |  | Ireland | 1 | The Prillipplines | 2 | Denmark | 4 | Taiwan | 5 | Indonesia | 13 | Austria | 52 | Iran | 63 |
|  |  |  |  | Italy | 1 | Hong Kong | 2 | Iran | 3 | NZ | 4 | Thailand | 11 | Poland | 47 | Poland | 62 |
|  |  |  |  | Algeria | 1 | Holland | 2 | Egypt | 3 | Ireland | 4 | Poland | 11 | Sweden | 39 | Austria | 61 |
| Total | 85 | Total | 141 | Total | 189 | Total | 422 | Total | 946 | Total | 1582 | Total | 3101 | Total | 8677 | Total | 14637 |

Table 3 Top 20 nationalities of foreign scholars who were given education visa status from the Japanese government. ${ }^{35}$

[^18]| The Countries of Origin | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Inner Circle Countries | 100,0 | 100,0 | 96,9 | 96,8 | 99,2 | 98,1 | 97,9 | 97,0 | 92,2 |
| US | 97,3 | 86,8 | 75,6 | 71,2 | 65,7 | 66,9 | 67,5 | 62,7 | 54,4 |
| UK | 2,7 | 5,8 | 16,0 | 15,1 | 23,4 | 20,9 | 16,7 | 15,2 | 15,9 |
| Australia | 0,0 | 0,8 | 0,8 | 2,9 | 3,0 | 3,0 | 3,5 | 5,0 | 8,7 |
| Canada | 0,0 | 4,1 | 2,3 | 4,7 | 6,7 | 6,5 | 8,1 | 11,1 | 10,4 |
| New Zealand | 0,0 | 2,5 | 1,5 | 1,4 | 0,3 | 0,3 | 1,2 | 1,7 | 2,0 |
| Ireland | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,8 | 1,4 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 0,9 | 1,1 | 0,8 |
| Outer Circle Countries | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3,1 | 3,2 | 0,8 | 1,9 | 2,1 | 3,0 | 7,8 |
| India | 0,0 | 0,0 | 2,3 | 1,8 | 0,2 | 0,5 | 0,7 | 1,6 | 4,9 |
| The Philippines | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,8 | 0,7 | 0,2 | 0,5 | 1,1 | 1,1 | 1,6 |
| Singapore | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,2 | 0,9 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 0,5 |
| Hong Kong | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,7 | 0,3 | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,8 |

Table 4 Percentages of scholars by nationality out of total foreign scholars from English speaking countries (extracted based on Table 3).

The popularity of the US variety is also found in the sister-city partnerships. Since a sister-city partnership brings some of the residents the opportunity and the motivation to learn about the partner cities, it is presumed that the partner-country also reflects the language/language-variety situation. According to the data compiled by Jichitai Kokusai-ka Kyokai (1999: 2), the number of sister-city partners has been increasing over the past nearly thirty years (Figure 6). As of 1999, 893 local bodies in Japan have established 1345 partnerships ( 57 countries) with foreign bodies. Among the top five most popular countries, which are the US, China, Australia, Korea, Canada, and Brazil, three countries are English speaking, and, notably, the US is the most popular partner country. Therefore, the fact that Japanese cities are much more likely to enter into sister-city partnerships with US cities indicates that the Japanese people have more opportunities to encounter American English than other English varieties.


Figure 6 A diagram showing increase of sister-city partners (Jichitai Kokusaika Kyokai 1999: 120, the English translation inserted by the author ).

While the US variety has been the most popular variety among the Japanese, social and sociolinguistic changes in Japan during the late-post-war period have raised the profile of other English varieties. In the 1980s, many English varieties, in countries where English is spoken as an official language, have become recognized as independent English varieties (Platt et al. 1984, McArthur 1998). As globalization proceeds across various fields, the role of the English language has shifted from being merely a language spoken in English speaking countries to being a language spoken all over the world (Crystal 1997, McArthur 1998, Kunihiro 2000, Terasawa 2000, Kubota 2001). This globalization movement is unavoidable, even for non-English speaking regions, and economic and diplomatic circumstances in Japan have forced the Japanese government and the Japanese people to confront different English varieties.

One example of the increasing contact with other Inner Circle English varieties can be seen in the statistics concerning Japanese overseas-students by destination country (Table 2). The number of students who have studied in the US, as a proportion of all students in English speaking countries, had dropped to nearly 60 percent by 2000, from more than 90 percent in 1965. At the same time the percentages traveling for study to the UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Ireland have increased. The fact that more people are studying abroad in these counties, which all belong to the Inner Circle, shows that these Inner Circle English varieties are becoming more acceptable than before.

In addition to the statistics on students studying abroad, the statistics on visiting foreign scholars show that contact with English varieties, not only varieties in the Inner Circle but also varieties in the Outer Circle, is also rising. Table 4 shows that the proportion of foreign scholars coming from the US had dropped to 54.4 percent in 1998, from more than 90 percent in 1960. On the other hand, numbers/percentages of foreign scholars from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India, and the Philippines have increased. Because Australia, Canada, and New Zealand belong to the Inner Circle, and India and the Philippines belong to the Outer Circle, Table 4 indicates that, as far as foreign scholars are concerned, the Japanese are now more likely to encounter a wider range of English varieties.

Although the Japanese now encounter more English varieties, the Outer Circle varieties are less frequently encountered than the Inner Circle varieties. As Table 4 shows, numbers of foreign scholars coming from the Outer Circle countries, as a proportion of
those coming from English speaking countries, have increased slightly. However, from the total number of visiting scholars coming from English speaking countries, only eight percent (approximately) come from the Outer Circle countries. For example, in 2000, compared to some Inner Circle English speaking countries (UK: 15.9\%, Canada: 10.4\%, and Australia: 8.7\%), the Outer Circle countries (India: 4.9\%, The Philippines: 1.6\%, Singapore: $0.5 \%$, and Hong Kong: $0.8 \%$ ) account for a very small percentage. As for Japanese overseas students, Table 2 reveals that the proportion of those who go to the Outer Circle countries is very small. In 2000, compared to some Inner Circle English speaking countries (UK: 18.2\%, Canada: $8.6 \%$, and Australia: 7.2\%), the proportion of Japanese overseas students that visit the Outer Circle countries is relatively miniscule (India: $0.1 \%$, The Philippines: $0.2 \%$, Singapore: $0.5 \%$, and Hong Kong: $1.4 \%$ ). These statistics show that the Outer Circle varieties have not, by-and-large, been brought back to Japan. Furthermore, while the students and scholars to/from Inner Circle countries are increasing in number (Table 1, Table 3, Table 5, and Table 6), the percentage of students going to Outer Circle countries has been decreasing since 1990 (Table 1 and Table 5). Only the number of foreign scholars coming from the Outer Circle countries is increasing (Table 3 and Table 6). Therefore, although the Outer Circle countries have established their position in educational/academic exchange to Japan, the number of exchanges between Japan and the Outer Circle countries is unlikely to exceed that of the Inner Circle countries. Hence, the Inner Circle English varieties are more popular than the Outer Circle English varieties.

| The Destination Countries |  | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total Overseas Students | $\begin{gathered} \text { (Numbers) } \\ \text { (Percentages) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | 1882 | 4659 | 10826 | 14279 | 23830 | 121645 | 165257 | 193779 |
|  |  | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| English Speaking Countries |  | 1468 | 3220 | 7390 | 10985 | 17869 | 95654 | 127198 | 144833 |
|  |  | 78.0 | 69.1 | 68.3 | 76.9 | 75.0 | 78.6 | 77.0 | 74.7 |
| Inner Circle Countries |  | 1441 | 3150 | 7256 | 10782 | 17584 | 91025 | 123079 | 141819 |
|  |  | 76.6 | 67.6 | 67.0 | 75.5 | 73.8 | 74.8 | 74.5 | 73.2 |
| Outer Circle Countries |  | 27 | 70 | 134 | 203 | 285 | 4629 | 4119 | 3014 |
|  |  | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 1.6 |

Table 5 Total numbers and percentages of the students by destination countries. ${ }^{36}$

| The Countries of Origines |  | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total Foreign Scholars | (Numbers) <br> (Percentages) | 85 | 141 | 189 | 422 | 946 | 1582 | 3101 | 8677 | 14637 |
|  |  | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| English Speaking Countries |  | 75 | 121 | 131 | 278 | 638 | 1186 | 2240 | 4709 | 6123 |
|  |  | 88.2 | 85.8 | 69.3 | 65.9 | 67.4 | 75.0 | 72.2 | 54.3 | 41.8 |
| Inner Circle Countries |  | 75 | 121 | 127 | 269 | 633 | 1163 | 2194 | 4566 | 5647 |
|  |  | 88.2 | 85.8 | 67.2 | 63.7 | 66.9 | 73.5 | 70.8 | 52.6 | 38.6 |
| Outer Circle Countries |  | 0 | 0 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 23 | 46 | 143 | 476 |
|  |  | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 3.3 |

Table 6 Total numbers and percentages of the foreign scholars by the countries of origins.

[^19]
## 2．3．3 The 21st Century：The Popularity of the US，UK，Australian，and Canadian Varieties

Among the English varieties that have become recognized in the late post－war period，some Inner Circle varieties，such as the US，UK，Australian，and Canadian varieties，are intensifying their influence in the 21st century．For example，an advertisement in an email magazine ${ }^{37}$ featuring English conversation emphasizes these four English varieties．Figure 7 below shows such an advertisement and its English equivalent．

```
********PR***************************************
んん下手な英語で夢のある会話ぶ12年の実績
| 大阪本町 英語カタコト喫茶 「WOODYHUT」
\square英米豪加 インストラクター多数 レベル別
¥1900 プラス ドリンク代 1500 入会金一切なし
電話 06-6445-5554 http://member.nifty.ne.jp/Woody-Hut/
*****************************************************
```

（Kurisu Eikaiwa Ressun Henshuu Bu 2000，underlining my own）
********PR ${ }^{* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * ~}$
$\mathcal{\sim} \dot{\sim}$ Enjoy dreamy conversation with poor English $\hat{\sim} \dot{\sim}$ 12－year history
Hon－cho，Osaka．A little English Café．＇WOODY HUT＇
$\square$ British／American／Australian／Canadian＿Many Instructors According to Proficiency $\square$ Basic Charge 1900 JPY and Drink 500 JPY No membership fee Tel．06－6445－5554 http：／／member．nifty．ne．jp／Woody－Hut／
（Translation and underlining my own）

Figure 7 An example of Inner Circle English variety＇s popularity in an email magazine advertisement

The phrase that is underlined in Figure 7，which is＇British／American／Australian／ Canadian English，${ }^{38}$ emphasizes these four varieties，which conveys the implication that

[^20]these four varieties are desirable．The advertisement does not refer simply to English conversation，nor does it focus on Singaporean English，for example．In order to attract customers，the English conversation school that placed the advertisement in the electronic magazine appeals to the exclusiveness of these four specific English varieties．The advertisement indicates that the cafe provides an environment in which the customers will encounter and benefit from these English varieties．

One of the four English varieties emphasized in the online magazines，the Australian variety，recently received attention in the broadcasting sector．One of the NHK TV channels features educational issues，and many informative programs such as languages，gardening，and school subject－related contents are shown on air．As far as English is concerned，the timetable contains 13 relevant program titles（NHK 1999a： 90）．${ }^{39}$ The instructors of these programs have mainly invited native English speakers from UK and US（NHK 1999b），although NHK does not often specify their guest＇s English variety．In addition to the US and UK English varieties，however，Australia became the theme in NHK＇s English course in 1994 and 1999．${ }^{40}$ The latest course，Hello Australia（Haroo Oosutoraria），which featured Australian English in Three Month English Conversation（San－ka－getsu Eikaiwa），was shown from October to December in 1999．${ }^{41}$ According to the program producer，the lessons introduce English varieties，such as American or Asian English，that are commonly used in multicultural countries，in addition to Australian English（NHK 1999a：2）．Thus，televising a program featuring Australian English indicates that the producer intended to enlighten the audience about the significance of English varieties other than American and British，and／or that the producer sensed a growing recognition of Australian English in Japanese society． Whichever the case was when the program was planned，televising Hello Australia has
varieties compared to the Australian and Canadian varieties，but the country order in the UK－US and Australian－Canadian pairings may not carry any implications because they are the natural orderings in Japanese．Particularly，US－UK（米英）is rarely seen while UK－US（英米）is commonly used．In addition，the Australian－Canadian combination in both sequences is not commonly used in Japanese．
${ }^{39}$ On TV，there are Let＇s play in English，One Phrase Expressions，Let＇s start English Conversation，Three Month English Conversation，English Conversation，Business World in English． On radio，Elementary English 1－3，Introduction to English Conversation，English Conversation，and Basic Business English are broadcast．
${ }^{40}$ The earlier course depicted a sightseeing trip to Australia，while the latest course used a drama of typical Australian life．
${ }^{41}$ The thirteen units course， 20 minutes for each unit，were hosted by Prof．Hayasaka Makoto and an Australian lecturer Christopher Milne．
lead to the Australian English variety gaining greater acceptance with Japanese viewers．
Although Australian English was emphasized in the recent television broadcast，the most highly valued varieties among the four varieties are still the American and British varieties．Among the 510 English language／English conversation related magazine titles on Mag Mag＇s list in September，2001，six fall under US English and four under British English（Mag Mag 2001a）．${ }^{42}$ One of the electronic magazines（Kurisu no Eikaiwa Ressun， which is Chris＇English Conversation Lesson）features American English，as seen in Figure 8 below．


```
電子メールマガジン『クリスの英会話 レッスン 』［統合版］ ～貴方もできるアメリカ英語～
丸PC版 総読者合計 23701 名 ■ Vol．no． 142 10／21／2001■
\(\star \quad\) Mag2＋Pubzine＋Macky＋Melma＋Kapulight＋Tiara＋Melten＋Cocode＋E－magazine ＋Melonpan＋MeruBox＋Mailux \(\star\)
■■■■■■【統合版］総読者数ついに 23000 名突破！】■■■■■■■ \(=================================\)基本単語を使った英会話のコツと日本人には使いづらい英語表現のらち日本人の方に使いづらい英語表現等を毎週週末に紹介しています。
（Kurisu Eikaiwa Ressun Henshuu Bu 2001，underlining my own）
```

$\diamond$ Email magazine 『Chris's English Conversation Lesson』[Integrative ed.]
$\sim$ You can do American English $\sim$
$\star$ PC ed. total number of the subscribers 23701 名 $\star$ ■ Vol.no. 142 10/21/2001
Distributed form $\star$ Mag2+Pubzine + Macky + Melma + Kapulight + Tiara + Melten +
Cocode +E-magazine +Melonpan+MeruBox+ Mailux $\star$
■■■【[Integrate ed.] the total subscribers has finally topped 23000!】■■■

You will get the hang of English conversation using basic vocabulary and learn expressions that may not be familiar to the Japanese．
（Translation and underlining my own）

Figure 8 An example of American English＇s popularity in an email magazine．

The underlined phrase above，which is＇American English＇，implies that American English is desirable，given that it refers to American English conversation and not simply to English conversation．In order to attract readers，the magazine＇s producers try to appeal to the exclusiveness of the contents by indicating that the magazine provides American English expressions，rather than some other English variety．Furthermore，as

[^21]of September 2001；Chris＇English Conversation Lesson had more than 23，000 readers． Considering the fact that the average number of readers per issue is 1,734 ，according to monthly statistics for September ${ }^{43}, 23,000$ readers per issue for this magazine demonstrates the popularity of the topic among readers．Therefore，the US variety is widely found in electronic publications，which reflects the general tendency for Japanese EFL learners to find the US variety desirable．

Similar advertisements declaring British English as the specific variety to attract readers can also be found．As of 2001，the following two email magazine index items （Figure 9 and Figure 10）were available on Mag Mag＇s list of English／English conversation thematic magazines．The short descriptions of these magazines indicate that the producers are exhorting anonymous readers to subscribe to the magazines by focusing on British English．

BRIT SPEAKER 学校•教育•研究機関：語学（英語•英会話）
ブリティッシュ・イングリッシュ・スラングを毎週本場ロンドンから，ロンドン などの生活の体験を交えながらお送りします。簡単に言えば，イギリス英語講座 です。旅行に役立つと思いますよ。
週刊十 $\alpha$ 2001／10／27 0000066340 バックナンバー 発行者 Webサイト
（Mag Mag 2001c，underlining my own）

BRIT SPEAKER．School／Education／Research：Languages（English／English Conversation） British English slang together with the writer＇s daily experience in London is delivered to you weekly from London．In short，this magazine is a British English course，which will help you when you travel．
Weekly＋extra editions 2001／10／27 0000066340 Back numbers are available on Writer＇s web site．
（Translation and underlining my own）

Figure 9 An example of British English＇s popularity in an email magazine index（1）

> 人気イギリス人講師の英会話 学校•教育•研究機関:語学(英語•英会話)
> 本場のイキキリス険語を自宅にいながら学べます。イギリス人の人講師による英語ですぐ役に立つことばかりです。
> 週刊 $2001 / 10 / 250000056610$ バックナンバー 発行者 Webサイト
> (Mag Mag 2001c, underlining my own)

[^22]English Conversation with a popular British Tutor. School/Education/Research: Languages (English/English Conversation)
You will learn real British English as it is spoken every day at home. The target English expressions, which are prepared by a popular British tutor, are very practical.
Weekly 2001/10/27 0000066340 Back numbers are available on Writer's web site.
(Translation and underlining my own)

Figure 10 An example of British English's popularity in an email magazine index (2)

As seen in the above examples from online magazines, both American and British English have special implications for Japanese EFL learners. Interestingly, electronic magazines featuring other Inner Circle English varieties, such as Australian and Canadian, could not be found, let alone magazines featuring Outer Circle varieties. Because the magazine producers understand what the readers want, and they use 'American English' or 'British English' to attract readers to the magazines, these magazines reflect the Japanese EFL learners' tendency to feel drawn to these two English varieties.

In summary, although the literature documents that the predominant position of British English was overtaken by American English after WWII (Suzuki 1987: 58, Hashiuchi 1992: 158), the reality is more complicated and other varieties have also been involved. Prior to WWII, except for the immediate prewar period, both the US and UK varieties were dominant. After WWII, the US variety became more prevalent than the UK variety in Japan. Later in the century, although the Outer Circle varieties and other Inner Circle varieties became more noticeable in Japan, the impact of the Outer Circle varieties was small. In the early 21st century, the four Inner Circle varieties, specifically the US, UK, Australian, and Canadian varieties, were found to be popular among the English varieties. However, these four varieties were not equally important; the most important varieties were the American and British varieties, followed by the Australian and Canadian varieties.

### 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the sociolinguistic circumstances in contemporary Japan, discussed the potential target English varieties for Japanese EFL learners, and provided a historical review of the English varieties found in Japan. As a result of examining Japan's sociolinguistic circumstances, it was shown that several languages (both indigenous and
foreign to Japan) are used, and that their histories, current language speaking populations, and value in society vary. Among these languages, Japanese is the only official language, and the most influential foreign language is English. English is influential because it is used as a community language (although its population is not very large) and as a lingua franca for communication between speakers of diverse languages in Japan.

From the historical review, it was found that the varieties that are highly valued and popular among the Japanese people are the Inner Circle varieties, particularly American English. In the prewar period, both British and American varieties dominated Japanese EFL learning. In the post-war period, American English became more influential than other English varieties, including both the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle varieties. More recently, Inner Circle varieties, such as American, British, Australian, and Canadian English, have become popular.

In addition to the English varieties found in Japan, many more English varieties exist around the world, which raises the issue of which variety should be targeted in Japanese formal education. World Standard English, which goes beyond the existing geopolitical varieties, seems to be a potential target. Unfortunately, however, World Standard English only exists in the abstract. In a practical sense, considering the historical and present environment, American English is the most familiar variety, which is an advantage worth exploiting. However, targeting a single geopolitical variety can create ideological concerns by interfering with the learners' appreciation of cultural and linguistic differences. Therefore, it is ideal to set up separate target varieties to meet the perception and the production goals: several Inner and Outer Circle varieties should be targeted for perception, while one of the mainstream varieties should be focused on for production.

## Chapter 3

## English and Its Varieties in Japan's Language Policy

### 3.0 Introduction

The sociolinguistic environment in Japan, particularly as it pertains to the English language and its varieties, can be summarized by the following statements. Firstly, for more than a hundred years the English language has maintained the most influential position among foreign languages. Secondly, among the many English varieties used all over the world those highly valued and popular among Japanese people are the Inner Circle varieties, particularly American English (Chapter 2). Under such sociolinguistic conditions, the previous chapter concluded that, in Japanese formal education, it would be ideal to target several Inner and Outer Circle varieties for perception, but to focus on a single mainstream variety for production. In this chapter, Japan's English languagerelated policy is analyzed to show how English and its geopolitical varieties are reflected in language policymaking. Section 3.1 introduces and discusses the two main types of language policies in Japan. The foreign language education policy, which is the main source of language policymaking, and the comprehensive language policy, a convenient cover-term for language-related policies, which are not issued by Monbusho but are nonetheless crucial to the discussion of Japanese foreign language policy. Section 3.2 reviews Japan's English education policy to see how the English language and English varieties are recognized and treated in the education system. Section 3.3 examines the comprehensive language policy, that is, the other documents that do not fall into the foreign language education policy. Furthermore, the analysis of these two types of language policies challenges the traditional understanding of English language-related
policy development. Specifically, while Monbusho used to be the only source of Japan's English language-related policy making, recently language policy has been developed within a range of other policies (in addition to Monbusho's education policy); this issue is discussed in Section 3.4. Analyzing Japan's English-related language policies is essential, not only for understanding the policies as they relate to the English varieties discussed in the preceding chapters, but also for suggesting ways to improve the effective administration of Japanese formal foreign language education.

### 3.1 The Focus of Language Policy

When discussing language policy, it is important to understand which language(s) is (are) concerned, so that the relevant documents can be identified. It is unnecessary to scrutinize all policy documents in order to discuss how English and English varieties are addressed in Japan's language policy. Some policies only focus on Japanese, some stress English, while others incorporate various languages into one policy. Alternatively, instead of developing an independent language policy, a language policy may be built into a non-language-centered policy, such as an educational policy or an economic policy. In order to explore the Japanese government's views regarding the English language and its varieties, this section outlines the two main types of language policies. Since 2000 one must look to other government bodies for language policy.

### 3.1.1 Background to English-related Language Policy

In the Japanese context, the terms 'language policy' (in English) and 'gengoseisaku' (the Japanese equivalent) are not exactly the same. While the English term language policy can notionally comprise any target languages in a country/region, depending on their circumstances, the Japanese term 'gengo-seisaku' has conventionally referred to a policy concerning Japanese as a national language, which is more likely to be known as 'kokugo-seisaku' (national language policy). Shiota points out that 'language' and 'national language' embody identical concepts as far as the language policy discipline is concerned (1973: 14). However, although Japan's national language policy has been developed mainly by Monbusho and by organizations such as the National Language Council (Kokugo Shingi-kai) and the National Language Research Institute,
neither a foreign language policy (gaikokugo seisaku) ${ }^{44}$ nor a foreign language focused organization has been established.

The fact that a language policy is most likely to refer to a national language policy in Japan is accounted for by the ideological view toward language traditionally held in Japan. Shiota (1973: 14), in his book on Japan's language policy, reveals this ideological view, identifying 'language' with 'national language' and omitting policy analysis regarding foreign languages. Understanding the ideology toward national language is the essential concept needed to understand how languages have been perceived in Japan since modern times (Lee 1996). As a result, language policy in the Japanese sense has traditionally connoted Japanese as a national language policy ${ }^{45}$, and foreign languages have been omitted from Japan's mainstream language policy making.

Although in Japan language policy exclusively relates to Japanese, this does not mean that the Japanese government has overlooked other languages from policy making. Historically, Japan has embraced Chinese and European languages, social systems, and cultures into the Japanese system (Section 2.1). Since various Japanese governments have promoted this transculturation (Section 2.3 for the English case), the language policy for languages other than Japanese does indeed exist. However, instead of developing a separate foreign language policy parallel to the national language policy, Monbusho has presented the language policy for foreign languages as a part of Japan's education policy. Koike, an academic who chaired the Government Commission on Foreign Language Policy Revision for the Twenty-First Century, pointed out that the foreign language education policy was unfamiliar to the general population because Monbusho developed it as a part of education policy (1992: 217). In fact, Monbusho has

[^23]developed the contents of the foreign language education policy through working with a very limited number of selected researchers and experienced in-service teachers, rather than with politicians and bureaucrats. Although the issue of foreign languages has been discussed mainly within the educational framework, the English language is also discussed in policies that are not developed under Monbusho and that do not fall within the educational framework. In this thesis, English-related policies, which are not developed by Monbusho, are referred to as comprehensive language policies, and will be discussed separately from Monbusho's foreign language education policies.

### 3.1.2 Policy Documents

In order to understand where English and its varieties are positioned in Japan's language policy, the reminder of this chapter examines the following five types of policy related documents:
$>$ The Course of Study documents,
$>$ The Handbook for the Course of Study: foreign language edition,
$>$ White Papers on education,
$\Rightarrow$ The Reports from the current advisory commissions, and
$>$ Language policy in the government general prospect of the nation in the 21st century.

Again, since the foreign language education policy has been formulated by Monbusho as a part of education policy (Koike 1992: 217), most of the documents referred to in this thesis are issued from Monbusho.

The Course of Study ${ }^{46}$, the document referred to as the national guidelines in Chapters 1 and 2, reflects the essence of foreign language education policy. The document contains a section on foreign language that provides the general course objectives and suggestions, the specific objectives according to grade level, and the course contents, such as the target grammatical structures and vocabulary lists. As a

[^24]general guideline for school administrators and teachers to develop curriculums and teaching plans in primary and secondary schools, the Course of Study is released by the Minister of Monbusho, and the document is distributed widely in booklet form. The Course of Study is based on the Japanese Constitution ${ }^{47}$, the Fundamental Law of Education ${ }^{48}$, the School Education Law of $1947^{49}$, the Enforcement Ordinance for School Education Law ${ }^{50}$, and the Enforcement Regulations for School Education Law ${ }^{51}$, which are the most important laws and regulations for developing Japan's education policy. Moreover, since the Course of Study is revised approximately every ten years following the discussion of the Curriculum Council ${ }^{52}$, through analyzing these documents it is possible to see how policy evolves over time.

Among the Course of Study documents issued in the postwar period, this chapter mainly focuses on the lower secondary editions issued in 1958, 1969, 1977, 1989, and

[^25]1998. Although Monbusho issues separate Course of Study documents for primary schools, lower secondary schools, or upper secondary schools, this chapter predominantly examines the lower secondary level Course of Study, except where the upper secondary school Course of Study is informative. Because junior high schools are the initial stage for learning English in Japan and because nearly a hundred percent of students take English, the government's policy is reflected basically in the lower secondary school edition of the Course of Study. Furthermore, among the lower secondary school Course of Study documents issued in 1947, 1948, 1951 1958, 1969, 1977, 1989, and 1998, this chapter concentrates on the Course of Study editions issued after 1958, because the editions released after 1958 are legally enforceable, while those issued before 1951 are merely tentative guidelines (Nakamura 1991: 1-2). Thus, the later editions are considered to be official policy documents.

The section on foreign language in the Course of Study is further elucidated in the Handbooks by several TEFL specialists, including TEFL academics, teacher consultants at local boards of education, in-service teachers, and government officials in Monbusho. The foreign language edition of the Handbook is another document fundamental for analyzing Japan's English-related policy. Since 1958 Monbusho has issued the Handbooks corresponding to each Course of Study. In order for teachers to properly implement the contents in the Course of Study, the Handbooks are also required to reflect the essence of foreign language education policy.

Compared to the Course of Study and the Handbooks, the White Papers on Education and the reports from various advisory commissions and councils are also relevant, but less informative. Because the White Papers on Education aim to promote Monbusho's annual official business, they only contain secondary information about the Course of Study, the Handbooks, or the reports from advisory commissions and councils. That is, the White Papers on Education and the reports from various advisory commissions and councils that were released prior to the 1998 Course of Study are not very important because they are reflected in the subsequent Course of Study. Similarly, although the reports from various advisory commissions and councils contain a lot of significant issues, their contents are eventually adopted in the following revisions to the

[^26]Course of Study, or related educational plans. As a result, after the revised Course of Study is released, the White Papers and the reports contain only secondary information. Because not all White Papers on Education and reports from advisory commissions and councils are informative, this chapter analyzes only the White Papers released after 1999, and examines the reports from the two advisory commissions in 2000 and 2002.

The first of these advisory commissions, the 2000 EFL advisory commission to Monbusho, ${ }^{53}$ submitted its final report to the then minister in 2001. The report contains advice on the following seven issues:
$>$ definition of proficiency,
$>$ importance of motivation,
$>$ improvement of teaching methods,
$>$ introducing English conversation ${ }^{54}$ in elementary school curriculum,
$>$ senior high school and university entrance examination,
$>$ opportunities for oral communication, and
$>$ improvement in English teaching at tertiary level.
In addition, there are the eight documents related to the 2002 EFL advisory commission to Monbusho ${ }^{55}$. One policy paper is titled Gaikokugo Kyouiku no Jujitu notameno Shisaku (literally The Plans to Improve Foreign Language Education, hereafter FLE Plans), and this document presents five specific plans for secondary schools and eight plans for primary schools. These plans include

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Secondary schools:
revising the Course of Study,
instituting Super English Language High Schools,
overseas teacher training, domestic teacher training,
recruiting ALTs
Primary schools:
revising the Course of Study,
distributing guidelines of teaching English conversation,
> ~ t e a c h e r ~ t r a i n i n g ,
funding for placing special casual teaching staff,
placing ALTs,
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[^27]$>$ tentative education practice of teaching English,
$>$ offering the weekend program of English conversation by local public organizations, and
> supporting English conversation by inviting non-qualified people
Another policy paper, based on the five monthly meeting proceedings from January to May, is titled 'Eigo ga Tsukaeru Nihonjin' no Ikusei no tame no Senryaku-koosoo no Sakutei ni tsuite (literally 'The Strategic Plan to Foster "Japanese who can communicate in English"', hereafter referred to as Strategic Plans). This document contains ten ongoing plans and 22 expanding plans that relate to five issues:
$>$ learners' motivation,
$>$ the contents of learning and curriculum,
$>$ teaching staff,
$>$ English conversation in elementary school curriculum, and
$>$ Japanese proficiency.
Furthermore, the then minister, Toyama Atsuko, presented Strategic Plans in public at a press interview. This speech is summarized as 'Eigo ga Tsukaeru Nihonjin' no Ikusei no tame no Senryaku-koosoo - Daijin Kakugigo Kisha Kaiken ni okeru Monbukagaku Daijin Hatsugen Youshi. Because her speech provides background useful for understanding Strategic Plans, this summary document is also valuable for understanding how the policy was developed.

Other than the documents released from Monbusho, the then Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century (hereafter PM's 21st Century Commission), released a language policy in 2000 containing the government's general prospect for the nation in the 21 st century. The document's title is Nihon no Furontia wa Nihon no Naka ni Aru --Jiritu to Kyoochi de Kizuku Shinseiki (English title is given as Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium, hereafter Frontier Within). ${ }^{56}$ Frontier Within is positioned as a milestone in language policy in Japan and, because it is the only official report directly released from the Prime Minister's commission, this material is indispensable for understanding how the government views the issue of languages (including Japanese and foreign languages) as a whole. Although Frontier Within is not an official policy document that carries legal force, it is a manifesto containing the vision of important industry leaders from various

[^28]fields. Consequently, Frontier Within is still useful for understanding the government's long term blueprint because, in the Japanese political system, policies are invariably taken over by successive cabinets, regardless of the differences in the political factions or parties. Accordingly, it is reasonable to view the contents in Frontier Within as a semipolicy which offers insights into the prospective language policy for the 21 st century.

In summary, the English-related policy documents examined in this chapter are as follows:

The Course of Study,

- The 1947 Course of Study (Monbusho 1947)
- The 1948 Course of Study (Monbusho 1951)
- The 1951 Course of Study (Monbusho 1952a, 1952b, 1952c)
- The 1958 Course of Study (Monbusho 1958, 1959a, 1960)
- The 1969 Course of Study (Monbusho 1968, 1969, 1970a)
- The 1977 Course of Study (Monbusho 1977a, 1977b, 1979)
- The 1989 Course of Study (Monbusho 1989a, 1989c, 1989e)
- The 1998 Course of Study (Monbusho 1998a, 1998b, 1999b)
> The Foreign Language Edition of Handbooks,
- The 1958 Handbooks (Monbusho 1959b, 1961)
- The 1969 Handbooks (Monbusho 1970b)
- The 1977 Handbooks (Monbusho 1978)
- The 1989 Handbooks (Monbusho 1989b, 1989d)
- The 1998 Handbooks (Monbusho 1999a, 2000c) ${ }^{57}$
> White Papers on Education
- The 2000 White Paper ${ }^{58}$ (Monbusho 2000b)
$>$ The Reports from the Current Advisory Commissions and Councils


## The $\mathbf{2 0 0 0}$ advisory commission to Monbusho:

- The 2001 final report: Eigo Shido Houhou tou Kaizen no Suishin ni kansuru Kondankai: Houkoku (Monbukagakusho 2001a)
The 2002 advisory commission to Monbusho:
- The FLE Plans: Gaikokugo Kyouiku no Jujitu notameno Shisaku. (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002e)
- The 2002 January meeting proceedings: Eigo Kyouiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai (Dai 1 kai) Giji Youshi (January 21). (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002a)
- The 2002 February meeting proceedings: Eigo Kyouiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai (Dai 2 kai) Giji Youshi (February 20). (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002b)
- The 2002 March meeting proceedings: Eigo Kyouiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai (Dai 3 kai) Giji Youshi (March 18). (SCKKKKK

[^29]Monbukagakusho 2002c)

- The 2002 April meeting proceedings: Eigo Kyouiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai (Dai 4 kai) Giji Youshi (April 26). (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002i)
- The 2002 May meeting proceedings: Eigo Kyouiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai (Dai 5 kai) Giji Youshi (May 30). (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002j)
- Minister’s Press Conference Speech: 'Eigo ga Tsukaeru Nihonjin' no Ikusei no tame no Senryaku-koosoo --Daijin Kakugigo Kisha Kaiken ni okeru Monbukagaku Daijin Hatsugen Youshi. (Toyama 2002)
- The Strategic Plans: 'Eigo ga Tsukaeru Nihonjin' no Ikusei no tame no Senryaku-koosoo no Sakutei ni tsuite. (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002h)
Language Policy in the Government General Prospect of the Nation in the 21st Century
- Frontier Within: Nihon no Furontia wa Nihon no Naka ni Aru -Jiritu to Kyoochi de Kizuku Shinseiki. (21-seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000, The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 2000)

Although the foreign language education policy and the comprehensive language policy will be discussed separately, in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 respectively, some of the above documents appear in both sections.

### 3.2 Foreign Language Education Policy

Among the two types of language policies, the foreign language education policy is more substantial than the comprehensive language policy, as far as English language is concerned, because the foreign language education policy has been developed over a half century while the comprehensive language policy has only a short history. Although the Japanese foreign language education policy has existed for a considerable length of time, Koike (1992: 217) points out the absence of research into its development. This section therefore chronologically analyzes the foreign language education policy to determine the significance of English (Section 3.2.1) and its varieties (Section 3.2.2) in Japan's foreign language education.

### 3.2.1 The Recognition of English as the Primary Foreign Language

This section examines the status of the English language in the foreign language education policy. Showing how exclusively English is targeted, when compared to other
foreign languages，highlights the importance of discussing English varieties in Japan＇s foreign language education；no other foreign language has such a powerful impact on the students．In addition，since English has maintained a distinguished position among foreign languages in Japanese society for a long time（Section 2．1），it is interesting to see whether／how the policy reflects this sociolinguistic circumstance．In what follows，the analysis focuses on the foreign language courses available in the formal education curriculum，the course status（compulsory／elective），the class hours，and the newly introduced English－featured schools．

## 3．2．1．1 Foreign Language Courses in the Curriculum

Under the subject Foreign Languages，the language options are not taught with equal weight．At the secondary school level，the omission of many languages has been rationalized on the basis that the 1969 Course of Study defined foreign language in Japan＇s foreign language education as follows：

外国語の選択肢：現在世界のいずれかの国において国語として使用されている言語を意味するものである。したがって，ある国の一部の地域や一部の階層におい てのみ使用されている言語や，エスペラントのように，一国の国語として使用さ れていないものを設けることは認められていないのである。（Monbusho 1970b：6）

The choice of foreign languages：＇a foreign language＇designates a national language used in any currently existing country．Consequently，it is not acceptable to offer courses that teach languages that are used only in an area of a country，or by people from limited walks of life．Languages that are not used as national languages，such as Esperanto，are also inappropriate．（Translation my own）

As the above excerpt states，only national languages are approved to be offered in formal foreign language education．Even Esperanto，which was developed especially as a potential worldwide lingua franca，is excluded．A similar statement can also be found in the 1958 Handbook（Monbusho 1959b：2－3）．Of course，because of technical reasons， such as the lack of the teachers or teaching resources，it is impossible to offer all languages．However，the above definition still clearly shows how narrowly the Japanese government viewed foreign languages in the 1960－1970s．Furthermore，the statement below shows that only a few languages were emphasized at the secondary education level in the 1989 Course of Study．

英語，ドイツ語，フランス語又はその他の外国語のうちいずれか1 か国語を履修 させることを原則とし，第1学年から履修させるようにすること。（Monbusho 1989a：3）

In principle, one foreign language (either English, German, French, or other foreign language) is to be taught from the first year of junior high school. (Translation my own)

Even though these three European languages are followed by 'or other foreign language', it is inequitable to spell out only these three languages, and not other languages, such as Chinese, Korean, or Swahili. For instance, the language choices could be provided as 'foreign languages such as English, Chinese, or Swahili'.

A similar tendency to emphasize European languages is also found at the tertiary education level. Table 7 shows the number of universities that teach a given foreign language, with the foreign languages ordered according to how frequently they are taught.

|  | National <br> Univ. | Public <br> Univ. | Private <br> Univ. | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. English | 94 | 72 | 472 | 638 |
| 2. German | 94 | 58 | 406 | 558 |
| 3. Chinese | 87 | 51 | 380 | 518 |
| 4. French | 83 | 56 | 375 | 514 |
| 5. Korean | 46 | 30 | 187 | 263 |
| 6. Spanish | 40 | 19 | 163 | 222 |
| 7. Russian | 54 | 20 | 108 | 182 |
| 8. Latin | 35 | 4 | 62 | 101 |
| 9. Arabic | 10 | 4 | 27 | 41 |
| 10. Others | 36 | 12 | 135 | 183 |

Table 7 The number of universities that offer foreign language courses in 2000 (KKKDK Monbukagakusho 2002). ${ }^{59}$

Among the (approximately) 70 foreign languages currently taught at the university level, English is the most frequently taught, followed by German, Chinese, and French. Korean, the fifth most frequently taught language, is taught at only half as many universities as French, which is the fourth most popular foreign language. Although Chinese, Korean, and Arabic are listed in the top nine most frequently taught languages, European languages are more likely to be taught; other important foreign languages, such as Indonesian and Swahili, are much less acknowledged in the tertiary foreign language education.

[^30]At the secondary school level, English is the most widely taught foreign language. The 1998 Handbook provides a detailed framework for teaching English only, and mentions other foreign languages only to refer to the English framework (Monbusho 1999a: 64). A similar emphasis on only teaching English is also observed in earlier Monbusho documents (Monbusho 1959b, 1970b, 1978, 1989b). In addition, the secondary school level teacher training places a strong emphasis on English. Currently, among the 48 national universities that host a faculty of education (KKKSKK Monbukagakusho 2001), many of them have set up English-teacher training courses, where students can receive the EFL teaching qualification, while other foreign languages such as German, French, or Chinese can be majored in, but not for a teaching qualification. Although teachers of foreign languages can be trained in faculties of literature or foreign language studies, English surpasses other languages in terms of the sheer numbers of students it accommodates within the departments/courses. Furthermore, English is, in fact, the most likely option to be selected under the subject Foreign Languages. As of 1999, only seven languages other than English were taught as school subjects at 24 junior high schools (a total of 2,575 students), 22 languages are taught at 598 senior high schools (a total of 39,057 students) (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002f), and approximately 70 languages are taught at the tertiary level (Monbusho 2000b, Monbukagakusho 2001a). Considering the large number of total students ${ }^{60}$, those who study foreign languages other than English are relatively few in number; simply put, the great majority of students study English. Therefore, judging from the contents of the Handbooks, the foreign language teacher training courses in universities, and the general foreign language education offered at the tertiary level, English is a distinguished language among foreign languages.

### 3.2.1.2 Course Status: Compulsory or Elective

In addition to examining the language options available in the curriculum, the status of the English language course, namely whether English is taught as a compulsory or an elective subject, further indicates English's importance in Japan's foreign language education. Because compulsory subjects are, theoretically, considered to be more

[^31]essential than elective ones in the sense that all students must learn them，a subject＇s status as compulsory／elective reveals how important it is for students to learn that subject．

English＇s present compulsory status，however，does not fully reflect the fact that historically English had been a less important subject than other compulsory subjects． English，as an elective course，was in a delicate position throughout the postwar period until 2000，when it was given compulsory subject status．For most of the post－WWII period English was taught within the subject Foreign Language；English was given the status of an elective subject at secondary schools，${ }^{61}$ but it was never taught at the elementary（public）school level（Monbusho 1947，1951，1958，1959a，1960，1968，1969， 1970a，1977a，1977b，1978，1979，1989a，1989c，1989e，1998a，1998b，1999b）．If English was an elective subject in the true sense that students could choose to take the course according to their free will，not all students would have chosen to learn English． Moreover，the selection of the foreign languages offered would have been more diversified．However，the reality is that English has been learned as the primary foreign language by almost all students in the post－WWII period．Furthermore，English is one of the core entrance examination subjects to enter senior high school，and it is also more likely to be assigned in university entrance examinations，regardless of which faculty／major the students are applying for（general，science or humanity courses）． Accordingly，although officially an elective subject，English was considered to be a de facto compulsory subject until the Course of Study was revised in 1998.

The 1998 Course of Study increased the importance of English by changing the status of the English course from an elective to a compulsory subject starting with the 2002 academic year．Not only was Foreign Language（as a subject）changed from being an elective subject to being an compulsory subject for the first time in the post－WWII period，English also became the only official option within the obligatory Foreign Language subject（cf．elective Foreign Language（as a subject））．

第3指導計画の作成と内容の取扱い
1．必修教科としての「外国語」においては英語を履修させることを原則とする。 （Monbusho 1998a：Chapter 2，Section 9）

Number 3 The Principles in Creating a Teaching Plan and Contents

[^32]1. In principle, English should be chosen in Foreign Language (as a subject) as an compulsory subject. (Translation my own)

This shift in English's status, from being an elective to being compulsory, shows the government had recognized the significant value of learning English. The government's recognition of English is reflected in the 1998 Course of Study, which requires that all students must learn English, and allows no other languages to be taught within the compulsory component of the Foreign Language course. Therefore, making all students learn English through the Foreign Language course represents a significant change in the way the government officially sees English. In other words, English is different from other foreign languages.

### 3.2.1.3 Class Hours: Three Hours Plus

The numbers of class hours per week ${ }^{62}$ is another important issue to examine to see the special importance that is attached to English in formal foreign language teaching. Because it is natural to assume that more time is allotted to the more crucial subjects, the number of class hours allocated to English reveals the importance the government places on the English subject.

According to the 1989 Course of Study, the number of class hours spent learning English was not particularly unusual compared to other subjects. The English course accounts for ten percent of the whole school curriculum in terms of class hours. The curriculum includes nine compulsory subjects, ${ }^{63}$ and more elective subjects are taught from the junior high school level onward (Monbusho 1989a). Although more time is spent on Japanese and social studies (four to five hours per week depending on the year) ${ }^{64}$, the number of hours spent on the English course is three to four, which is approximately the same as the number of hours spent on Mathematics, Science, and Physical Education, respectively. Thus, judging from the way class hours are distributed across the curriculum, under the 1989 Course of Study, English was not treated differently to other

[^33]subjects.
When comparing the different revisions of the Course of Study documents, the number of hours spent learning English has not changed significantly. According to the various postwar Course of Study publications, the standard class hours allocated to teaching English have been relatively stable, as shown in Table 8:

| Year of Revision of <br> Course of Study | Numbers of Hours Spent Per Week |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1947 | $1-4$ or possibly 6 |
| 1951 | $4-6$ |
| 1958 | 3 or more, possibly 5 or more for the third year students |
| 1969 | 3, possibly 4 |
| 1977 | 3 |
| 1989 | $3-4$ |
| 1998 | Compulsory course: 3, <br> Elective course: 1 for the first year students and 1-2 for the <br> second and the third year students |

(Monbusho 1947, 1952a, 1952b, 1952c, 1959a, 1969, 1977a, 1989a, 1998a)
Table 8 Numbers of hours spent on English course per week in a junior high school.

Except for the decade right after the war (the periods where the 1947 and 1951 Course of Study documents were applied), when the hours spent on English varied from one to six hours per week, English has been offered for at least three hours per week. However, it is unnecessary to focus on the early postwar period because the Course of Study documents were revised extensively in reaction to postwar trends, and because the documents became a mechanism for standardizing curriculums in $1958 .{ }^{65}$

One final point needs to be made regarding the class hours in the 1977 Course of Study period (three hours only with no other option) because at that time the hours allocated to several subjects were reduced ${ }^{66}$ and, therefore, this fluctuation in the number of class hours at the junior high school level in 1977 does not indicate that English became less important in the secondary school curriculum.

In sum, although it is not the case that a significant number of additional hours have been devoted to English, the class hours allocated to various subjects as specified in the Course of Study documents show that English has kept a stable position relative to other

[^34]subjects in formal education throughout the postwar period.

### 3.2.1.4 Newly Introduced Courses and Schools

Since the 1990s, a more obvious emphasis on English can be found in newly introduced English-conversation-featured courses in primary schools, ${ }^{67}$ as well as in a new type of senior high school that teaches several subjects in English, and which was implemented in 2002. Since adding new courses/schools into the existing system requires serious effort from educational administrators, teachers, students, and society, such institutional endeavors indicate the government's strong focus on English.

One of the institutional endeavors is the newly introduced subject, Interdisciplinary Study (Soogoo Kamoku), created in the 1998 Course of Study, which allows foreign language conversation (most likely to be English conversation) to be taught in elementary schools. To be more precise, under Interdisciplinary Study each school can choose Information Study, Environmental Study, Welfare Study, or International Understanding Study, and English is learned as International Understanding Study. Although not all students take International Understanding Study, quite a large number of students learn English-oriented content. Close Up Gendai (NHK 1999c), for example, presented the results of a telephone survey. Among the 200 elementary schools across Japan that participated in this survey, 52 schools had decided to include International Understanding Study, 83 schools were still deliberating, and 65 schools elected not to. Another statistic, presented by Ito Kaichi, the chair of the Japan Association of English Teaching in Elementary Schools, is that English was taught at approximately 50 percent of Japanese elementary schools in 2001. Ito also estimated that the proportion of schools introducing English in Interdisciplinary Studies would increase to 60 percent in 2002 and, further, to 70 percent in 2003 (Fukumoto 2001). These statistics are too significant to be ignored. Considering the fact that English was not taught at all at the elementary school level prior to the 1998 Course of Study period (Monbusho 1947, 1951, 1958, 1968, 1977b, 1989a, 1998a), introducing Interdisciplinary Studies is a critical innovation which indicates the government's commitment to teaching English.

Although International Understanding Study/Interdisciplinary Studies officially

[^35]started in 2002, English was introduced into several elementary schools prior to this full-scale introduction. Some private elementary schools have quite a long history in teaching English, while several public elementary schools have taught English on an experimental basis since the early 1990s. The Monbusho project regarding International Understanding Study was first assigned to two public elementary schools in Osaka in 1992, and more than 60 schools had implemented this project by 1999. Because this number of schools does not include similar projects run by the local education authorities, more than 60 elementary schools have been involved in similar experimental projects as part of International Understanding Study. Accordingly, this experimental period, which lasted more than ten years, indicates that Monbusho recognized and attached importance to English, even before the early 1990s (allowing for the time needed to design the experimental project).

In the future, teaching English under International Understanding Study at elementary schools is planned to go beyond what is currently in place. The final report from the 2000 advisory commission to Monbusho strongly suggests that English will be added as an independent subject (not as one of sub-components of a subject) into the elementary school curriculum in the future (Monbukagakusho 2001a). As students attend schools only five days per week, since 2002 , introducing a new subject into the existing curriculum means reducing the class hours allocated to other subjects. Hence, the future plan to introduce an English course as an independent subject into the elementary school curriculum indicates that the government considers the English language to be so important that it is worthwhile allocating additional time to English, even though this means taking time from other subjects.

In addition to the new courses at the elementary school level, there is another piece of evidence showing that English is a highly valued language at the senior high school level. In 2001, Monbusho announced the super language high school scheme, which is a three-year plan to explore an innovative curriculum emphasizing English education by teaching several subjects ${ }^{68}$ in English at 100 senior high schools. This plan would operate in cooperation with university and sister schools overseas (SCKK Monbukagakusho 2001). In the year 2002 national budget, Monbusho allocated $100,460,000$ yen to this

[^36]scheme (SCKK Monbukagakusho 2001). Monbusho also has a two-year foreign-language-related scheme which is intended to promote foreign languages other than English and to diversify the choice of foreign languages. This plan is intended to operate at 50 senior high schools and has been allocated 31,825,000 yen (SCKK Monbukagakusho 2001). Compared to this general foreign language scheme, more money and more time are to be spent on the English-centered scheme. Considering these differences in budget and time, it is clear that the government attaches greater importance to English than to any other language.

### 3.2.2 The Recognition of English Varieties: from English as a Language of the US and UK, to English as a Language of the Inner Circle Countries, and English as a Global Language

Having discussed above that English is given special status among the many foreign languages, the present section examines how English varieties are recognized in formal EFL education. Because differences due to English varieties can cause serious problems in communication (Section 1.1.2), the issue of English varieties is a crucial consideration for English language education policy-making, particularly for cultivating practical communication skills and for creating positive attitudes towards different cultures. Central to the significance of English varieties lies the expansion of English. At one time the English language was used solely by people from Inner Circle countries. Today, English's usefulness is appreciated not only by people in Inner Circle countries, but also by the people from Outer and Expanding Circle countries (Section 2.2). Consequently, this section investigates how the postwar foreign language education policy has recognized English varieties through the course objectives, the course principles, the pronunciation norms, and the orthographic conventions.

### 3.2.2.1 Recognition of English Varieties in the Course Objectives

The course objectives, to which the essence of the whole English-related language education policy can be reduced, provide only broad guidelines/criteria to interpret the specific English variety that Japan's EFL education targets. Across the (several) revisions of the Course of Study, the course objectives have included both linguistic and cultural aspects. While the linguistic objectives are not literally concerned with the variety issue, the phrases regarding the cultural aspect cast light on which English variety
the policy has been targeting．Such culture－related phrases are as follows（see Appendix 1 for the complete statement）：

1958 Course of Study（Monbusho 1959a）
the daily life，manners and customs，perspectives，and so on，which belong to the citizens who use the foreign language（English）on a daily basis
1969 Course of Study（Monbusho 1969）
the life，perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries
1977 Course of Study（Monbusho 1977a）
the life，perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries
1989 Course of Study（Monbusho 1989a）
languages and cultures；international understanding
1998 Course of Study（Monbusho 1998a）
languages and cultures
（Translation my own）
The words and phrases，such as＇the citizens who use the foreign language（English）on a daily basis，＇＇the people in foreign countries，＇and＇languages and cultures＇，contained in the course objectives reflect the target countries，target languages，and target cultures that Japan has pursued．However，it is very hard to identify which countries，languages，and cultures these phrases refer to because the objects in the passages are too broad to interpret．Therefore，the next section turns to examine the course principles，which contain more detailed information about the target English varieties．

## 3．2．2．2 Recognition of English Varieties in the Course Principles

The course principles，presented in the postwar Handbooks，indicate that a shift has occurred in the definition of prospective communication partners．In the early postwar period，when the 1958 Course of Study was in effect，English was viewed as the language of the UK and US．The following descriptions regarding the course principles used in creating teaching lessons and in teaching English reveal that the purpose of learning English in those days was to facilitate communication with countries where English was primarily spoken，and did not include EFL speakers．

## 第3 英語についての指導計画作成および学習指導の方針

10．英語を通して英語国民についての基礎的な理解を得させることは大切である が，風物や制度などの説明に深入りしないようにするとともに，英語学習の結果英語国民に対する偏見を持つことのないように努める。（Monbusho 1959b：97）

No．3．The principles in making a teaching plan and in teaching English
10．It is important to have students gain a basic understanding about citizens in English speaking countries through learning English．However，their nature and
systems should not be taught in detail，and teachers should avoid creating prejudices in students against citizens in English speaking countries as a result of language learning．（Translation and underlining my own）

The above course principle does not define the nationalities of any target variety speakers， and＇citizens in English speaking＿countries＇only implies the Inner Circle countries without mentioning specific countries．

These unspecified target varieties in the 1958 Handbook become clear in the 1969 edition of the course principles，which defines the target varieties in the school EFL education while implying that the target varieties in 1958 handbook were the UK and the US varieties．The principles in creating a teaching plan and teaching English provided in the 1969 Handbook give concrete examples of the target countries：

第3 指導計画の作成と各学年にわたる内容の取り扱い
2 題材は，その外国語を日常使用している人々をはじめ広く世界の人々の日常生活，風俗習慣，物語，地理，歴史などに関するもののらちから変化を持たせて選択するものとする。…
…「国際理解」の対象は，「その外国語を日常使用している人々」のみに限定し ないで，「…をはじめ広く多くの世界の人々」とされているわけである。このこと から，例えば，英語を履修させる場合に，国際理解の対象を，英語を日常使用し ている人々のみに限定したり，ドイツ語を履修させる場合に，国際理解の対象を， ドイツ語を日常使用している人々のみに限定したりすることは，避ける必要があ る。さらに，このような考え方からすれほ，例えは，英語を履修させる場合に，英語を日常使用している人々を，イギリスの人々やアメリカの人々のみに限定し ないで，オーストラリアやニュージーランドやカナダの人々に関することも含め ることが望ましいことになるわけである。（Monbusho 1970b：86－7）

No．3．Making a teaching plan and handling the teaching materials in each grade
2．Various topics should be chosen from the daily life，manners and customs， stories，geography，history，and so on，that belong to people all over the world， particularly the everyday speakers of the foreign language．．．．
．．．．The objects of＇international understanding＇are not restricted to＇the everyday speakers of the foreign language＇but to＇people all over the world＇． Accordingly，when teaching English，teachers should avoid limiting the objects of international understanding to the everyday speakers of English．When teaching German，teachers should avoid limiting the objects of international understanding to the everyday speakers of German．Furthermore，following this definition of the objects of international understanding，when teaching English， the term everyday speakers of English includes English speakers in Australia， New Zealand，and Canada，and not just British and American English speakers． （Translation my own）

The above description demonstrates that the target English speakers are to include not only the British and Americans，but also people in Australia，New Zealand，and Canada． This definition of the target English speakers strongly suggests that the 1958 Course of

Study does not account for Australia，New Zealand，and Canada．Accordingly，the wording of the 1969 Handbook implies that the UK and US were the default target countries under the 1958 Course of Study．Moreover，by identifying＇the everyday speakers of English＇with the UK and US varieties，the 1958 Course of Study suggests that these varieties are different from other English varieties in the Inner，Outer，and Expanding Circles．

Another significant point to be noted from examining the 1958 and the 1969 principles is that not all English speaking countries were targeted in the period when these Course of Study were enforced．As seen above，the primary target countries were the UK and the US in the 1958 Course of Study period，and the UK，US，Australia，New Zealand， and Canada，in the 1969 Course of Study period．People in countries such as Ireland or India were excluded．By the 1950s，for example，Ireland and India were both independent countries in which English was given official or semi－official status，so that it could have been possible to add these nations to the target countries．Therefore，the fact that the course principles excluded some English speaking countries（some Inner Circle and all Outer Circle countries）indicates that the policy was ideologically biased．In other words，English education in the 1958 and 1969 Course of Study periods was not appropriate to cultivate in students a well－balanced international understanding．

Japan＇s English language education policy，which only emphasizes certain Inner Circle countries，particularly the US and UK，became less exclusive in the 1977 Course of Study period．The 1977 Handbook no longer names specific countries to interpret the target English speakers，although the corresponding Course of Study repeats the major principle in creating a teaching plan and teaching English as follows：

## 第3 英語についての指導計画作成および学習指導の方針

2 題材は，その外国語を日常使用している人々をはじめ広く世界の人々の日常生活，風俗習慣，物語，地理，歴史などに関するもののうちから変化を持たせて選択するものとする。
…「国際理解」の対象は，「その外国語を日常使用している人々」のみに限定し ないで，「…をはじめ広く多くの世界の人々」とされているわけである。（Monbusho 1978：71－2）

No．3．The principles in making a teaching plan and in teaching English
2．Various topics should be chosen from the daily life，manners and customs， stories，geography，history，and so on，that belong to people all over the world， particularly the everyday speakers of the foreign language．
．．．．The objects of＇international understanding＇are not restricted to＇the
everyday speakers of the foreign language＇but to＇people all over the world＇． （Translation my own）

By not spelling out the nationalities to which＇the everyday English speakers＇refers in the 1977 Handbook，the objects of＇international understanding＇have come to be associated with a broader range of countries，and therefore not limited to people in the UK，US， Australia，New Zealand，and Canada only．

Compared to the 1977 Handbook，the 1989 version prescribes even more generous principles for understanding English varieties，and hence to a genuine definition of international understanding in the English course．As seen below，the changes made to the principles for creating a teaching plan and teaching English reveal a new interpretation regarding international understanding．

> 第3 指導計画の作成と内容の取扱い
> 2 教材は, その外国語を使用している人々を中心とする世界の人々及び日本人の日常生活, 風俗習慣, 物語, 地理, 歴史などに関するもののうちから, 生徒の心身の発達段階及びその興味や関心に即して適切な題材を変化を持たせて取り上げるものとする。その際には, 外国語の理解能力と表現能力を育成することをねらいとしながら, 次のような観点に配慮する必要がある。
> ア 広い視野から国際理解を深め, 国際社会に生きる日本人としての自覚を高めるとともに, 国際協調の精神を堆らのに役立つこと。
> ィ 言語や文化に対する関心を深め, これらを尊重する態度を育てるとともに,豊かな心情を育てるのに役立つこと。
> ウ 世界や我が国の生活や文化についての理解を深め, 国際的な視野を広げ, 公正な判断力を養うのに役立つこと。(Monbusho 1989b: 88-91)

No．3．Making a teaching plan and handling the teaching materials
2．Various topics should be chosen from the daily life，manners and customs， stories，geography，history，and so on，that belong to people all over the world． particularly the speakers of a foreign language，and to Japanese people， according to the learners＇psychological and physical developmental stages and interest．In such cases，attention needs to be paid to the following while aiming at comprehension and production in the foreign language：
A．Topics are to be useful for deepening international understanding from broad perspectives，to raise awareness of being Japanese in the global society，and to cultivate the spirit of international cooperation．
B．Topics are to be useful for deepening interest in languages and cultures，to develop the attitudes needed to respect them，and to enrich emotions．
C．Topics are to be useful for deepening students＇understanding of the life and cultures in the world and in Japan，to broaden international perspectives，and to develop fair judgement．（Translation and underlining my own）

The first change is that specific countries are no longer indicated．Consequently，English teaching does not have to be too oriented towards the speakers from the UK，US， Australia，New Zealand，and Canada，and can consider the speakers from Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries．The second change is that the designated people have
changed from＇the everyday speakers of the foreign language［English］＇（in the 1977 revision）to＇the speakers of the foreign language［English］＇（in the 1989 revision）．By excluding the word＇everyday＇the learning target is extended，in principle，from people in the major English speaking countries to any group of people who use English to any degree，whether they be from the Inner，Outer，or even the Expanding Circle countries． The third change is that the principles refer to Japanese identity for the first time in the post－war Course of Study documents．This emergence of Japanese identity reinforces cultivating international understanding，rather than focusing only on understanding foreign countries．Thus，on the whole，these changes allow teachers to understand that a genuine international understanding is proposed．What it meant to Japanese students to learn English was，therefore，significantly redefined in the 1989 revision．

This redefined international understanding is further elaborated on in the 1998 Course of Study period and reflects a sense of multicultural understanding．One of the changes found between the 1989 and the 1998 revisions is that the order of the items is reversed，with the basic contents of each item unchanged（アイウ in original and ABC in the translation）．Specifically：

## 第3 指導計画の作成と内容の取扱い

2 教材は，英語での実践的コミュニケーション能力を育成するため，実際の言語の使用場面や言語の働きに十分配慮したものを取り上げるものとする。その際，英語を使用している人々を中心とする世界の人々及び日本人の日常生活，風俗習慣，物語，地理，歴史などに関するもののらちから，生徒の心身の発達段階及び その興味•関心に即して適切な題材を変化を持たせて取り上げるものとし，次の観点に配慮する必要がある。
ア 多様なものの見方や考え方を理解し，公正な判断力を養い豊かな心情を育て るのに役立つこと。
1 世界や我が国の生活や文化についての理解を深めるとともに，言語や文化に対する関心を深め，これらを尊重する態度を育てるのに役立つこと。
ウ 広い視野から国際理解を深め，国際社会に生きる日本人としての自覚を高め るとともに，国際協調の精神を羲うのに役立つこと。（Monbusho 1999a：59－62）

No．3．Making a teaching plan and handling the teaching materials
2．The material used in English teaching should pay careful attention to the actual language，using situations and dynamics in order to improve the practical communicative skills in English．Various topics should be chosen from daily life， manners and customs，stories，geography，history，and so on，that belong to people all over the world，particularly the speakers of English，to Japanese people，according to the learners＇psychological and physical developmental stages and interest．Accordingly，the following points need to be considered：
A．Topics are to be useful to understand the diverse perspectives and ways of thinking，to develop fair judgement，and to enrich emotions．
B．Topics are to be useful for deepening understanding of life and cultures，both
in the world and Japan，to deepen interests in languages and cultures，and to develop attitudes to respect them．
C．Topics are to be useful for deepening international understanding，to raise the awareness of being Japanese in the global society，and to cultivate the spirit of international cooperation．（Translation and underlining my own）

The item concerning the practical aspect of international understanding has been moved from the first position to the third，the item concerning the perceptive aspect of international understanding has been moved from the bottom to the top，while the item concerning the linguistic and cultural aspect of international understanding remains in the same position．If we can assume that these three items are arranged in order of their importance for cultivating and articulating learners＇international understanding，the first item carries more importance than the others．In this first item in particular，＇to broaden the international perspectives．．．（in the 1989 revised edition）＇has been replaced with＇to understand the diverse perspectives and ways of thinking．．．（in the 1998 revised edition）．＇ Without using＇international＇and substituting it with subtler expressions，this new sentence extends the implication of what is to be understood in EFL education from literally＇nations＇to narrower groups（races，religions，etc）．Consequently，this change allows the students to learn not only about the life，the ways of thinking，and the culture or language of the typical dominant groups that represent nations，but also to learn about those aspects from minority groups．Therefore，in addition to the change in contents，the alteration in the order shows that the 1998 Course of Study better reflects the importance of multicultural understanding，which also includes international understanding．

## 3．2．2．3 Policy Regarding Pronunciation Norms

A similar shift away from the narrowly defined US and UK varieties to a broader interpretation of target English varieties can also be seen in the pronunciation norms． Examination of the description regarding accents in the past foreign language edition of the lower secondary level Handbooks shows that diversified English accents have become better tolerated as English has become recognized as an international language． The 1958 Handbook，for example，limits the target accents exclusively to the ＇contemporary British or American standard accent＇in formal EFL education．The section concerning the pronunciation norms is as follows：

[^37]で現代に用いられていないようなものは望ましくない。また，「イギリス」や「ア メリカ」については，具体的にイギリスやアメリカの中のどの地域をさすかを考 える必要はなく，「イギリスの標準的な発音またはアメリカの標準的な発音」と読 むことが必要である。さらに，「または」という用語から，イキリスの標準的な発音とアメリカの標準的な発音のうち，いずれか一方をより望ましいものとはして いないので，教師としては自分自身が習熟していて自信を持って指導できるもの を指導する。「標準的」ということから，あまり方言調や文語調にすぎたり，また，特定の職業や階層に属する人々の発音に偏したりしないことが必要で，イギリス またはアメリカの教養のある人々の標準的な発音を意味している。（Monbusho 1959a：17－8）

Contemporary British or American standard accent is preferred．First of all， ＇contemporary＇does not define specifically 19 th or twentieth century，but refers to present day．Accordingly，the old－fashioned accents that are not acceptable these days are not appropriate．Second of all，＇British＇or＇American＇needs to be interpreted as＇Standard accents in the UK or US＇，and does not refer to specific regions in these countries．Furthermore，＇or＇does not indicate that either British or American accent is preferable to the other．Each teacher can choose whichever s／he feels more comfortable and confident to teach．＇Standard＇ indicates the accents used among the educated British or American people． Accordingly，the accent should not be slanted too much to regional dialects， classical－style language，or accents used among certain vocations and social classes．（Translation my own）

The above explanation recommending the British and American accents further shows that English was perceived to be the language of the UK and US in the 1958 Course of Study；the 1958 policy does not designate any other acceptable accents．

In the 1969 Handbook，the target accents also remain limited to the＇contemporary British or American standard accent＇，which is inconsistent with the course principles． The section concerning the pronunciation norms is almost exactly the same as that in the 1958 Handbook，as follows：

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上記(1) の言語活動は, 次の言語材料を用いて行わせる。
ア 音声
発音については, 現代にイギリスまたはアメリカの標準的な発音。(Monbusho 1969:
41-2)
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The following linguistic targets are to be used in the linguistic activities as above－mentioned in（1）．
A．Phonetics
Contemporary British or American standard accent．（Translation my own）
This exclusive focus on British and American accents is at odds with the general course principles in the 1969 Handbook．As shown in Section 3．2．2．2，in the 1969 revision the target of international understanding through teaching English was expanded from ＇British and American focus＇to＇the everyday speakers of English ．．．including people in Australia，New Zealand，and Canada，in addition to British and Americans＇．Considering
the different nationality selections between the course principles and the target accents， which are part of the same policy，these five countries are not treated equally in the EFL education：the focus is primarily on the UK and the US，followed equally by Australia， New Zealand，and Canada．

The inconsistency between the choice of target accents and the course principles can be interpreted in two ways．The first interpretation is that teaching the British and American accents is practical because the teachers are already familiar with these two accents．The other interpretation is that recorded materials for the British accent and the American accent were，in fact，more widely available than those for the Australian，New Zealand or Canadian accents．Therefore，whatever the true motivation may have been， the practicality of teaching（not the practicality of communication using English）was probably very influential in choosing the target accent in those days．

In the 1977 Course of Study version，the inconsistency between the target accents and the course principles was remedied for the first time，although the definition of the target accent was broad．The specific accents were no longer listed in the description regarding the pronunciation norms：

上記（1）の言語活動は，原則として，次の言語材料を用いて行わせる。 $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ 音声
（ア）現代の標準的な発音。
現在一般に通用している発音を指し，古風な発音で今は一般に通用しないような ものは望ましくない。また，「嫖準的」ということから，あまり方言調すぎたり，特定の分野に属する人々の発音に偏したりしないことが必要である。（Monbusho 1978：41）

Basically，the following linguistic targets are to be used in the linguistic activities as above－mentioned in（1）．
A．Phonetics
（A）Contemporary standard pronunciation
［The preferred pronunciation］is the one that is generally prevalent today；it is not appropriate to teach the classical－style，which is not recognized now． Attention needs to be paid to＇standard＇，and the target pronunciation should not be slanted too much to regional dialects，or to those dialects used in certain areas or groups of people．．．．（Translation my own）

The words＇British and American＇in the 1969 edition were replaced with＇standard＇ accents in the 1977 revision，and this revision to the target accents accords with the general course principles．This accordance between the pronunciation norm and the course principles indicates that international understanding，as a purpose of EFL education policy，was reinforced in the 1977 revision．However，excluding＇British and

American＇obfuscated what the pronunciation norm is．＇Standard＇accents could potentially refer to any standardized variety of English．

In the 1989 Course of Study revision，although the description remains almost the same as in the earlier 1977 revision，the diversity of English accents is acknowledged． The description concerning the sound and phonetics remains as＇contemporary standard accent，＇as in the previous Course of Study，but an initial sentence about the global role and the accent plurality of the English language was added：
（ア）現代の標漼的な発音。
現在，英語は国際語と呼ばれるほど世界の人々に使用され，多様性に富んだ言葉
である。その多様性に富んだ現在の英語の発音の中で，文語的過ぎたり，口語的過ぎたり，また特定の地域やグループの人々の発音に偏したりしないいわゆる標準的な発音を指導することが大切である。…（Monbusho 1989b：47－8）
（A）Contemporary standard accent
Today，English is recognized as an international language，which is used by people all over the world．English is also a diversified language．Among such current diversified English accents it is important to teach so－called standard accent，which is not slanted too much to regional dialects，literary－style，or to accents used in certain areas or by certain groups of people．．．．（Translation my own）

Since English is recognized to be＇an international language＇，which is also referred to as ＇a diversified language＇in the 1989 version，the＇standard accent＇indicates a wider acceptance of different accents in the global context，even though the description remains the same as the 1969 version，in the sense that＇contemporary standard accent＇is preferred．

In the 1998 Course of Study revision no significant changes from the 1989 revision are observed as far as the target accents is concerned，but the direction did become more forceful．
（ア）現代の標準的な発音。
現在，英語は世界中で広く使用され，その使われ方も様々であり，発音や用法な ど多様性に富んだ言語である。その多様性に富んだ現代の英語の発音の中で，特定の地域やグループの人々の発音に偏ったり，口語過ぎたりしない，いわゆる標準的な発音を指導するものとする。（Monbusho 1999a：33）
（A）Contemporary standard accent
Today，English is used widely all over the world in many ways．English is also a diversified language in its accents and usage．Among such current diversified English accents，so－called standard accent should be taught，which is not slanted too much towards regional dialects，classical－style language，or those accents used in certain areas or by certain groups of people．．．．（Translation my own）

As the above quotation shows，the explanation of the target accents was slightly
rephrased，but basically the same message is conveyed．The only difference is that the expression about the target accent selection in the 1989 version（＇．．．it is important to teach so－called standard accent．．．＇）endorses the importance of teaching＇standard accent，＇while the 1998 version（＇．．．so－called standard accent should be taught．．．＇） defines＇standard accent＇as the only target．Thus，although the 1998 version became more assertive in teaching＇standard accent＇，the pronunciation norm remained unclear．

## 3．2．2．4 Policy Regarding Orthographic Conventions

The shift in how English varieties are interpreted in the Course of Study can be observed not only in accents but also in spellings．Similar to accents，the spellings taught in the classroom were also standardized in either the British or the American style，as seen in the quotation from the 1969 Course of Study below：

> なお, このつづりは, イキリス式またはアメリカ式に統一して指導するものとする。(Monbusho 1969: 130)
> Incidentally, the spellings of those words should be taught consistently using either British or American style. (Translation my own)

Although such a description regarding the target spellings is only found in the 1969 Course of Study，this evidence at least shows that English was yet to be perceived as an international language in Japan＇s EFL education．

## 3．2．3 Summary

In summary，this section analyzed the foreign language education policy to determine how the Japanese government has viewed English and its varieties．By examining the language options in the formal foreign language courses，the compulsory／elective course status，the class hours，and the newly introduced course and the school curriculum，Section 3．2．1 demonstrated that English has maintained its primary position among the language options throughout the postwar period．In addition， through examining the English varieties in the course objectives，the course principles， and the teaching norms，such as the target accents and spellings，Section 3.2 .2 showed that a shift in the target English varieties had occurred over time．During the 1958 Course of Study period English was unquestionably a language associated with the UK and US． In the following 1969 Course of Study period，the interpretation of the target English in formal education was officially expanded to include several other Inner Circle countries，
such as Australia，New Zealand，and Canada．Although these five varieties do not explicitly appear in the 1977 revision，the global view of English has not really been established consistently in the policy．In the 1989 Course of Study period，finally，English teaching policy pays attention to non－mainstream English speakers as the future potential conversation partners．

## 3．3 Comprehensive Language Policy

Whereas the foreign language education policy has attributed different English varieties to be the formal English education target at each revision of the Course of Study， the way the government perceives English and its varieties is also clearly described in the comprehensive language policy．Recall that the comprehensive language policy includes the other documents that do not fall within the foreign language education policy．This section examines Frontier Within，which is part of the comprehensive language policy， and presents the policy on English and its varieties for the 21st century．

## 3．3．1 English as a Primary Foreign Language

Outside the school educational system，the government also attaches great importance to English，among other foreign languages，in the 21 st century．Frontier Within，which clarifies the importance of both Japanese and foreign languages，${ }^{69}$
${ }^{69}$ Frontier Within asserts the importance of Japanese and foreign languages as follows：
．．．日本語はすばらしい言語である。日本語を大切にし，よい日本語を身につけるこ とによって，文化と教養，感性と思考力を育むべきは言うまでもない。だが，その ことをもって外国語を排斥するのは，誤ったぜロ・サム的な論法である。日本語を大事にするから外国語を学ばない，あるいは日本文化が大切だから外国文化を斥け る，というのは根本的な諤りである。日本語と日本文化を大切にしたいなら，むし ろ日本人が外国語と他文化をも積極的に吸収し，それとの接触のなかで日本文化を豊かにし，同時に日本文化を国際言語にのせて輝かせるべきであろう。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 6，IV，3）
．．．we stress that Japanese is a wonderful language．We should nurture culture and cultivation， sensibility and thinking power，by treasuring Japanese and acquiring good Japanese language skills．But to argue that this means rejecting foreign languages reflects mistaken，zero－sum thinking．It is a fundamental fallacy to believe that cherishing the Japanese language precludes studying other languages，or that caring for Japanese culture requires rejecting foreign cultures．If we treasure the Japanese language and culture，we should actively assimilate other languages and cultures，enriching Japanese culture through contact with other cultures and showing other countries the attraction of Japanese culture by introducing it in an appropriate fashion in their languages．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 6，IV，3）
particularly emphasizes English．For example，a section in Frontier Within indicates the importance of English by advising that the Japanese should be equipped with practical

English skills as follows：
（2）グローバル・リテラシーを確立する
グローバル化と情報化が急速に進行する中では，先聑性は世界に通用するレベ ルでなければいけない。そのためには，情報技術を使いこなすことに加え，英語 の実用能力を日本人が身につけることが不可欠である。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1，（2））
（2）Enhancing global literacy
The advance of globalization and the information－technology revolution call for a world－class level of excellence．Achieving world－class excellence demands that，in addition to mastering information technology，all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English－－－not simply as a foreign language but as the international lingua franca．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1，（2））

In the document，＇a working knowledge of English＇is required for＇all Japanese＇，but no such statement requiring proficiency of other foreign languages is found；this suggests that English is more important than any other foreign language．In addition，a section that highlights Korean and Chinese（to nurture＇neighborly relations＇），which suggests expanding the formal language courses and the multilingual information displays，also indicates the priority of English compared to these languages：
（3）隣交
「隣交」に踏み出すにあたっては，日本人がこれら隣国の民族の歴史，伝統，言語，文化を十分に理解することが求められる。そのためには，学校教育におい て両国の歴史と日本との関係史，とりわけ現代史を教える時間を充実させるとと もに，韓国語や中国語の語学教育を飛躍的に拡充するのが望ましい。日本国内の主要な案内板には英語と共に両国語が併記されるくらいに「隣交」感覚を研ぎ澄 ましたいものである。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 1，IV，4，（3））
（3）Neighborly relations（rinko）
To embark on the development of such relations，it is essential for the Japanese to have a full understanding of the histories，traditions，languages，and cultures of the peoples of its neighbor countries．To achieve this，we should increase the amount of school time devoted to the study of Korean and Chinese history and the history of these countries＇relations with Japan，particularly in modern times， and dramatically expand our programs of Korean and Chinese language instruction．In addition，we should develop a sense of neighborliness by providing multilingual information displays at major locations throughout Japan that include Korean and Chinese alongside English．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，IV，4，（3））

Making an effort to provide＇multilingual information displays at major locations throughout Japan that include Korean and Chinese＇in addition to＇English＇implies that

English has already established a firm position in society，while Korean and Chinese are newcomers．

Further evidence emphasizing English that is found in Frontier Within is that spreading English within Japan is proposed as one possible way of achieving global literacy as follows：

> 3．国際対話能力（グローバル・リテラシー）のために
> 情報技術革命，グローバリズムを乗り越えて波乗りすることは容易でない。イ ンターネットと英語を共通言語として日本国内に普及する以外にないであろう。双方についてマス・レベルで幼少期より馿染むべきであろう。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 6，IV，3）

> 3．Toward global literacy
> It will not be easy to ride the waves of the information technology revolution and globalization．The only way to cope will be to expand domestic use of the Internet and of English as the international lingua franca．People should be familiarized with both on a mass level in childhood．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 6，IV，3）

This proposition suggests that English should be used within Japan，and that Korean and Chinese are not really targeted for social language use（cf．these two languages can be promoted in formal education and be used for multilingual information displays in Japan）． Therefore，English would appear to have obtained the highest status among foreign languages，not only within the education policy，but also within the comprehensive language policy．

Despite recognizing the extensive importance and the necessity of English，the average proficiency of English among the Japanese people was not meeting the required level specified in the comprehensive language policy．The Frontier Within points out that the Japanese people＇s command of English is alarmingly low compared to other countries in the Asian region，citing the TOEFL rankings by nationalities．${ }^{70}$

[^38]In order to increase the unsatisfactory English language proficiency of the Japanese people at a mass level, eight concrete plans are proposed in Frontier Within. Among the eight plans, two imply a change in the social system, while the other six basically relate to school education (see Appendix 2 for more details):

## The Society-related Plans:

(1) Using English as a second working language, e.g. in government's publication/homepages
(2) Encouraging national debate on English as an official second language

The Education-related Plans:
(3) Establishing the criterion for acquiring a working knowledge of English
(4) Organizing English classes according to students' actual level of competence
(5) Improving training and objective assessment of English teachers
(6) Increasing the number of foreign teachers of English and faculty members
(7) Using English as a language for teaching and research
(8) Contracting language schools to handle English classes

Frontier Within suggests two society-related plans (Plans (1) and (2)). Plan (1), which advocates publishing official documents not only in Japanese, but also in English, has been in progress, although the plan has yet to become legally enforced. Today, many publications and announcements from the National Diet and government bodies are published in English as well as in Japanese. For example, Frontier Within is available in Japanese, English, Korean, and Chinese; many of the government's Internet homepages are also provided in Japanese and English as a matter of course.

Regarding the possibility of having English as a second official language (Plan (2)), significant attention has been drawn to this issue, as the report originally intended. Under the present situation, any laws concerning Japan's official language (including Japanese and English) have neither been enforced, nor even drafted. However, the summary of Frontier Within, published on the front page of many major newspapers on the day following its submission to the Prime Minister, aroused public opinion (Nojima 2000, Yomiuri Shinbun 2000). These newspaper articles (and other news media) were effective at raising the issue of English as a second official language (Japan (Encyclopedia) 1993, Kunihiro 2000: 1-5). Moreover, Funabashi Yoichi, a member of the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, was invited to present his prospects for English as an official language in Japan in many publications (Funabashi and Suzuki 1999, Funabashi 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, Funabashi and Kunihiro 2000). In particular,

Funabashi personally developed the proposal contained in Frontier Within and suggested that the official language law should be enforced (Funabashi 2000a: 221-2). ${ }^{71}$ Furthermore, not only did many accomplished people submit their opinions (Chida and Kunihiro 2000, Clark and Kunihiro 2000, Fujiwara 2000, Fukami and Kunihiro 2000, Kato and Kunihiro 2000, Suzuki and Kunihiro 2000, Takamadonomiya and Kunihiro 2000), but also an extensive public debate developed, involving more than 300 readers of a major Japanese newspaper (RC Mainichi Shinbun 2000). As a result, although the outcome of the debate has not produced agreement at the national level, Frontier Within successfully provided an opportunity to raise the level of interest and knowledge about the issue of Japan's official language.

While only two plans are given from the society point of view, Frontier Within suggests six education-related plans (Plans (3)-(8)), and most of these plans have already been discussed in special advisory commissions to Monbusho. For example, as a result of the discussion on the criteria needed for acquiring a working knowledge of English (plan (3) in the 2000 EFL advisory commission, two separate types of English proficiency were defined: the proficiency expected for the Japanese public and the proficiency for specialists, which should be achieved through different courses (Monbukagakusho 2001a). In addition, in the 2002 EFL advisory commission, one of the commission members contributed the personal opinion that learners who have finished the three-year English education at junior high schools should achieve 430 points at TOEFL (KKKSKK Monbukagakusho 2001). ${ }^{72}$ Monbusho further announced that senior high school graduates and university graduates should be able to work and do research employing English (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002h).

With regard to organizing English classes according to students' actual level of competence (Plan (4), there has been a growing movement toward organizing classes according to students' actual level of competence, not only for English, but also for other

[^39]school subjects. In fact, several senior high schools adopted a special English-centered curriculum in the 2002 academic year, which allows some subjects to be taught in English (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002d, and Section 3.2.1.4). Introducing these English focused schools is important in relation to the issue of organizing classes according to students' actual level of English competence because of the schools' English-centered curriculum and because their entrance examination screens the students' proficiency. In addition, a proposal about creating similar English-centered universities was advanced at the fifth meeting of the 2002 EFL advisory commission (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002j). However, plan (4), which relates to the lower secondary level, was not discussed at either of the EFL advisory commissions. It is also true that amplifying the differences in academic achievements among students is not welcomed, particularly within the public compulsory education system.

In addition to the students' learning conditions, several developments are observed regarding improving the training and assessment of teachers (Plan (5). For example, a listening component is included in the English teaching staff recruitment test given by many local education boards. In addition, more domestic and overseas training opportunities for teachers to brush up on their English proficiency and teaching skills have been created for in-service teachers (Monbukagakusho 2001a, and Section 4.1.1). Moreover, the government's strategic plan regarding English (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002h) demands that teachers have the pre-first grade at STEP standard, ${ }^{73} 550$ points at TOEFL standard, or 730 at TOEIC standard; ${ }^{74}$ and Monbusho
average; several students even scored between 500-550 (Funabashi 2000a).
${ }^{73}$ According to the organization that conducts Zaidan Hoojin Eigo Kentei Kyookai (2002a), the standard of the pre-first grade is equivalent to 'Japanese college/junior college intermediate level' as follows:
[Pre-first grade is] able to conduct daily life in English-speaking areas, with the exception of specialized fields. Although problems may remain understanding natural English or expressing oneself perfectly, [pre-first grade] is able to grasp major points in order to communicate.
The successful examinee is:

1) Able to converse about ordinary matters of daily life and relatively specialized matters of a personal nature, and able to grasp the gist of general speeches, lectures, broadcasts, etc.
2) Able to read high-level materials (newspaper articles, general magazine articles, etc.) and understand the essential information.
3) Able to write about personal ideas and opinions.

[^40]intends to guide the local education boards to improve the recruitment and evaluation of in-service teachers. Monbusho (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002h) further presented a specific five-year plan requiring that all JTEs in service at the secondary schools be re-trained from 2003.

Increasing the number of foreign English teachers or faculty members (Plan (6)) was also discussed at the 2000 EFL advisory commission, and this plan has been clearly in operation (Monbukagakusho 2001a). The number of foreign English speaking teachers is steadily increasing (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002a, 2002b, 2002c), as observed in the JET Programme for primary and secondary level teachers (Sections 4.1.2, and 4.1.3), and in the immigration statistics for tertiary teaching staff members (Section 2.2). Moreover, approximately 300 English speaking teachers, currently engaged in teaching at junior high schools, are to be hired as regular qualified teachers (not as assistants) over the coming three years, and this employment plan is to be expanded to 1000 teachers (at both senior and junior high schools) in the future (SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002h).

Concerning the use of English for teaching and research purposes (Plan (7), some progress can be seen, although the statistical data, showing the ratio of those using English as a language for teaching and for research are not available. For example, the 2000 EFL advisory commission validated that teaching English in English should be encouraged at all educational levels (Monbukagakusho 2001a). In addition, the JET Programme, which invites English speaking teachers at the primary and secondary school levels, increases the number of students who have English medium classes, as mentioned for plan (6). Moreover, the English-focused schools, as mentioned for plan (4), offer several courses in English at higher secondary schools. Furthermore, at the tertiary level, written advice to increase the use of English in research and education was submitted by the 2000 EFL advisory commission (Monbukagakusho 2001a). The commission's advice is reflected in the tertiary education academic staff recruitment database (JRECIN 2001) which contains the recruitment criteria such as 'native English speakers preferred' and 'fluency of English to give lectures'.

Finally, for contracting language schools to handle English classes (Plan (8)), the government and language schools (which are not qualified formal schools) have actually
started to cooperate to teach English classes．For example，since public schools and many private schools have been on a five－day week since the 2002 academic year，the government has supported the Saturday supplementary English teaching programs，in various regions，by subsidizing the tuition by 50 percent（Asahi Shinbun 1999， SCKKKKK Monbukagakusho 2002e）．

## 3．3．2 Recognition of English Varieties：English as an International Lingua Franca and English as American Language

English，which is given special status among foreign languages in recent Japanese language and foreign language education policies，is important for bilateral relationships and also for international communication as a lingua franca．On the one hand，English as a foreign language denotes that English is an ethnic／national／ideological language，as other foreign languages are，such as Korean for the South Korean people．On the other hand，English as a global lingua franca goes beyond the original ethnicity or nationalities． Considering these two types of significance attached to English，the present section examines how English varieties are recognized in Japan＇s language policy．

Looking at English as a language of foreign nations，the American variety is the potential target variety for Japanese EFL•learners，considering the strong bilateral ties between Japan and the US．Frontier Within makes clear the importance of maintaining the traditional firm Japan－US alliance as follows：
．．．日本は，日米同盟を否定，もしくは削减して，ではなく，日米同盟をかけが えのない基軸として．．．（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 6，V）
．．．Although retaining the Japan－U．S．alliance as an irreplaceable linchpin rather than repudiating or diminishing it．．．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 6，V）

As in the section on＇neighborly relations＇quoted earlier in Section 3．3．1，the policy claims to enlarge the＇programs of Korean and Chinese language instruction＇for the development of neighborly relations，because these languages are essential to understand South Korea or China．Applying this logic behind Korean and Chinese language instruction to English varieties，the bilateral diplomatic ties between Japan and the US demands that English is important because it is used in the US．Accordingly， emphasizing the Japan－US relationship in the foreign policy，it follows that American English is an important variety for Japanese people．

In addition to the importance of the US English variety based on diplomatic ties，the idea of English as an international lingua franca would appear to be even more important than its role as a language of foreign nations．Frontier Within repeatedly emphasizes English＇s unique characteristic：the role of an international lingua franca，in the global literacy context，for example：
（2）グローバル・リテラシーを確立する
．ここで言ら英語は，単なる外国語の一つではない。それは，国際共通語として の英語である。グローバルに情報を入手し，意思を表明し，取引をし，共同作業 するために必須とされる最低限の道具である。もちろん，私たちの母語である日本語は日本の文化と伝統を継承する基であるし，他の言語を学ぶことも大いに推奨されるべきである。しかし，国際共通語としての英語を身につけることは，世界を知り，世界にアクセスするもっとも基本的な能力を身につけることである。 （21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1，（2））
（2）Enhancing global literacy
．．．．English in this sense is a prerequisite for obtaining global information， expressing intentions，and sharing values．Of course the Japanese language，our mother tongue，is the basis for perpetuating Japan＇s culture and traditions，and study of foreign languages other than English should be actively encouraged． Nevertheless，knowledge of English as the international lingua franca equips one with a key skill for knowing and accessing the world．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1，（2））

In the above passage，defining English as a global language，English is defined as＇a key skill for knowing and accessing the world，＇which Japanese may not be able to provide as English can．Moreover，a section on＇Global literacy＇explains the background and reason behind needing English as＇the international lingua franca＇as follows：

> 【グローバル・リテラシー】
．．．情報を瞬時に自在に入手し，理解し，意思を明確に表明できる「世界へア クセスする能力」「世界と対話できる能力」を備えていなければならない。…

この能力の基本は，コンピュータやインターネットといった情報技術を使いこ なせることと，国際共通語としての英語を使いこなせることである。こうした「読 み書き算盤」に加えて，双方向かつ多数対多数で論議や対話を行う際の表現力，論旨の明快さ，内容の豊かさ，説得力といったコミュニケーションの能力も大切 な要素となる。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 1，II）

## 2．Global literacy

．．．people must possess the ability to access and converse with the rest of the world，meaning that they can freely and immediately obtain information， understand it，and express their own ideas clearly．．．．which we may call＇global literacy，＇．．．．
The basic components of this new literacy are the mastery of information－ technology tools，such as computers and the Internet，and the mastery of English as the international lingua franca．In addition to these basics，communication skills－－－encompassing the ability to express oneself in two－way exchanges， particularly debates and dialogues involving multiple participants on each side， along with clarity in the exposition of ideas，richness of content，and
persuasiveness－－－will also be important elements．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，II）

These paragraphs explaining English as a lingua franca in a global context indicate that the expected goal behind global literacy is the mastery of English as a global lingua franca，rather than English as a language of foreign nations．

Appreciating English as＇the international lingua franca＇raises the issue of English varieties，because English in the global context involves pragmatic skills for negotiation． On the one hand，considering the nature of learning English as a foreign language，which is based on mostly bilateral international relationships，for example，between Japan and US，the English variety on which Japanese EFL education should focus should simply be the US English．In this case，it is straightforward to decide that US English should be the norm．On the other hand，it is very important to comprehend and contend with the difference among the varieties of language in global communication．Even English carries different pragmatic norms depending on its variety（Wierzbicka 2003）；therefore， learning only one English variety does not harness the value of English as a global lingua franca．In order to teach English to contribute to multilateral international relationships， it is necessary to consider different English varieties in Japan＇s EFL education．

In addition to the international context，expanding English＇s use in the domestic context also raises the issue of English varieties．Provided that use of English in Japanese society should be expanded，as Frontier Within suggests（＇Toward global literacy＇in Section 3．3．1），English will be used not only for specific purposes，such as business or special education，but also for daily communicative purposes among Japanese people．In such circumstances，a problem arises as to which variety is to be used as the default variety，because Japanese society has not generated a Japanese variety of English which is capable of expressing the everyday life of Japanese people．

Regarding the ideological problems that might arise when selecting the learning target from the existing English varieties，Frontier Within provides a cautionary statement which demands that the curriculum should pay special attention to ethnic and cultural neutrality：
．．．もう一つ付け加えるならほ，今後の日本は国際化と文化的な多様化を求められ るはずであるから，それを先取りし，促進するために，精選された義務教育の内容は，なるべく民族的，文化的に中立性の強いものが望ましい。もちろんそれは，公正で普遍的な人間性に基づく国家を愛することとは矛盾しない。法と制度を厳正に維持し，社会の秩序と安全を保証し，世界化する市場に適切な補正を加える

> 国家の重要性は自明であり，生徒に対してそれを敬愛することを教えるのは義務教育の範囲の中にある。しかし，たぶんこの教育は狭義の教室の中での説諭のみ に期待できるものではなく，今後，我々の国家日本が，その振る舞いによって次代の若者に教育すべき事柄であろう。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000： Chapter 5，V）
> ．．．Furthermore，because internationalization and cultural diversification will be expected of Japan in the future，to anticipate and promote those developments the carefully selected compulsory－education curriculum proposed should be as ethnically and culturally neutral as possible．Of course，this in no way conflicts with patriotism based on the state＇s justice and humanism．The importance of a state that strictly upholds the law and systems，guarantees social order and security，and corrects for globalized markets as appropriate is self－evident，and teaching students to love their country falls within the scope of compulsory education．Rather than expect didactic classroom instruction alone to inculcate patriotism，however，it should be taught to the next generation of young people primarily through the example of Japan＇s actual behavior．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 5，V）

The above－mentioned statement that the＇compulsory－education curriculum proposed should be as ethnically and culturally neutral as possible＇not only refers to compulsory education on the whole，but also applies naturally to EFL education．Although selecting appropriate varieties is a crucial issue，because no neutral variety exists in the present world（Chapter 2），promoting an EFL curriculum that is ethnically and culturally neutral can be approached from two angles：linguistic forms and linguistic topics．From a linguistic perspective，seeking neutrality in English as an international lingua franca means presenting the neutral form of English that is common to many English varieties， or presenting different English varieties without the presentation skewed toward a specific variety．In addition，the topic component can be interpreted in the same way as forms；it should be resolved by selecting a neutral topic that is common to many ethnic groups and cultures，or by selecting diversified ethnic groups and cultures without being skewed toward one specific variety．

## 3．3．3 Summary

Through examining English and its varieties in the comprehensive language policy， it was found that English has a duel－faceted importance in the policy：a global focus and a US－bilateral focus．English as an international lingua franca facilitates participation in the global community，while English as a language of a foreign nation strengthens the bilateral international relationships，particularly，with the US．Although it is these
bilateral and global focuses that attach more significance to English language, these dual-roles also raise the issue of English varieties. Frontier Within suggests that the compulsory education curriculum should be developed neutrally in terms of ethnicity and culture, with the aim of mastering the English language. From the implementation point of view, many concrete plans have been provided to promote English relative to other foreign languages. Since the plans to achieve English proficiency among Japanese people proposed in Frontier Within are mainly through education, a strong relationship between the comprehensive language policy and the foreign language education policy exists.

### 3.4 Implication from English-related Language Policy Analyses

Other than the shift from understanding English as the language of a nation to English as a lingua franca, the above discussion of Japan's foreign language education policy, and of the comprehensive language policy, have demonstrated the increasing importance of a language policy in contemporary Japan. Particularly since 2000, when Frontier Within and Strategic Plans were distributed, Japan's language policy has exploited new dimensions which the traditional foreign language education policy, as seen in Course of Study, did not allow. Such significance is, for example, seen through the Commission's advice on the issue of languages to the Prime Minister. Also, the fact that Japanese and foreign languages are considered in the same policy, and that language policy is integrated into other non-language-focused policies, indicates the importance of language policy in Japan.

The first piece of evidence for the increasing importance of language policy in Japan is the fact that the report, Frontier Within, submitted to advise the Prime Minister on the linguistic vision in the 21st century, was produced externally from Monbusho. Traditionally, Monbusho has solely taken charge of developing Japan's English-related language policy, as seen in Japan's foreign language education policy. It used to be a Monbusho Minister who convened advisory commissions, Monbusho that organized the meetings, and the resulting report was submitted to the minister. However, it was the Prime Minister who convened the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, the cabinet that organized the meetings, and Frontier Within was submitted
directly to the Prime Minister. Although Frontier Within is not a pure language policy, but rather a part of Japan's future vision, it is notable that the linguistic advice was constructed externally and independently from Monbusho.

This report advising the Prime Minister further exerted influence on Monbusho's actual policy making. Frontier Within, the final report from the Prime Minister's 21st Century Commission, was submitted on the 18th of January in 2000, and Nakasone, then Minister of Education, subsequently convened a special advisory commission on improving formal EFL education on the 26th of January. Not only was the EFL advisory commission convened following the submission of Frontier Within to the Prime Minister, but also the language-related issues raised in Frontier Within were discussed in the subsequent EFL advisory commissions (Section 3.3.1). Therefore, the relationship between the Prime Minister's 21st century commission and the 2002 EFL advisory commission to Monbusho show the Cabinet's strong influence on Monbusho in language policy development. As seen above, since 2000, the cabinet has become significantly involved in foreign language education policy development.

In addition to the fact that language-related advice came externally from Monbusho, targeting multiple languages in one policy further shows the significance of language policy. The foreign language education policy documents, such as a Course of Study, include foreign languages only, with a crucial focus on English. Frontier Within, which appeared in 2000, on the contrary, includes Japanese, English, Korean, Chinese, and other foreign languages as target languages. Moreover, Strategic Plans, although developed as a foreign language education policy and distributed by Monbusho in 2002, discusses English and Japanese in a single frame of policy (Sections 3.1.2, 3.2.2, and 3.3.1). That is, Frontier Within and Strategic Plans are remarkable in the sense that each policy document jointly deliberates Japanese alongside foreign languages.

Integrating a language policy into other major policies is another piece of evidence showing that language policy has become more important. Although the traditional view that foreign language education policy is developed within education policy under Monbusho's initiatives remains unchanged, the circumstances external to foreign language education policy development have changed. For example, Frontier Within reviews the significance of word power from the language perspective (not just Japanese, but also English and other foreign languages) as equal to the military power (as the
diplomatic perspective) or to the money power (as the economic perspective). This recognition, which places the language issue on the same level as other political issues, shows that foreign language per se is now an independent policy subject matter. Moreover, the suggested prescriptions relate not only to the educational context, but also to the external context, such as the bilingual publication of the government's official documents or to multilingual information displays (Section 3.3.1). These language planning programs are not under the umbrella of Monbusho, but of other government bodies. In addition, although Strategic Plans was developed and distributed by Monbusho, it is tied in with an economic policy. In other words, language policy exists not just as a part of education policy, but also as a part of economic policy. As seen above, language policy is now integrated into other major policies, and this integration indicates that the government interprets languages as a major political issue.

It follows from these three changes: advising the Prime Minister externally from Monbusho, targeting multiple languages, and integrating language policy into other major policies, that greater importance is now attached to language policy. Because these changes appeared in Frontier Within and Strategic Plans, the year 2000, when Frontier Within was distributed, is considered to mark the beginning of a new phase in language policy development. As a result, Koike's interpretation, mentioned earlier in this chapter, that the language policy regarding English has been developed as a part of education policy, needs to be adjusted and refined following 2000.

### 3.5 Summary

In summary, this chapter has examined Japan's English-related language policy documents in order to understand how the Japanese government recognizes and treats the English language and its varieties. Since an independent and comprehensive language policy that encompasses Japan's linguistic approaches and plans, in respect to both Japanese and foreign languages, had not been developed for much of the postwar period, this chapter has considered the foreign language education policy and the comprehensive language policy separately. The language policy analyses revealed the increased importance of language policy. Since 2000, a report touching on languages, produced externally from Monbusho, advised the Prime Minister. Moreover, some language policy
documents refer to Japanese and foreign languages in one document. Furthermore, a language policy became subsumed within other major policies. These facts indicate that language policy became more important particularly after 2000.

As a result of examining English language and its varieties in the postwar foreign language education policy it was observed that the significance of the English language for Japan has shifted roughly in three phases, while the stress has been consistently placed on English language all through the period. At the beginning (until the mid-1970s), English was recognized as a language of the UK and US. From the late 1970s to the late 1980s, this English ownership was expanded to the Inner Circle countries, including Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Finally, in the 1990s, a new perception had arisen that of English as an international lingua franca.

This new view of seeing English as an international lingua franca is also strongly presented in the comprehensive language policy, but there is still the old view of seeing English as the language of a nation. In several places in the policy document, the significance of learning English is recognized with regard to global communication. Although no obvious description of the old view was found, Japan's diplomatic decision denotes the importance of learning the language of the US, similar to the diplomatic emphasis that exists behind the stress placed on Korean and Chinese. Consequently, it is more accurately the case that the current enthusiastic needs and values of learning practical English (rather than learning English as a high culture) have been intensified both by the old view (English as an ideological language) and by the latest view (English as an International lingua franca).

These two views of recognizing the English language have brought about a significant change in classrooms, where the language policy is in fact implemented. Before, when English was viewed as the national language used in the UK and US, there was no problem concerning English varieties, as long as the UK or US variety was chosen in the classroom. However, the rising recognition that English is an international lingua franca means that focusing on such traditional varieties in classrooms contradicts the foreign language education objectives, which aim to produce acceptance and respect for different languages and cultures, and, hence, for different varieties. Especially in an environment like Japan, where people can live without any English proficiency,
classrooms are the major opportunity for learners to encounter English, the target language. Accordingly, learners are apt to absorb the English variety taught in the classroom, unless they voluntarily try to become involved in a natural English as a lingua franca speaking context. Therefore, a significant change in the way English varieties are regarded in classrooms has become crucial. The following chapter will explore in detail the English varieties presented in English teaching classrooms.

## Chapter 4

## English Varieties in the Classroom

### 4.0 Introduction

Examining the language-related policy papers in Chapter 3 confirmed that Japan's current and future English education aims to teach English from two perspectives: as a global lingua franca and as the language of the US, with which Japan has developed a strong partnership. Now the question arises as to whether and how this policy should be implemented. In this chapter, the issue to be explored is which variety has actually been taught to Japanese EFL learners in formal education settings. In fact, little attention has been given to grasping the whole picture of how the English variety is treated in formal EFL teaching. The dominance of the US variety has been emphasized in the EFL education, particularly after the influence of the post WWII occupation of Japan by the US (Anai 1991, Iwamoto 1999). However, as Anai (1991) ${ }^{75}$ explains in an unpublished work aimed at Japanese students, the situation is actually too complicated to allow the conclusion that the US variety is the dominant one. Thus, it is worth exploring the English varieties used at the actual policy implementation level.

In order to examine the varieties that are receiving preferential treatment when English is actually being taught, this chapter concentrates on the following education related factors: teachers, teaching materials, and scholarship programs. As some researchers point out, English teaching commodities that are sent overseas from major English speaking countries deliver cultural publicity (Pennycook 1994: 147-148, Singh

[^41]and Singh 1999: 76). Similarly, teachers, teaching materials, and scholarship programs, which are dictated by the Japanese government, also contain a cultural message and, significantly, they exert an influence on the students to learn specific English varieties. Social factors such as mass media, however, will not be addressed here even though they might affect the learners directly or indirectly or might affect in-service teachers personally, with consequences for learners. These social factors are considered beyond the scope of the present discussion because the majority of the government EFL policies are intended to have their effect within the education sector (Section 3.3.4). In this way, this chapter confines the analysis to how the government's policy historically and currently treats the English varieties in educational practice. First, the teacher factor will be investigated in Section 4.1, second, the teaching materials in Section 4.2, and third, the scholarship programs in Section 4.3.

### 4.1 Teachers

Since an English course is planned and taught by teachers, the English variety that receives a preferential treatment is likely to be influenced by teachers. Accordingly, the most influential factor in implementing English language education policy is teachers. When examining the teacher factor, it should be noted that there are three types of teachers in formal English teaching. The teachers currently engaged in the regular English classrooms in Japan basically fall into two types: the qualified Japanese teachers who teach English (JTEs) and the assistant language teachers who speak English natively (ALTs) ${ }^{76}$. In addition to these two types, a third type of teacher is the English-speaking qualified teachers, who are not assistant teachers like the ALTs. In this section, therefore, these three types of teachers are independently examined. The Japanese teachers of English are examined in Section 4.1.1; the Assistant Language Teachers in Section 4.1.2; and finally, the qualified English-speaking teachers in Section 4.1.3.

[^42]
### 4.1.1 Japanese Teachers of English

Of the above mentioned three types, the Japanese teachers of English are the most influential in terms of the English variety imposed on students. JTEs are the most influential because they are the closest and most direct models for learners to encounter the target language (TL) in most of the formal EFL learning settings in Japan. Consequently, the characteristics of JTEs are supposed to be absorbed by the learners through regular lessons.

JTEs' English influences the students, in two different ways. One way is the Japanese flavor of the English. This Japanese flavor is caused by the interference of the Japanese language as first language. Since this interference from the first language is unavoidable (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: 96-108), particularly for those who have learned a language in its FL environment, it also applies to the learners whose first language is most likely to be Japanese. Accordingly, this Japanese influence on learners' English is quite natural and uncontrollable, regardless of JTEs' intentions.

Another way is with respect to the target English varieties taught by the JTEs. For example, a JTE who was unaware of the English variety issue could have a significant impact upon the learners. In the early 1990s a Welsh ALT described to me an episode from his teaching an English variety in his junior high school, which shows just how powerful a role a JTE can play. According to him, tomato is naturally pronounced as /to má:tou/. So he pronounced the word in his way, but the JTE emphasized tomato as /to méi tou/ not as /tə má: tou/. In fact, /tə méi tou $/{ }^{/ 7}$ and /tə má: tou $/{ }^{/ 8}$ are both correct and used as standard English depending on where the speaker comes from. When the JTE imposed an American way of pronunciation, the ALT felt offended, although the Welsh ALT politely did not argue with the JTE about the issue in front of their students. Such occurrences are not uncommon. The above episode clearly reflects one aspect of current formal English teaching; the students are given negative feedback for an acceptable form of English due to the JTEs' poor knowledge of English varieties, particularly in speaking.

Although the JTEs are indeed to be blamed for the lack of knowledge in this case, this section explores the government's expectation of JTEs rather than the JTEs' personal

[^43]factors. The JTEs' personal factors are not discussed because an enormous amount of work is needed to investigate and analyze such personal tendencies, and more importantly, because the focus of this thesis is on the policy perspective. Accordingly, the issue here is what the government intends JTEs to achieve in the EFL education. In order to uncover the government's intention, this section concentrates on the nationwide in-service teacher training programs. Most of the in-service teacher training programs are basically the responsibility of local governments (prefectures and special cosmopolitan areas) since, technically, it is not Monbusho but such local bodies that employ and pay the teachers. However, some national training programs are offered by Monbusho ${ }^{79}$, and these fall into two categories: the domestic program and the overseas program. Therefore, it is useful to look at these training programs as this will make it possible to reveal how the government treats English varieties regardless of its intentions or ideal image. In what follows, in order to pursue the policy implementation, the focus is on the domestic and overseas programs at the national level.

### 4.1.1.1 Domestic Training Program

One type of in-service-JTEs training at the national level is carried out in Japan. The only training available under this category is the three-week domestic training camp, which was started in 1976. The purpose of the program is improving JTEs' teaching skills as well as brushing up their English proficiency. Although it is an inter-prefectural training program, local education boards conduct this camp in turn each year with advice given from Monbusho. One of the camp sessions was once called purizun (the prison) because of its tough schedule where the participants were only allowed to speak English during the three-week period. According to the 1999 brochure of the camp, six sessions of 100 JTEs received training from several local boards of education, either independently or joined with other regions. The intended numbers of trainees prior to 1999 was 600 , but since 2000 the number has expanded to 2000 . As seen by the growth in the numbers of participants, it can be understood that this program has been established as a stable training project.

[^44]The more JTEs who have participated in this domestic type of training to improve their teaching skills and English proficiency, the more important the selection of the native English speaking guest lecturers is. This is because their English varieties influence JTEs. Despite this importance, little attention has been paid to the English variety in selecting the English-speaking lecturers. Recently, three to four native speakers have been invited as guest lecturers to the program; unfortunately, information regarding which country they came from, or which English variety they speak, is not available. However, through an interview with Monbusho, it was made clear that the guest lecturers who are native speakers of English are determined by the local boards of education through word-of-mouth recommendations, and not by Monbusho (Monbusho 2000a). Also Wada, who is a former Monbusho subject investigator, mentions with regard to this training program that we do not need to rely on native speakers too much (1987), which suggests that the speakers' English varieties are not a large concern. Furthermore, the brochure for the program participants does not mention anything about the English variety issue and only contains information such as what to bring, the assignment that the participants are expected to complete, the timetable, and so on. As a result, any evidence of the government's intention to encourage a specific variety in policy implementation was not observed in the domestic JTEs training program. Accordingly, the issue of the English variety is not a main concern in selecting English speaking lecturers for the domestic training.

### 4.1.1.2 Overseas Training Program

Another type of in-service-JTEs training at the national level which, like the domestic training, is also designed for improving teaching skills and English proficiency of participating JTEs, is carried out overseas. Distinct from the domestic program, the overseas program is designed to broaden the knowledge of foreign school systems through receiving language training at institutions in English speaking countries and visiting local schools. The overseas program is also distinctive in the sense that it includes the four courses in terms of varying lengths and the target JTEs' positions. The program is categorized into two groups according to the participants' status: national university-school teachers, and public and private school teachers. It is also categorized into three groups according to the length of training: two-month, six-month and 12-month
courses as follows:
$>$ Two-month course for national university-school teachers
$>$ Two-month course for private and public school teachers
$>$ Six-month course for private and public school teachers
$>$ 12-month course for private and public school teachers
The two-month course has been maintained for the national university-school teachers since 1976, while the course for the private and public school teachers ended in 1997. As of 2000 , the UK is the only country where the trainees, who are national university-school teachers, are sent. Under the six-month course, which was started in 1988, the private and public school teachers are currently sent to four countries: UK, US, Australia, and New Zealand. The 12-month course started in 1990, and since 2000 the private and public school teachers have been sent to two countries: UK and US (Monbusho 2000a).

Not only have the training countries increased from two to four in the overseas program since 1979, but also the numbers of the participants by each destination have become more balanced. Table 9 shows the change in the numbers of participants by the course type and the year. This table reveals that the two-month course for public and private school teachers accepted 93 to 200 participants each year, a total of 2753 participants during the 19-year period. Closer examination of the figures shows that 607 JTEs were trained in the UK, while 1702 were trained in the US. That is, nearly three times more JTEs went to the US compared to the UK. This shows that the government intended to focus only on the US and UK varieties, and particularly on the US one.

| Course Types <br> Year | 2-month course <br> (UK \& US) |  | 6-month course (UK, US, AU, \& NZ) | 12-month course <br> (UK \& US) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1979 | 96 | (37-59) | - | - |
| 1980 | 107 | (43 64) | - | - |
| 1981 | 110 | (25 85) | - | - |
| 1982 | 104 | (25 79) | - | - |
| 1983 | 98 | (25 73) | - | - |
| 1984 | 98 | (24 74) | - | - |
| 1985 | 93 | $\left(\begin{array}{ll}23 & 70\end{array}\right)$ | - | - |
| 1986 | 97 | (25 72) | - | - |
| 1987 | 118 | (24 94) | - | - |
| 1988 | 134 | (44 90) | 25 | - |
| 1989 | 154 | (45 109) | 47 | - |
| 1990 | 173 | (45 128) | 58 | 10 |
| 1991 | 178 | (46 132) | 58 | 15 |
| 1992 | 186 | (46 140) | 58 | 24 |
| 1993 | 200 | (46 154) | 58 | 26 |
| 1994 | 192 | (44 148) | 58 | 30 |
| 1995 | 171 | (40 131) | 82 | 33 |
| 1996 | 190 | ( N/A ) | 94 | 36 |
| 1997 | 177 | ( N/A ) | 102 | 40 |
| 1998 |  | N/A | 118 | 47 |
| 1999 |  | N/A | 118 | 28 |

Table 9 The expected numbers of participants of Monbusho overseas training by course types based on the drawn up budget. ${ }^{80}$

However, this two-month course for private and public teachers is no longer offered; it was cancelled in 1997. By closing down the US and UK focused training course, the US dominance over the UK, which was observed in the total two-month courses, was eliminated. Moreover, this cancellation also contributes to the total balance of the participants by destinations among the whole overseas training program. In addition, generally, the longer the course period is the easier it is for the participants to be influenced by the local English variety. Accordingly, this cancellation of the two-month course, which was the shortest among the JTEs overseas training program, has made the

[^45]available English varieties were balanced.
Although the overseas training participants recently have been sent to the US, UK, Australia, and New Zealand, with less slanted orientation to the US, this choice of four countries reveals that the government is still only targeting Inner Circle English varieties. The courses currently available deal with the UK and US as the two most dominant main streams for the 12 -month course, and the UK, US, Australia, and New Zealand, the two major Australasian varieties, for the six-month course. The fact that no JTEs have been sent to other English speaking countries, such as South Africa or Singapore, shows the value the government places upon the Inner Circle varieties.

A closer look at this Inner Circle focus further unveils a contrast even within these four countries. The US and UK varieties are dominant in both courses. The following table shows the numbers of participants in this program. Unfortunately, only the statistics for 1999 were available from Monbusho (Monbusho 2000a), although according to them, the ratio has been stable over previous years. Consequently, data for 1999 is sufficient to grasp the tendency of recent years. As Table 10 below shows, only eight JTEs were trained in each of Australia and New Zealand while 70 were sent to the US and 49 to the UK. The number of participants that were sent to Australasian countries was approximately one-seventh of the number sent to the mainstream countries. Thus, Table 10 reveals that the government is targeting Inner Circle English varieties, particularly the US and UK varieties.

| Length | 6-month course | 12-month course | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Destination | 56 | 14 | 70 |
| UK | 36 | 13 | 49 |
| US | 8 | N/A | 8 |
| Australia | 8 | N/A | 8 |
| New Zealand | 108 | 27 | - |
| Total |  |  |  |

Table 10 The actual numbers of participants of Monbusho overseas training by destination countries and course types in 1999. ${ }^{81}$

However, this interpretation that the government only values the Inner Circle varieties may not be precise; the choice of the destination may be decided for

[^46]administrative reasons. In fact, throughout the interview, Monbusho admitted the difficulty of establishing such overseas programs (Monbusho 2000a). One of the reasons for targeting Inner Circle English varieties is that the US and UK have long and strong histories in offering TESOL/TEFL programs. Consequently, it is easier to find suitable host institutions in these countries than it is in other English speaking countries. In this way the administrators can provide as stable a training program as possible. Therefore, selecting the training destination is not only according to the government plan, but is also determined by technical and administrational factors.

### 4.1.2 English-Speaking Assistant Language Teachers

ALTs are less influential than JTEs in the following ways: firstly, students do not see ALTs as often as JTEs in the classroom; secondly, ALTs do not evaluate students. However, in spite of this, ALTs are a significant influence on learners in a regular classroom. As the title literally shows, ALTs are assistants who do not have much power over planning the whole course, including the English varieties. However, ALTs are still influential because their linguistic and cultural behaviors, which are distinct from the Japanese, present a strong motivation for the learners to communicate in English, while JTEs present a role model as an international English speaker. ALTs, as the primary informants and target communication partners for the majority of the students living in the Japanese prevalent society, can naturally provide systematic opportunities for students to become familiar with the specific English variety that ALTs speak. Accordingly, it is worth examining the ALTs' programs.

In order to scrutinize the ALTs programs, this section needs to be divided into three phases. To date, many native English speakers have been to Japan as advisors on teaching English or as teaching assistants through the four ALT inviting programs: Fulbright Fellows (FF), Mombusho English Fellows (MEF), British English Teachers Scheme (BETS), and Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) ${ }^{82}$. These four programs are chronologically categorized into three phases: 1) until 1977 for FF, 2) until 1986 for both MEF and BETS, and 3) since 1987 for JET. This chronological classification also reflects

[^47]the size of the programs. Chart 1 below shows the increasing numbers of ALTs across the four programs over thirty years. These growing numbers reveal that each of above three groups has a different range in the number of ALTs. There were only less than ten ALTs engaged in each year during the FF period while 35 to 275 ALTs were engaged during the MEF and BETS period. As for the JET period, the numbers increase steeply up to more than 5000; they are mostly four-figure numbers each year, except for 1987. This section, therefore, examines the English variety issue in the ALT programs for each of the three groups starting with the FF period (1969-1977) in Section 4.1.2.1, the MEF and BETS period (1978-1986) in Section 4.1.2.2, and finally the JET period (1987-) in Section 4.1.2.3.


## Chart 1 Numbers of total ALTs from 1969 up to 2000. ${ }^{83}$

[^48]
### 4.1.2.1 Fulbright Fellows Period: the US Domination

Among the four ALTs programs, the oldest program is called the Fulbright Fellows (FF). FF was administered by Monbusho and the US education board in Japan as a part of the Fulbright Plan by the US government from 1969 until 1976. The fellows are attached to the local boards of education, and they are expected to support the in-service teachers' training as the teacher consultants' assistants.

Although FF has contributed to Japan's formal EFL education for eight years, the size of FF is too little to expect a large impact on the EFL learners in that time. As Table 11 shows, only a small number of fellows participated.

|  | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Fulbright Fellows | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 6 |

Table 11 Numbers of ALT over time, under Fulbright Fellows Program. ${ }^{84}$

Five fellows on average were recruited each year, and the maximum number was seven in 1974. Accordingly, because there were so few FF participants, they can hardly be expected to have had a large impact on Japanese EFL education. Despite the potential for influence due to their rather high qualifications, a master's degree in TESOL, their low numbers mean their potential cannot be fully realized (Takanashi and Takahashi 1990: 279).

The small numbers of ALTs involved in the program might surrender the expected influence that TESOL professionals could contribute; however, in terms of the English variety issue some degree of impact should not be denied. The FF participants were invited only from the US. Since the Japanese education system has been centralized under Monbusho, the influence of the FF participants, through their role as teacher consultants, should not be ignored. FF participants have influenced local education boards (such as prefectural and municipal boards), in-service-school teachers, and finally learners (Wada 1987). During the FF period, thus, it can be concluded that Japanese EFL education was exposed predominantly to US English except for familiarization with works of British literature or communicating personally with speakers of other English varieties.

[^49]
### 4.1.2.2 Mombusho English Fellows and British English Teachers Scheme Period: US and UK Superiority

Following the FF program (1969-1976), two similar but separate programs were administered simultaneously from 1977 to 1986. One of these programs was called Mombusho English Fellows (MEF), which was administered by Monbusho, having taken over from FF between 1977 and 1986. The whole Fulbright Plan had completed its restructuring following Japan's economic growth by 1979, and the plan was financially sponsored equally by Japan and the US. As a result, FF was removed from the main body of the Fulbright plan and became purely independent as MEF. The difference between FF and MEF was that the masters' degree in TESOL was no longer required for MEF: the professional qualification was eased and personality was given more stress. However, as with FF, the MEF remained only for Americans and their job was supporting the training for the in-service JTEs at the secondary level as teacher consultants' assistants.

The other program introduced at around the same time as MEF was a brand-new British-limited ALT program called the British English Teacher Scheme (BETS). BETS was established following a UK proposal ${ }^{85}$ in 1978, a year after MEF started. Under BETS, a budget was secured to invite to Japan 40 assistant teachers per year. Unlike FF or MEF, BETS participants were allocated to local secondary schools, not to the boards of education. This allocation contributed to the direct influence on the classroom teaching because learners were directly exposed to native English speakers. Another characteristic of BETS was that the program was aimed not only at the improvement in English language teaching but also at friendship between the host and guest countries. The BETS brochure expressed the hope that 'ALTs should further promote friendly relations and mutual understanding between Japan and UK citizens' (Monbusho 2000a). Furthermore, under BETS, the ALTs were sent even to private companies, junior colleges or universities, as well as to secondary schools. In this way, the UK variety formally joined Japan's ALTs invitation programs for the first time in the postwar period.

The ten-year period from 1977 to 1986, when the two similar but separate programs were established and maintained, was well balanced between UK and US varieties. As seen in Table 12, slightly more numbers of British ALTs have become involved with

[^50]Japan's formal EFL education compared to FF, which only invited Americans. Fifteen Americans compared with 20 British were in charge of ALTs in 1978; 23 vs. 46 in 1979; 35 vs. 59 in 1980; and finally, 54 vs. 75 in 1981, which is as far as data allows comparisons to be made. In this way, the US monopoly in Japan's formal EFL education was broken. However, these two main varieties (US and UK) of English dominated the programs during the MEF and BETS period. Speakers of other English varieties were not invited as official teaching assistants under these programs; for example, the English speakers involved were neither Australian nor Singaporean. Thus, the varieties in the ALTs' programs were still limited to the two major English varieties, which are both Inner Circle varieties.

|  | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MEF (US) | $9^{* 86}$ | $15^{*}$ | $23^{*}$ | $35^{*}$ | $54^{*}$ | $74^{*}$ | $108^{*}$ | $132^{*}$ | $167^{*}$ | $235^{*}$ |
| BETS (UK) | -- | $20^{* * 87}$ <br> $(0)^{88}$ | $46^{* *}$ <br> $(25)$ | $59^{* *}$ <br> $(25)$ | $75^{* *}$ <br> $(25)$ | $(25)$ | $(40)$ | $(40)$ | $(40)$ | $(40)$ |

Table 12 Numbers and nationalities of ALT by years, under MEF and BETS.

Not only did these programs bring the bicentric (American and British) variety stage into Japan's formal EFL education, they brought a new phase in Japan's Englishspeaking teaching assistant invitation program during the ten years in which they were conducted. Wada (1987) points out two transitions: 'quantitative extension' and 'qualitative change'. Quantitative extension refers to the growth of the member of participants, which further induced the qualitative change. The qualitative change refers to: 1) the change of their co-workers from teacher consultants to in-service teachers, and 2) the change in the job qualification from EFL/ESL teaching professional to 'personalities' (1987: 30-31). Wada's analysis, which examines MEF, should also be applied to BETS, which was administered in the overlapping period.

Regarding the quantitative extension, the increase in the numbers of BETS participants can be observed as well as those of MEF. The scale of the programs, shown

[^51]in the above Table 12, describes the invited numbers of ALTs by years for the two programs. As Wada (1987: 30) points out, the total number of MEF ALTs invited each year has increased enormously from the five fellows invited on average in the FF program, which was succeeded by MEF. There were only nine MEF ALTs in the first year, increasing to more than 100 in 1983, and finally reaching 235 in 1986. This similar tendency is also observed in BETS; the numbers of participants increased from 20 to 75 for the first four years of the program. These numbers exceed that of MEF in each year for that period. Unfortunately, the BETS statistics shown in Table 12 above are only available from 1978 to 1981, but it is reasonable to infer that the numbers for the following five years similarly increased as those for the first four years and as those for MEF in the same period. Accordingly, the quantitative extension can be observed in both ALT programs.

Regarding the qualitative changes, the impact was not only on the ALTs' qualification or that of their co-workers as mentioned earlier, but also on the students. According to Wada (1987), there are two types of qualitative change caused by the quantitative extension. The first type is on the qualification; in order to induce the quantitative extension, one of the qualifications, the MA degree in TESOL, was abolished. The second type is on the co-workers. Under FF, on one hand, only a few boards of education could host the participants because of their small numbers. This allowed only authoritative people such as teacher consultants ${ }^{89}$ to benefit directly from the native speakers. As the numbers of participants increased under MEF, on the other hand, they were based at schools rather than at local education boards, and more in-service teachers than teacher consultants were involved in working with the participants. However, the qualitative change can be seen for the students as well. The increasing opportunities for JTEs team-teaching with the MEF participants also meant increasing opportunities for students to be exposed to the MEF participants in classrooms. Although such qualitative change did not appear in every classroom all over the country, as Takanashi points out (Takanashi and Takahashi 1990: 279), ${ }^{90}$ it seems to be the case that MEF actually caused both the quantitative and qualitative changes. More ALTs got involved in MEF, which

[^52]had an impact on the students as well as JTEs. Considering the relationship between the qualitative and quantitative changes in MEF, that is, that quantitative change causes qualitative change, quantitative changes in BETS can be expected to result in similar qualitative outcomes.

These quantitative and qualitative changes in the MEF and BETS period reflect a shift in new perspectives of formal EFL learning. Looking at the people that ALTs inspire, the emergence of the learner-oriented perspective, in addition to the existing traditional teacher-oriented perspective, is clearly seen as observed above. In other words, focusing on the teaching style, this shift can be also interpreted from lecture-oriented to experience-oriented. In this way, the ALTs' roles have shifted from bringing teaching and language skills for JTEs to providing JTEs and students with opportunities for interacting with native TL speakers.

Despite the fact that both MEF and BETS have brought quantitative and qualitative changes, which then brought the new perspectives on formal EFL learning, how these new perspectives were developed is not known. In order to reveal how the policy was implemented it is worthwhile knowing whether this shift is a byproduct of the quantitative and qualitative changes or whether the changes were created intentionally through being encouraged by the government. Unfortunately, without the proceedings of the meeting between Japan and US or UK to discuss these programs, it is impossible to determine this confidently. Whatever the reasoning, however, it was during the MEF and BETS period that the idea of learner-oriented and experience-oriented teaching style first became observable as resulting from government decision.

In addition to not knowing the reasons for the shift in the EFL teaching style, it is also hard to grasp why the separate programs were established with each partner country: the US and UK. These programs were similarly started by the partner countries' initiatives rather than through Japan's. It is particularly interesting to identify why the British-featured program did not join the existing MEF, but rather was created separately. There must have been a motivation from both the UK and Japan as it was natural for MEF to take over the role of FF. However, it is not known whether the UK proposed a slightly different plan from FF/MEF or whether Japan suggested to the UK that they contrast the proposed plan to the MEF plan. Unfortunately, the detailed information about how FF/MEF and BETS started, or the proceedings of the meeting between Japan and the US
or UK, are not open to public inspection.
Regardless of what created one program for American and another program for British assistant teachers, an aspect of the administrative difficulties in Japan's policy decision making is revealed. Concerning the fact that two independent programs existed, Monbusho points out that the tacit understanding that the identical projects could not be maintained separately under different names from a budget point of view (Monbusho 2000a). In fact, each program employed different personnel under a different name; MEF and BETS did not conflict with each other. Moreover, as the budget reflects the powerrelationship of the ministries or departments, it might not have been a good idea to integrate the two programs in order to increase the budget, particularly when the project was to be administered by a single ministry or department. Thus, the important decision making in national level educational projects was partly shaped by budget concerns and bureaucratic section-ism, in addition to a thorough discussion on EFL education concerns per se.

### 4.1.2.3 Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme period: Toward a Multicultural World

The third and most recent stage of the ALTs invitation programs is represented by the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) ${ }^{91}$, which absorbed both MEF and BETS in 1987. While JET has similarities with the previous ALT invitation programs, it also has noticeable differences. Furthermore, these differences cast a light on the English variety issue in Japan's EFL education.

JET basically succeeded the major ALTs' duties from MEF and BETS. For example, the application booklet for the previous program (BETS) required the participants to undertake the following duties:

Details of the scheme are as follows:

1. Places of employment and duties

Successful applicants will be employed from the autumn of 1986, mostly as Teaching Assistants in lower and upper secondary schools, junior colleges, technical colleges, private and public universities and private companies. Duties, to be carried out under the guidance of Japanese academic staff, will include, inter alia, coaching of English language and pronunciation, preparation of teaching materials and participation in extra-curricular

[^53]activities.
(Wada 1987: 63)
Although the presentation is different, the MEF contract shows that similar duties were required in the following five items:

Article 2. Under A's supervision, B is to perform principally the following duties specified hereunder.

1. Under the supervision of the ETC (English Teacher Consultant), assistance on conduct of in-service training for English teachers.
2. Demonstration of model pronunciation and other features of spoken English as requested by English teachers at school visited.
3. Guidance of and participation in English club and other school activities as requested by English teachers.
4. Under the supervision of the ETC, preparation of English teaching materials, serving as judge in speech contests, and other activities.
5. Conduct of such other activities as directed by proper authorities.
(Wada 1987: 27)
According to the JET brochure, on the other hand, the participants are expected to provide the following nine types of support as ALTs:
6. Assistance in classes taught by Japanese foreign language teachers in junior and senior high schools.
7. Assistance in foreign language education at primary/elementary schools.
8. Assistance in the preparation of supplementary teaching materials.
9. Assistance in the language training for Japanese teachers of the foreign language etc.
10. Assistance in the instruction of foreign language clubs.
11. Provision of information on language and other related subjects for people such as Teachers Consultants and Japanese teachers of the foreign language (e.g. word usage, pronunciation, etc).
12. Assistance in foreign language speech contests.
13. Engagement in local international exchange activities.
14. Other duties as specified by the contracting organisation.
(CLAIR 2001: 12)

Having compared these duties for three programs to each other, the only difference between JET and MEF-BETS is engaging the local international exchange activities (item 8 above).

Other than the similarity in ALTs' roles, except for the local activities, another major similarity between the MEF-BETS and the JET periods was the focus on an intercultural understanding perspective rather than on a language education perspective. The shift to an intercultural understanding perspective, which arose in the MEF-BETS period, is clearly maintained in JET as shown in the 13 eligibility criteria for the ALTs applicants. First, JET obviously determines its cultural exchange aspect, as the following
fifth criterion shows:
\#5 In principle, be under thirty-five (35) years of age as of August 5, 2001. The main purpose of the Programme is to foster ties between Japanese youth and JET participants composed of young college graduates (CLAIR 2001: 15).

This program principle is clearly demonstrated by the following twelfth criterion:
\#12 Hold at least a Bachelor's degree or obtain one by July 29, 2001 or be qualified to teach at primary/elementary schools or obtain such qualifications by July 29, 2001 (CLAIR 2001: 15).

As the above criterion shows, the qualification is only a Bachelor's degree in any academic discipline or three years teacher training. The government was not looking for experienced TESOL teachers anymore. What the government was now placing significance on was applicants' interest or eagerness in teaching English at Japanese schools rather than the qualification or experience in TESOL, as the following three criteria show:
\#10 Be interested in the Japanese education system and particularly in the Japanese way of teaching foreign languages.
\#11 Be interested in working actively with students.
\#13 Be those who already have qualifications as language teachers or who are motivated to learn about the teaching of foreign languages (CLAIR 2001: 15).

Moreover, JET ALTs were expected not only to bring their knowledge of English language and cultures to Japan, but also to learn Japanese language and culture, as the following first criterion shows:
\#1 Be interested in Japan, and be willing to deepen their knowledge and appreciation of that interest after arrival (CLAIR 2001: 15).

As seen above, judging from the eligibility criteria for ALT selection, the ALT program is continuously expected to fulfil an intercultural understanding perspective rather than a language education perspective.

Although the government added the significance of intercultural understanding to the ALT programs in the JET period, this decision was not totally welcomed by the EFL professionals. At the early stages of the JET, a criticism in respect to inviting nonprofessional young native speakers of English was written to a newspaper. In the article, Wakabayashi Shunsuke took a dim view of JET eligibility criteria saying that English speaking boys and girls with neither qualification nor experience cannot do anything in classrooms (Wakabayashi 1987). The phrase 'boys and girls' well represents Wakabayashi's reprimand against the ALTs' qualification. However, considering the
government's expectation of ALTs' roles in foreign language education, which was more broadly intercultural understanding, Wakabayashi's criticism may not hit the point. Alternatively, Wakabayashi may be entitled to reprimand the government's approach to emphasize broad intercultural understanding rather than pure linguistic training.

While the JET was similar to MEF and BETS in some ways, there are several significant changes in its details, for example, expanding the contents of the program, increasing the numbers of conducting organizations, and diversifying the participating countries. One of the changes from the past ALTs programs was that JET was no longer an independent EFL education-centered program; the ALTs program became only a part of the whole JET. The purpose of JET determined this expansive change as follows (cf. BETS for the mutual understanding between two countries):
'[the purpose is for] increasing mutual understanding between the people of Japan and the people of other nations, and promoting the internationalization of Japan's local communities by helping to improve foreign language education and developing international exchange at the community level (CLAIR 2001: 1)

In fact, JET participants were categorized into the following three positions: Coordinator for International Relations (CIR), Sports Exchange Advisor (SEA), and Assistant Language Teacher (ALT). In this way, an ALTs invitation program was now positioned as a part of JET, which was a comprehensive international understanding project at the national level.

In addition to the fact that an ALT program became incorporated into comprehensive international understanding project, a change can be also observed within the language teaching component of the entire JET. While the majority of the JET ALTs are still engaged in English teaching, languages other than English can also be seen in JET (see Table 13 below for the nationalities of non-English ALTs). German and French ALTs have been invited regularly since 1988, although their numbers are relatively small. More recently, in 1998, the invitation was expanded to languages spoken in neighbor countries, such as Chinese and Korean, whose speakers also reside in Japan in large numbers.

| YEAR | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1998 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| US | 570 | 832 | 1,034 | 1,159 | 1,440 | 1,577 | 1,738 | 2,021 | 2,248 | 2,433 | 2,408 | 2,477 | 2,432 | 2,378 |
| UK | 149 | 247 | 364 | 389 | 483 | 590 | 684 | 709 | 790 | 872 | 1,013 | 1,097 | 1,126 | 948 |
| AUSTRALIA | 72 | 131 | 134 | 132 | 128 | 167 | 198 | 217 | 243 | 264 | 280 | 309 | 344 | 1,253 |
| NZ | 22 | 33 | 42 | 67 | 124 | 159 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 197 | 212 | 243 | 272 | 352 |
| CANADA |  | 121 | 276 | 350 | 470 | 562 | 630 | 662 | 692 | 725 | 792 | 826 | 858 | 338 |
| IRELAND |  | 20 | 36 | 41 | 43 | 41 | 55 | 52 | 63 | 69 | 81 | 80 | 84 | 90 |
| S_AFRICA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 12 | 17 | 22 |
| ISRAEL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| SINGAPORE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| Jamaica |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| FRANCE |  |  | 5 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| GERMANY |  |  | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| AUSTRIA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| CHINA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| KOREA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| OTHERS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 87 | 45 |
| total | 813 | 1,384 | 1,894 | 2,146 | 2,699 | 3,108 | 3,508 | 3,865 | 4,243 | 4,574 | 4,807 | 5,064 | 5,241 | 5,467 |

Table 13 Numbers and nationalities of ALTs by years, under JET. ${ }^{92}$

Considering the fact that the Troika method, which emphasized English, German, and French, had been adopted historically in Japan's foreign language education (Suzuki 1995: 62), diversifying the available foreign languages under JET also encouraged foreign language education in general.

Not only did JET expand the availability of languages, but it also increased the number of conducting organizations. Unlike MEF and BETS, however, JET did not remain under Monbusho's single control. JET was developed as a joint project operated by local authorities in cooperation with Homusho (the Ministry of Justice), Gaimusho (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Monbusho, and CLAIR. This administrative expansion was beneficial in overcoming the budget concerns and bureaucratic section-ism (Section 3.1.2.3). It is technically difficult to recruit participants without cooperating with other organizations. For example, it is inevitable that Japanese embassies and consulates handle a large number of applicants overseas because the ALT selection needs time to administer the application forms and perform interviews. Hence, Gaimusho recruits and selects participants through overseas embassies and consulates. Likewise, Homusho compiles assignment plans, creates acceptance guidelines for each country, and manages financial resources, while Monbusho provides school education training, guidance, and counseling to ALTs. Finally, CLAIR facilitates communication between the three ministries above, determines participant placement with contracting organizations, offers counseling and training sessions for participants, and administers overseas JET activities. In this way (by administrating the project through several organizations), the project developed significantly in terms of finance and activity. Furthermore, this administrative expansion now makes it possible to invite more ALTs into Japan's EFL classrooms.

While JET brought significant changes in the positions, language availability, and the conducting organizations, the most significant change regarding the English varieties was diversifying ALTs' nationalities, which also enriched the EFL classroom with different English varieties. In contrast to FF, MEF, and BETS, which limited the nationalities of the ALTs, the JET ALT eligibility does not strictly specify the nationalities. As of 2001 under JET, the participants have, in fact, come from 39 nations (CLAIR 2001: 1). Even focusing on the English-teaching ALTs, ${ }^{93}$ JET accommodates

[^54]more nationalities than ever. According to CLAIR, apart from the recruits from the US and UK, ALTs involved under JET are basically recruited in Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Jamaica, and Singapore, unless ALTs from other countries are requested by local bodies (Kurasawa 2001). Indeed the eligibility criteria only discuss participants' target language proficiency and a few language varieties, as the sixth ALT eligibility criterion indicates:
\#6 Have excellent English (Note2: In the case of France this is French, for Germany and Austria it is German, for China it is Chinese, for Korea it is Korean, and for other non-English speaking countries it is the principal language spoken in that country) pronunciation, rhythm, intonation and voice projection skills in addition to other standard language skills. Have good writing skills and grammar usage (CLAIR 2001: 15).

The JET recruits English teaching ALTs regularly from nine countries as of 2001, but this expansion did not happen only at the initial stage of JET. The first change in diversifying English varieties was already observed in the earlier period of JET. The number of the participants' nationalities jumped from two, in the MEF and BETS period, to six in the early JET period. As Table 13 above shows, the UK and US dominance was finally broken by opening the program to two other southern hemisphere English varieties: Australian and New Zealand, in 1987. Further, Canada and Ireland joined in 1988. Since then, the six-variety system has been maintained up until 1996. Judging from these nationalities, although the English varieties increased in numbers, they were still limited to only the Inner Circle varieties.

Following the ten years of the Inner Circle dominance in JET, a second alteration further diversified the English varieties in formal EFL classrooms from 1997; JET opened the gate to non-Inner Circle varieties. As Table 13 shows above, South Africa joined the list of English-speaking ALTs' nationalities in 1997; then Israel, ${ }^{94}$ Singapore and Jamaica in 2000. In these non-Inner Circle countries (except for Israel), English is a functional language and is given official language status. This alteration indicates that the Inner Circle English dominance was over. Accordingly, the concept of English as a global lingua franca was reflected for the first time in the history of ALTs invitation programs. Therefore, this increasing range of English-speaking ALTs' nationalities also

[^55]discloses the diversity of English varieties that ALTs bring to the classrooms. As a result, JET can be divided into two parts: from the beginning to 1996, which is the Inner Circle variety dominant period; and from 1997 to the present, which is the English as a global lingua franca period.

While the English varieties and the nationalities of English-speaking ALTs in JET have been expanded, the numbers of each nationality or English variety are still unbalanced. According to the statistics in Table 13, as of 2000, the ALTs from these non-Inner Circle countries are relatively few (South Africa 22, Israel 2, Singapore 8, and Jamaica 8) while those from the Inner Circle countries are many (US 2378, UK 948, AU 1253 , NZ 352, CA 338, and IR 90). Even among the Inner Circle countries involved in the earlier stage of JET period, the US has by far the most participants compared to the other nationalities, as clearly shown in Chart 2. In this way, there are significant differences in the numbers of participants from each country.


Chart 2 Numbers of ALTs by selected countries over time. ${ }^{98}$

The distribution of the nationalities in the JET is still very skewed, but this may be to due to several reasons. First, the government's intention to invite more ALTs from the US, UK, Canada, and so on, is one possibility. Alternatively, the population of the partner country is another possibility. Since the differences in the population size of each country is reflected in the unbalanced ratio, it may be unreasonable to expect more participants from less populated countries. In addition, a short history of JET in some countries may
be the third possibility. Compared to the relationship with the US and UK, the recruiting of ALTs in other countries was only introduced in the 1990s. Therefore, overtime, the JET Programme should become well known and take a firm hold in the countries other than the US and UK, and the number of participants from these countries should increase. As this discussion shows, there are some possible reasons to explain the imbalance in numbers.

Regardless of why the numbers of the English-speaking JET ALTs for each nationality is still unbalanced, the following two cases demonstrate that the increasing numbers and the diversified nationalities of ALTs brought further opportunities to recognize the importance of English varieties in Japan's EFL classrooms. The first case concerns the pronunciation of tomato, which was first discussed earlier (Section 3.1). As represented in this tomato episode, accommodating multiple English varieties in the classrooms through ALTs who have different backgrounds makes the current style of teaching and testing difficult because more than one correct answer might exist. Consequently, there are two approaches to manage this problem: accepting the multiple standards or focusing on a single standard. In the case of accepting multiple standards, the JTEs would have to be trained in many English varieties, so that the students do not receive the message that non-major or non-American styles are incorrect forms, simply because JTEs are unfamiliar with these styles. For this to be achieved, research comparing English varieties needs to be developed and the findings made available for JTEs.

Alternatively, focusing on a single standard may seem more practical, particularly as the JTEs only need to be familiar with one variety. However, this solution would require a considerable discussion on which variety and why it should be chosen. Moreover, ALTs who hold different English varieties would have to be informed as to why that particular variety is being supported as the target standard in Japanese EFL education. This is necessary because not only JTEs but also ALTs and students would be confused by the puzzling and inconsistent situation which would develop in classrooms with native speakers of different standard varieties and where students are told that the ALTs' original English varieties are not worthwhile learning. Consequently, the students

[^56]indirectly learn to put a value on the English varieties: some English varieties are 'better' than others.

Putting aside the issue of which approach is to be taken, either accepting the multiple standards or focusing on a single standard, this tomato episode brought out the issue of which English should be taught in Japan's formal EFL education. Furthermore, it is notable that the government's top-down approach of introducing several English varieties evoked the bottom-up effect of raising the importance of the English variety issue from active EFL classrooms.

While the tomato story reveals the phenomenon where a top-down change creates a bottom-up effect, and highlights the English variety issue in Japan's EFL education, another episode in educational practice also disclosed the importance of the English variety issue. In personal email correspondence with a local municipal board of education associate (November, 1999), the variety issue has recently made judgement more difficult in recitation contests. In recitation contests, the participants memorize a whole story in a textbook and compete by way of reading, including native-like pronunciation. On one occasion, after a result was announced a parent of a student who missed a prize came up to the committee and claimed that the child should have won. In reply to her request, one of the judges (a university professor, senior high school teacher, and an ALT) provided reasons to justify the selection saying that that student's pronunciation was not good enough. The student had spent years in a certain area in the US, and a native speaker whom the mother had brought along said that the student's pronunciation was just like an American. The mother challenged the idea that the accent spoken in one area in an English speaking country was inferior to those spoken in other areas.

As represented in this recitation contest episode, accommodating multiple English varieties makes the traditional style of the EFL education difficult. Nowadays, as a result of not only the ALTs diversified nationalities but also the fact that many people have various overseas experiences, the Japanese people have noticed that various local, standard English varieties exist. Taking a multiple standards approach, evaluating students' pronunciation has to be done cautiously, considering that their pronunciation cannot be easily assigned a value. Furthermore, it is actually impossible to evaluate the quality of native-like pronunciation unless the judge, whoever s /he is (a linguist, a native
speaker, and so on), can recognize the fine details of each variety. Originally, recitation contests were organized in order to encourage the learners to improve their pronunciation at the time when there were few chances for learners to appreciate the real sounds through native speakers and audio materials. Now, the contests still require judging near-native accents when students can appreciate the real sound of English on multi media, so that organizing such contests, itself, misses the point of learning the target standard accent. Consequently, this episode not only evokes the importance the English variety issue, but also questions the raison d'etre of the contests.

As seen through the above two episodes, the variety issue has had a huge impact on current English teaching. First, the government has developed the JET, and second, the ALTs were increased in number and diversified in the English varieties, and third, there has been social change over time. These policy implementation-related changes, then, demanded that both teachers and learners become aware of the English diversity. As a result of shaping the people in the classrooms to become more knowledgeable and sensitive to the English varieties, more diversity in the JET could be expected. The further developed and empowered JET continued to encourage changes in the classrooms. In this way, although a quick, forceful pressure could create confusion in classrooms, Japan's traditional EFL education is being improved as far as the English varieties are concerned.

### 4.1.3 English Speaking Teachers

In addition to JTEs and ALTs, the third type of teacher is the English-speaking qualified teacher in full time positions. These teachers are comparable to ALTs in the sense that they most likely speak English as a native language. They are also comparable to JTEs in the sense that they work at school in full time positions. Because of the present conditions regarding the teachers' nationality and their qualifications, this third type of teacher is rarely seen in today's regular public school classrooms. However, this new type of teacher is set to appear in Japan's school education system in the near future. Significantly, not only is the influence on learners by English-speaking teachers in a regular classroom worth considering, so too is the influence of teachers in the new type of school being instituted as early as 2002 and based on a brand new concept. These schools are known as Super English Language High Schools, where some subjects such as math,
science, arts, and physical education are to be taught in English (Sawa 2001). Sawa reports that these classes will be taught by trained JTEs and that cooperation with the English-speaking teachers is expected. Accordingly, English speaking teachers are more involved with the formal EFL schools, including the special English-language-magnet high schools or courses. Thus, it is worth examining these teachers' nationalities or the English varieties they bring with them.

For future regular schools, the government is now investigating the possibility of promoting the full-fledged lecturers in Japanese secondary schools (Yomiuri Shinbun 2002). According to this Yomiuri Shinbun article, Monbusho is intending that the new teacher accreditation procedures will allow those who have foreign teaching licenses with enough teaching experience in Japan to be engaged in full time teaching. In addition, ALTs will have a chance to stay as regular lecturers in Japanese junior and senior high schools. Although it is not yet known how many English-speaking lecturers are to be recruited, it will be interesting to analyze their nationalities or rather their English varieties when the new teacher accreditation procedures are instituted.

The prevailing target English variety, as far as the full-fledged English-speaking lecturers are concerned, seems to be the US variety. Although such information is not widely available at this stage, according to Yoshida Kensaku, a professor at Sophia University, a teacher exchange program is starting in Osaka: two English-speaking teachers are to be invited from California to offer some courses other than English but taught in English (Yoshida 2001). The teacher exchange program has been established only with the US at this stage, which shows that American English is prevalent in such special schools, regardless of the government's intention.

As seen above, since the employment of English-speaking qualified teachers in the full time positions is still under consideration or about to be inaugurated, it is too early to collect full information concerning the English varieties at this stage. Therefore, until further information becomes available this topic cannot be examined.

### 4.2. Textbook and Learning Materials

In addition to teachers, another influential factor in implementing English language education policy is textbooks, including their attached audio materials. Textbooks are
considered to be one of the important media through which learners can be exposed to the target language data in Japan, particularly as the target foreign languages and their related cultures are not readily available in Japanese society. Moreover, since the textbooks used in formal education have to be approved by Monbusho, the textbooks should reflect the government's intention. Thus, it is worth while examining these textbooks to find out which English variety is actually taught in the EFL classrooms.

In order to explore the situation regarding the school EFL textbooks, the reference materials have focused on a few researchers who analyze textbooks with respect to English varieties, together with the selection of the entire range of published textbooks. Such research was done by Kawamata, whose study examined the textbooks including attached audio materials from several publishers. Regarding the textbooks, ${ }^{96}$ a series of EFL textbooks ${ }^{97}$ were chosen both at junior and senior high schools because the particular company has the largest share of the English textbook market in Japan ${ }^{98}$ (Shuppan Roren 1998: 47-48, Tokyo Shoseki 1999). The textbooks to which Kawamata's studies and this thesis refer to do not always overlap or coincide.

A review of these materials reveals that the government authorized EFL textbooks are basically US-variety-oriented in many ways, including the recorded voice selection, the phonetic model representation, vocabulary and phrase choices, spellings, and stylistics. The junior high school textbook series acknowledges that the attached audio materials are all based on the US pronunciation (Asano et al. 1999a: 1, 1999b, 1999c). In addition to this, Kawamata $(1998,1999)$ point out that the US variety focus in the recorded voice selection in the EFL textbooks. The studies examined how non-native English varieties are treated in the EFL textbooks and the accompanying audio tapes/CDs used in junior high school EFL classrooms and in one high school English course (Oral

[^57]Communication A) (Kawamata 1998, 1999). His findings are that little attention was paid to English varieties; most of the textbooks and audio materials are based on a native speaker model, particularly the US variety. Kawamata $(1998,1999)$ further found many phonological mismatches between the characters settings in audio textbooks and the actual voices: the non-native speakers in the audio textbooks -including Japanese/native English speakers-are dubbed over by American speakers.

This US orientation was found not only in the recorded voices in the accompanying audio materials, but also in the presentation of the phonetic model. The most common textbooks in the market display the US pronunciation, for example, pre-vocalic $/ \mathrm{r} / \mathrm{such}$ as earth, junior, and so on (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). In these textbooks, these words tend to be pronounced with postvocalic/r/by presenting the phonetic models using International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) description, while the postvocalic /r/ is absent in the equivalent pronunciation for the UK variety.

From the expression point of view, including vocabulary, phrases, and turns of phrase, a US preference was also observed. For example, fall is a word used in an Ainu folktale, whose text was originally written for the third year junior high school textbook (Asano et al. 1999c: 52). In this story, fall appears as the word meaning a season which comes after summer and before winter. Since the alternative word autumn was observed neither in the textbook nor the first and second year volumes of the same textbook series (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b), from which the students most likely learned English, this series of the textbook can be seen as focusing on the US variety. In addition to vocabulary choice, examination of phrase selection also reveals a similar focus. For example, the phrase bait-and-switch sales is the US version, but switch selling is the equivalent UK phrase (Ito 1999b: 60). Although the textbook footnote introduces the different name for each of the US and UK varieties, as bait-and-switch selling (US) and switch selling (UK), the text, which is not cited from other sources but originally written for this textbook, uses the US phrase over the UK equivalent. Similar to fall or bait-and-switch sales, other words are chosen from the US variety such as eraser (cf. rubber), parking lot (cf. car park), and so on (Jimbo 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). In addition, some unique turns of phrase can be found in the textbooks. For example, for here or to go, which is unique to the US
variety speaker, was uttered by the Japanese shopkeeper at a hamburger shop, instead of saying eat in/here or take away, which is normally used in other English speaking countries.

In addition to the vocabulary, phrase, or a turn of phrase choice, the US preference is also found in spellings. One such vocabulary item is math, which was found in both junior and senior high school textbooks (Asano et al. 1999b, Jimbo 1999b). In general, math, which is used as a colloquial style of mathematics, is widely spelled as maths in the UK variety. The fact that the alternative spelling maths was observed neither in the textbook nor the first and third year volumes of the same textbook series (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999c), through which the students have most likely learned English, shows that this textbook series focuses on the US variety. Another example in spellings is color/colour in a story for extra reading. The story, which appears in an EFL textbook for second year junior high school students (Asano et al. 1999b: 92-100), is called 'What color is love?' This is an American poem photographed out of an illustrated book, which asks what the color of love is (Anglund 1966). The spelling used in the original publication of this poem was colour. As this forms part of the title of a poem, a piece of literature, the original spelling (colour) should have been retained. However, the poem's title and the text are rewritten in the standard US spelling (color), although the footnote and the word list at the back provide the spelling equivalent: 'colour $=$ color' without explaining the different spelling systems in detail.

The last linguistic aspect where the US orientation is observed is in stylistics, such as the way to describe date, the quotation, punctuation, and so on. The first example is the US dating style; the order of describing the date is month-day-year rather than the UK style of dating day-month-year. The US style of dating, such as January 17, 1995, is consistently used in many course units in the textbooks (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Ito 1999a, 1999b, Jimbo 1999c). The second example is the type of quotation marks; double quotation marks ("") are used in the US variety, while single quotations ('') are used in the UK variety. Double quotation marks are consistently used to describe conversation, specific words and phrases, and citations in all the books this thesis refers to (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Ito 1999a, 1999b, Jimbo 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Kobayashi 1999). The third example is punctuation; the punctuation symbols are placed inside of the double quotation marks in the US system while the UK system keeps what is
cited in the single quotation marks strictly the same with the original source, placing punctuation outside. In the US system, when the quotation appears at the end of a sentence, a period is placed inside the double quotation marks. For example:

They called these changes in animal behavior "weather signs." (Ito 1999a: 16 11.2-4)

Whereas in the same situation, when using the UK style, the period is placed outside the single quotation marks, as the following example shows:

They called these changes in animal behavior 'weather signs'.

There are similar differences in comma usage, as the following example from another textbook shows. The US variety appears thus:
"My goal," MacCready said, "is to have humankind reach a comfortable accommodation with nature and the resources of the earth." (Ito 1999b: 21 11.58)

If the UK variety had been used, it would have been:
'My goal', MacCready said, 'is to have humankind reach a comfortable accommodation with nature and the resources of the earth'.

As above discussion shows, the US orientation was often found in many linguistic features.

Compared to the consistent US orientation in various linguistic aspects, the situation for the imbalance in the preference for the topic and content has been improved in the long term. For one thing, especially at the earlier stage of the postwar formal EFL education, the American way of life was the main theme in the EFL textbooks (Hagiwara et al. 1992 (originally 1951-1953), Hagiwara et al. 1993 (originally 1948), Iwamoto 1999). Since the 1980s, however, there has been criticism that exclusive preference should not be placed on the US customs (including such activity as Halloween) since too much emphasis on one culture results in undervaluation of other cultures (Adachi 1997: 114-115). Furthermore, recent textbooks inform learners of the role of English as a world lingua franca. Many textbooks develop multicultural awareness by choosing issues from all over the world including domestic ones (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Ito 1999a, 1999b). Moreover, a course unit is arranged in order to inspire the learners to be conscious of the role of English as a world lingua franca and to become motivated to
learn. See, for example, unit seven: 'Why Should We Study English?' (Asano et al. 1999c: 66-70). ${ }^{99}$

However, the US preference in terms of the content perspective is still found in today's EFL textbooks. The main foreign characters in the junior high school textbooks are mostly Americans; three Japanese, two American, one Brazilian, and one Canadian are found in the first year textbook; two Japanese, two American, and one unknown nationality in the second year textbook; and two Japanese, two American, one British, and one unknown nationality in the third year textbook (Asano et al. 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). Moreover, throughout the two textbooks, a little column called 'Cultural Tips' or 'Culture Notes' consistently introduces the American and European cultural information only, sometimes with comparison with Japanese culture (Jimbo 1999a, 1999b). These columns always start with 'in the US...', 'in the British and American societies...', or 'in the US and Europe...'; US appears in the column far more often compared to the other English speaking European countries. On the other hand, the English speaking countries in other parts of the world are not mentioned at all. Therefore, the US orientation was still found in many content-related aspects in the textbooks including the audio materials, not only from a linguistic, but also a cultural perspective.

### 4.3. Study Abroad Scholarship

While less prominent than the teacher and textbook factors, supporting the Japanese who study abroad is still another important factor in implementing English language education policy in Japan. Although many people study overseas, and although many scholarship programs have been recently established and maintained, examining the governmental scholarship programs reveals the Japanese government's intention to emphasize areas, countries, languages, and so on. Since those who study abroad on a government scholarship can gain substantial knowledge, experience, and language skills in the destination countries, they are expected to contribute to the Japanese education system in some way and to some degree when they come back. Particularly, those who

[^58]study in English speaking countries would bring the specific varieties back into Japan. Moreover, any similar tendency found in the comprehensive statistics for those who have studied abroad (Inner Circle English tendency, particularly the US dominance; Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.2) would prove very informative in the context of this thesis. Thus, it is worth examining the government scholarship programs from the viewpoint of the English variety.

Among the many existing exchange programs for Japanese students and scholars with foreign countries all over the world, ${ }^{100}$ the most established scholarship program is to be found with the US. Originally called Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA, 1949-1951), it was later succeeded by the Fulbright program (1952-present). As the names indicate, these programs started with the US initiative as a relief measure for the occupied country. These scholarship programs were not a Japanese initiative. ${ }^{101}$ Although now maintained mutually by Japan and the US, in the early stage of the program funding was solely by the US. Under these two programs, in total 6,676 scholars have been to the US between 1949 and 1998 (Monbusho 2000a).

The longer the GARIOA/Fulbright program continues, the more scholars study in the US. This continuity of the program and the growth in numbers strengthen the US influence in Japan, and hence, in Japan's EFL education. The founding of the Fulbright program owes much to J.W. Fulbright, who was a US senator at that time. As the following shows, Fulbright's motivation was a desire for mutual understanding:

The disaster of the bombing was the immediate cause of my sponsorship of the legislation to set up an exchange program. Countries have to develop ties and feelings among people to keep them from being so antagonistic. If the people of the world get to know each other better, they would not be able to turn each other into enemies to kill. They would not resort to atomic weapons. This was my basic idea (Fulbright 1999).

Fulbright's idea has been realized through the program. The participants, who spent some time in the US, have given feedback on their experience in the US and feel that the

[^59]distance between the two countries has diminished. The alumni directory proves that those who have studied abroad in the US have been active leaders and have achieved much in various disciplines as university professors, entrepreneurs, engineers, political leaders, government officials, and so on (Japan GARIOA \& Fulbright Alumni Board of Directors 1999). Among such returnees, the academic scholars spread the theories developed where they study, teach students in the US style, or introduce the US education systems. Entrepreneurs run their business in the US way and have ties with US companies to expand their market. Political leaders or government officials have introduced some US systems into Japan. As these people have considerable influence in Japan and on the Japanese people in the future, it is clear that the GARIOA and Fulbright programs contribute to the general US preference in creating a future style for Japan.

Similar opportunities in terms of the size and quality of the GARIOA and Fulbright programs administered by the Japan-United States Educational Commission are rarely found in other countries. While other countries offer information about studying abroad in their countries, for example, the British Council for the UK and the Australian Embassy Education Section for Australia, the ties between such countries and Japan are not as strong as those established between Japan and the US. For example, according to the British Council, government scholarships focusing on Japanese scholars have not been offered recently and the only available scholarships have been introduced independently through several British Universities (British Council 1999). The Australian government has provided several scholarships through the Embassy Education Section. As of 2000 , there are only a small number of scholars involved: one-year Australia-Asia Scholarships for two scholars; one-year Australia-Asia Fellowships for two scholars; and an International Postgraduate Research Scholarship (known as IPRS) scheme for non-Japanese-focused students (Australian Education Centre 2002).

Clearly, the educational tie between Japan and the US is the strongest among the English speaking countries. However, the overall US influence was encouraged more by the early stages of the GARIOA/Fulbright program than the current strong educational ties with the US. In those days, the chances of studying abroad were few, particularly compared to today. According to one of the Fulbright alumni, who appreciated the opportunity, around 1959 there were no programs and scholarships, other than the Fulbright one, that would allow people to study abroad (Hashimoto 1998). As seen above,
therefore, it is evidently these GARIOA and Fulbright programs which had greater influence on forming Japan in the postwar period compared to other countries, and consequently, the US English variety has been brought to Japan as a byproduct. The linguistic influence is a byproduct of the study abroad scholarship programs because the participants aim to pursue their own special fields, not the English language. However, language skills are essential to gaining knowledge of the institutions and for surviving in the local societies. Consequently, language is not the main target issue in study abroad programs, but an important tool to make the opportunity successful.

The significant linguistic effect of the GARIOA and Fulbright programs is applicable not only to the Japanese domestic context, but also to the global context; these programs have brought some changes to English language at the global level. Terasawa points to the US dominance through the Fulbright Scholarship effect, which has supported English as an international language (2000). After WWII, many young elite scholars from countries like Italy, Germany, Japan, and many other Asian countries who studied under GARIOA, and later as Fulbright scholars, helped introduce the American standard such as the US economic system into their own countries. These program alumni have also obtained power in their home countries (Terasawa 2000: 116-7). In other words, these returnees from the US are leaders in their home countries and have prepared their people to accept some US standards, including the US variety of English language. Therefore, the linguistic effect of the GARIOA and Fulbright programs on Japanese society is only a part of their global US effect on language, economics, and so on.

### 4.4. Conclusion

In summary, as a result of examining the teacher, textbook, and study abroad scholarship factors in order to explore how the EFL related policy has been implemented, the significant US influence was generally observed in Japan's postwar context. First, concerning teachers, having examined the destination countries of JTEs' training programs and ALTs' nationalities, the US exclusive preference was eased, and the other English speaking countries have become involved. But the target countries are still limited to Inner Circle English speaking countries for JTEs. Besides, the ALTs program
has just recently opened its gate to other countries that assign English the official language status, and the numbers of ALTs from these countries are relatively few. Second, concerning the textbooks, having examined the linguistic features and themes that the textbooks carry, the US exclusive preference was observed, particularly in the linguistic features. Finally, concerning the study abroad scholarship program, the US exclusive preference was observed under the GARIOA/Fulbright programs in its size, history, and quality.

However, such US variety dominance in EFL policy implementation, contradicts the nature of current Japanese policy. The current policy approaches learning English as a global lingua franca. Although the US influence may not be deniable since Japan's comprehensive language policy is based on other policies, particularly the diplomatic policy, the EFL education policy per se does not literally mention that the US variety should be targeted. In other words, the government intention is to promote English in Japanese formal education in order to understand global and multicultural issues. Thus, from the policy point of view, English is perceived first as a global lingua franca, and then as the language of the US. However, at the implementation level, English is perceived primarily as the language of the US, and its status as a global lingua franca is secondary. Therefore, having observed the contradiction between the policy and implementation perspectives, the government's intention may not always be reflected in practice.

## Chapter 5

## The Characteristics of Japanese EFL learners' English

### 5.0 Introduction

Theoretically, as argued in Chapter 2, World Standard English was seen as the ideal target variety among the many English varieties for Japanese EFL learners if it could be established at the codified level. Practically, however, a discrepancy was found between the policy and implementation perspectives. Although the current government intention is for students to learn World Standard English (Chapter 3), Inner Circle varieties of English, especially American English, are dominant in formal EFL teaching in Japan (Chapter 4). The present chapter turns its attention from what is being taught to what the learners have actually learned through formal EFL education.

In this chapter, the characteristics of English that Japanese EFL learners have, in fact, acquired or are familiar with will be examined from two aspects: the linguistic aspect and the attitudinal aspect. First, though, it is meaningful to observe the various linguistic differences (regarding the English varieties) found in common within learners' language, itself, to reveal one aspect of the state of EFL teaching in Japan. Since frequent exposure to a specific variety leads to learners using that variety more, the difference in identifying the accents or producing the specific use would be observed if the learners are exposed to some varieties and are not exposed to others, thus making identification of the speaker's nationality more accurate. From the teaching point of view, American English is targeted as the model (Anai 1991, Iwamoto 1999). The findings in Chapter 3 supported the argument that learners are exposed to American English through JTEs, ALTs, textbooks, and scholarship programs. Accordingly, it is interesting to explore how

English varieties other than American English are treated in Japanese English teaching and how the treatments actually influence the learners. In addition, there currently exists no statement regarding the specific target variety to be taught at schools in foreign language education policy decision making, which would guide in-service teachers, as seen in Section 3.3.2. Consequently, in this chapter, by showing the specific English variety (if any) that the Japanese EFL learners are, in fact, learning, a covert/de-facto policy will be discerned. Furthermore, understanding what the learners have learned and comparing that with what they have been taught (Chapter 4) will help examine the effectiveness of EFL teaching in Japan, which will be discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 6).

It is also essential to observe the various attitudinal differences toward English varieties among Japanese EFL learners, particularly since Monbusho first introduced an objective that aims to broaden the learners' attitudes toward different cultures in the education policy in 1989 (Sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2). According to the 1989 version of the Course of Study for foreign languages ${ }^{102}$, one of the four major objectives is fostering the positive and a non-biased attitude towards cultural diversity and foreign languages through learning foreign languages (Monbusho 1989a). Furthermore, in the near future, this objective focusing on learners' attitudes is likely to be important in elementary school classrooms ${ }^{103}$. Since one of the primary objectives in English teaching at the early stage is assumed to be cultivating fair attitudes towards different cultures rather than improving proficiency (Kageura 1997, Monbusho 1998b), it is important to sketch out Japanese EFL learners' attitudes toward English varieties.

### 5.0.1 The Seven Studies

In order to find out whether any tendencies toward a specific variety exist and what

[^60]the attitudinal relationships are, this chapter presents seven studies that look at the results of language learning from both linguistic and psychological aspects.

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accent recognition study
spelling preference study
vocabulary preference study
grammar preference study
stylistics preference study
attitudinal difference study
 attitudinal relation study
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From the linguistic point of view, learners' ability to recognize different accents (American, British, Australian, Philippine, Singaporean, and Japanese) is examined in Section 5.1 through an accent recognition study, where a listening test was administered to test this ability. In addition, learners' linguistic production in spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics are examined in Sections 5.2-5.5 respectively to disclose the learners' tendency in linguistic production (whether American or British English). In these linguistic preference studies, the variety that learners tend to produce is judged by observational responses. These observational responses are informative because learners tend to produce the expressions that they are most frequently exposed to. Accordingly, it is not important or relevant whether the participants are familiar with none, one, or all of the varieties of English. If they are familiar with more than one variety, then their response indicates that the variety they chose is the one that they are encouraged to use. If they are only familiar with one variety, then their response indicates that the variety they chose is the one that they were taught. In addition to the five linguistic studies, this chapter also focuses on the attitudinal aspects of language learning. From a psychological point of view, attitudes toward four different English varieties (American, British, Australian, and Singaporean) are investigated, and the results are reported in Section 5.6. Finally, based on the results of learners' direct responses to a questionnaire, inter-relations of several attitudinal categories (for American or British respectively) are analyzed in Section 5.7.

### 5.0.1.1 Accent Recognition Study

As Trudgill and Hannah (1994) make clear, although 'the term Standard English refers to grammar and vocabulary (dialect) but not to pronunciation (accent)', the accents of English that are normally spoken by Standard English speakers are most closely
associated with standard varieties (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 1). However, no research has been carried out to ascertain which accent (eg. American, British or Singaporean) is actually learned by Japanese school-aged EFL learners. In terms of teaching, however, Chapter 4 demonstrated that the American accent is the most dominant model for school-aged Japanese EFL learners. Moreover, a number of studies have been performed that investigate attitudes toward different English accents among tertiary education level students, some of which include the results of the nationality identification of spoken English. For example, in an ENL context in some Inner Circle countries, a research group examined the identification of the nationality of speakers in New Zealand, Australia, and the US, and found that the US accent is the most easily recognizable, attributing this relation to the flooding of American broadcasting (Bayard et al. 2001). In a foreign EFL context, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) investigate how 132 Austrian university students, who had learned English as a foreign language, identified the speakers' nationalities. Three speech samples by native English speakers were identified correctly at a very high ratio ( $87.2 \%$ for a Received Pronunciation speech, $85.5 \%$ for a near-Received Pronunciation, and $93.8 \%$ for a General American speech). Research has also been done with Japanese subjects, (Matsuura et al. 1994, Chiba et al. 1995) to examine how Japanese EFL learners at the university level perceive American English and Asian English varieties spoken by non-native speakers. The correct identification rates in this study are rather lower than those of Dalton-Puffer's (1997); the average ratio for native English speakers is 52.57 percent, for Asian non-native speakers of English is 33.56 percent, and 36.48 percent for Japanese speakers of English. However, no study has thus far explored which variety of English has been learned by school-aged Japanese EFL learners from an accent point of view. Accordingly, it is important to investigate whether or not Japanese EFL learners recognize the American English accent more accurately than other English accents.

Since no audio tests (which involve a short passage being read with different accents) were found to meet the requirements of this study, in designing a suitable accent study new audio test material had to be developed. For example, the recorded materials for Matsuura et al. (1994), which use a 79 -word recorded script that is read only by Asian ESL speakers, and for Chiba et al. (1995), which use short passage reading by western native and Asian non-native speakers, are not publicly available. Although Trudgill and

Hannah (1982) provide a publicly available audio recorded collection of 14 varieties produced in natural settings, each speech is different and long, and is produced by different voices. In addition, these materials (in Trudgill and Hannah 1982, Matsuura et al. 1994, Chiba et al. 1995) focus on college students and do not include all the target varieties that this study is interested in. Consequently, new audio test material had to be developed, with much consideration given to the consequence of variation in the audio material (Wilson and Bayard 1992, Bayard et al. 2001). Phonological and pragmatic factors were taken into account as much as possible, so that the respondents' decisions are not influenced by other factors such as learners' familiarity with a topic or speaker's voice (see Section 5.1.2 for the test passage).

### 5.0.1.2 Spelling, Vocabulary, Grammar, and Stylistics Preference Studies

As well as the accent identification test, new survey material had to be developed specifically for the spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics preference studies. Trudgill and Hannah also point out that differences among English varieties can be recognized in spelling (1994: 1). In addition, several style manuals suggest that British and American Standards prefer different styles, such as in noting punctuation or when expressing dates, etc (Sakimura 1991, Hornby and Crowther 1995). However, neither studies that tested which variety of English had been learned by school-aged Japanese EFL learners, nor check-sheet type tests to judge control of English varieties in spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics, were found to exist, although again, American English is generally recognized as the most dominant type. Moreover, it is rather difficult to evaluate which English variety the learners use or even tend to use, not only because there is idiosyncratic use by each person, but also because there is no clear-cut distinction between the regional varieties. For the sake of convenience in this study, therefore, a simple series of questions was developed based on existing typological studies (de Funiak 1967, Platt et al. 1984, Algeo 1989, Trudgill and Hannah 1994) and according to advice given by native speakers of English. The detailed survey items will be explained in the following sections: Section 5.1.2 for spelling; Section 5.2.2 for vocabulary; Section 5.3.2. for grammar; and Section 5.5.2. for stylistics.

### 5.0.1.3 Attitudinal Studies

In the discipline of social psychology, attitude is argued to be composed of three types: cognitive (knowledge), affective (feeling), and conative (action) (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970, Harré and Lamb 1983, Corsini and Ozaki 1984, Statt 1998). Although Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) distinguish several theories showing how the three types relate to each other, as a whole, psychologists appear to agree on the existence of these three types regardless of which psychological theory is being followed. Among the three types of attitude, the focus of this chapter is on affective attitude, which is the learners' feeling toward different varieties. Although cognitive and conative aspects were included in the questionnaire, the resulting data are not analyzed here because the learners' attitudes may not be reflected in their knowledge or action when learning English in formal Japanese education. For example, knowledge about the US or Singapore might be gained from the learner's geography course, not from an English course. Moreover, few school-aged learners have a choice in selecting teachers or textbooks, much less in something like planning a trip to a destination where a target variety is used. Consequently, it is inappropriate to interpret these attitudinal phenomena as the result of the EFL learning. Therefore, in this study, attitude only refers to the affective kind of attitude.

In addition to research on attitudes in the discipline of psychology, many attempts have also been made at uncovering the affective attitude toward different English varieties (rather than those exhibited towards different languages); however, no study has been done in Japanese formal EFL educational contexts. For example, Bayard et al. (2001) report that the Pax Americana phenomenon ${ }^{104}$ was observed in the native speakers of English who studied at universities in Australia, New Zealand, and the US. Flaitz (1988) investigated French ESL learners' attitudes towards British and American English varieties and found that they valued British English more and that their attitude toward varieties was influenced by age, vocation, and educational background, but had nothing to do with attitudes toward English language learning. As concerns Japanese EFL learners, the attitudes toward different English accents were examined in Matsuura et al. (1994) and Chiba et al. (1995), both of which tested college students. The former study

[^61]found that the American accent was more valued than Asian varieties, but that the attitude toward varieties did not affect the English proficiency of the learners. The latter study found that familiarity with an accent is correlated with the value placed on that accent and that instrumental motivation also relates to attitude. Other studies (Shinozaki 1990, Sugiyama 1997, Wakabayashi and Sugiyama 1999) concluded that information about the nationalities of the speakers influences the attitudes toward the speech among the adult Japanese EFL learners; attitudes are lower for Asian non-native English speaking nationalities. Therefore, none of these studies captures the whole picture of Japan's formal EFL teaching that is required in order to discuss the foreign language education policy and planning.

Since these studies do not fulfil the requirements of this study, additional research had to be carried out and it was crucial to develop test materials that accurately measured learners' attitudes toward English varieties. The first attitudinal study was intended to determine the attitudes toward different English varieties quantitatively. This quantitative attitudinal scale was then used in the second attitudinal study to compare with other variables, such as attitudes toward nations where the varieties are spoken, and target recognition. In order to cover a wide range of ages among those currently learning in schools under the 1989 governmental curriculum in the attitudinal studies, comprehensibility according to the subjects' cognitive development levels was another important issue to be considered.

Taking the cognitive development of the target subjects into consideration, the existing questionnaires were developed into a suitable questionnaire to accurately measure the attitudes toward English varieties. There are several questionnaires that have previously been used in attitudinal studies, such as Gardner and Lambert (1972) for attitudinal studies in multilingual contexts, and Konishi (1990), Osaka (1992), and Inoue (1996) and Inoue and Takashima (1998) for Japanese EFL learners' attitudinal studies. For example, the questionnaire in Gardner and Lambert (1972) is useful because of its detailed question items designed to reveal learners' psychological and sociological orientations towards target languages, the people who speak them, and their societies. However, not all Gardner and Lambert's questions could be adopted for this study for
three reasons. Bearing in mind that the participants include junior high school students, one reason was that these school-aged students find it more difficult to concentrate on complicated and time-consuming tasks. Another reason is that the crammed curriculums of the two junior high schools make it necessary to limit the number of questions in the questionnaire in order to limit the time needed to complete the form. More importantly, the items had to be modified to the Japanese EFL setting from the ENL/ESL settings. In Gardner's original study, as subjects were chosen from English/French speaking communities such as Louisiana, USA, or Montreal, Canada, or from multilingual society in the Philippines, some sociological factors, for example, anomie or ethnocentrism, are fairly different from the Japanese environment. For the present attitudinal study, however, the focus needed to be more general as the target language is not used as an L1 or L2 in the local community. Moreover, other studies (Konishi 1990, Osaka 1992, Inoue 1996, Inoue and Takashima 1998) aim to determine learners' psychological states toward formal EFL learning at school. Although none of these studies examine attitudes towards TL varieties, they contain the appropriate items for subjects of that age group in the Japanese settings since their questionnaires were originally distributed to year 7-12 Japanese EFL students. Therefore, despite the problems mentioned above, the majority of the investigated items were generated based on the items in Gardner and Lambert (1972), Konishi (1990), Osaka (1992), and Inoue (1996), and Inoue and Takashima (1998). The detailed survey items will be explained in Sections 5.6.2 and 5.7.2.

### 5.0.2 Variety types

In examining the characteristics of English that Japanese EFL learners have acquired, six varieties will be considered:
$>$ American English
$>$ British English
$>$ Australian English
$>$ Singaporean English
$>$ Philippine English
$>$ Japanese English
These varieties have been chosen from the large number of possible varieties (Section 2.2) on the basis of sociolinguistic, historical, and geographical factors. American and British English are the two mainstream English varieties in the world (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 3), and they have had an ongoing influence within English language
learning culture in Japan. Australian English was chosen not only because it is a major variety spoken in the southern hemisphere (McArthur 1998: 5, 212), but also because many Australian ALTs have engaged in the JET Programme. Singaporean and Philippine English were chosen because they are major Asian-English varieties, which are used in countries close to Japan. Japanese English, which is the result of the six to eight years of learning American English at school, although the linguistic structure of Japanese English has not been fully described (Honna 1999: 133-134), was chosen because it is the most familiar to the majority of the target learners in this study. World Standard English was not included, despite its importance, because of a technical problem concerning how to define its tacit linguistic rules. It is methodologically impossible to investigate whether learners have acquired World Standard English without a clear typological framework, such as a comparative list for each target variety.

As noted above, six varieties are considered in this chapter. However, the spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics studies (all linguistic studies except for the accent recognition study) focus on British English and American English. Due to the fact that many English varieties do not use a distinctive form of their own to refer to one entity, we are technically prevented from identifying with which varieties learners are acquainted. Moreover, the British and American varieties, which use several distinctive items, are considered to be the two main conventional streams under which other national standard varieties are sub-classified. Thus, in the linguistic studies, we focus on whether there is a tendency to associate more with one of the two main streams: British or American English, instead of finding out which variety among several national standard varieties (Australian English, Singaporean English, etc) is used.

### 5.0.3. Survey Procedure

In order to collect all the data used for the analysis at the one time, the seven studies were conducted as discussed below. The survey questionnaire ${ }^{105}$ was given out from November to December in 1999, and participants were allowed 40-50 minutes during a regular English class to fill out the form. The questionnaire contains 12 major questions (questions [0]-[11]), which ask the participants their degrees of interest, their experiences

[^62]in learning English, their goals and attitudes toward mastering English, and their attitudes toward some English varieties. The questionnaire also includes an accent recognition test, spelling, grammar, and stylistic choices. In answering the questions, the participants first listened to the tape-guided general instruction about this survey project and to the tapeguided listening accent recognition test, and then proceeded to complete the rest of the form at their own speed. Furthermore, the four experienced Japanese English teachers who taught the English classes supervised the survey on my behalf at the four secondary schools, while I myself administered the survey of the university students.

### 5.0.4 Survey Participants

The subjects who participated in this survey comprised more than 600 Japanese students who were learning English as a foreign language at the time of the survey. These participants were chosen from five schools at the three different educational stages, covering two junior high schools, two senior high schools, and a university, to reflect the whole spectrum of the EFL learning context in the Japanese formal education system. Moreover, the five schools are all located in the capital region of Japan, and the sample includes students of average and slightly higher than average academic achievement levels. The three educational stages corresponded to three age groups:14-15, 17-18, and 19-26 year olds, respectively.

As a result of excluding the data sets supplied by those whose mother tongue is not Japanese and those whose questionnaires were submitted incompletely, 594 data sets ( 340 males and 254 females) were actually analyzed. Table 14 shows the detailed numbers of participants by gender and the educational levels from which they were drawn. In total, the sample of 210 was drawn from two coeducational junior high schools; one national junior high school (sample was 62 males and 59 females) and one municipal school (48 males and 41 females). In addition, the two senior high schools that cooperated in this study were both single-sex schools. A total of 236 responses ( 118 from each school) were collected. Finally, from the university, a total of 148 students filled out the questionnaire: 103 Mechanics, Information Technology, and Social Information major students, who take English classes at the general education level, and 45 English major students.

|  |  | Male | Female |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Total |  |  |  |
| Junior High | 110 | 100 | 210 |
| Senior High | 118 | 118 | 236 |
| University | English Major | 15 | 30 |
|  | Other Major | 97 | 6 |
| Total | 340 | 254 | 103 |

Table 14 Numbers of participants by gender and educational levels.

Since the educational level and background of the survey participants varies from a little over one year to ten years or more, selecting the target items for the survey questionnaire was not simple. Although the target items were carefully chosen (see the data collection sections in each of the following five linguistic studies), not all of the survey participants were able to answer every question, resulting in empty answers or missing data. (In reality, missing data is encountered in almost all surveys.) In most cases the number of empty responses was relatively small, so that the missing data were discarded and then the appropriate statistical tests were performed. The only cases that had a relatively large number of missing responses were in the grammar study, where fill-in-blank type questions were used. However, even for these cases the data was still rich enough to examine Hypothesis 2(c) (see also section 5.4.3).

### 5.1 Accent Recognition Study

The first linguistic study examines whether Japanese EFL learners are more familiar with one or more specific accents due to the English varieties, or whether the learners are equally familiar with different accents. The English accents discussed here include those of American, Australian, British, Japanese, the Philippines, and Singaporean English.

### 5.1.1 Hypotheses

Two working hypotheses will be examined in this accent study. The first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1(a)
Some English accents are perceived similarly by Japanese EFL learners when heard, and they can be sorted into groups according to the similarity.

Hypothesis 1(a) examines whether and how the Japanese EFL learners distinguish

English varieties from each other. There may exist several groupings of varieties that are perceived to be similar. For example, the Australian accent is likely to be recognized, mistakenly, as the UK accent. This similarity might be due to educational reasons such as the level of exposure to the specific English variety or the respondents' ability to perceive the common sound features among different varieties. Hence, it is important to consider whether or not there are any groupings of English varieties and, if so, how they are grouped when discussing the EFL situation in Japan.

The second hypothesis is:

## Hypothesis 1(b)

There are significant differences in the accuracy of Japanese EFL learners in identifying the accents of different nationalities.

Hypothesis 1(b) examines whether Japanese EFL learners are equally familiar with each English variety or whether the accuracy with which they identify the nationality of a speaker from the accent is the same for all nationalities. The degree of difficulty in identifying nationalities by accent may differ according to the countries in which those accents are found. For example, the US variety of English accent may be guessed correctly more often than the Singaporean accent, but less than the UK accent. If a clear ranking in which accents are correctly identified is revealed, then attention will be given as to whether this is caused by relative exposure to the different varieties. Thus, this second hypothesis is also worth examining when discussing the presentation of the listening materials in the EFL situation in Japan.

### 5.1.2 Data Collection

In order to test the above hypotheses, the data were collected through the tapeguided accent identification test following the general instruction, which is included in the survey questionnaire as question [1] (refer to Appendix 3 for an original version and Appendix 4 for an English translation). The one-minute passage script used in the accent recognition test was originally created for this study to reflect the phonetic and phonological differences in accents adequately when being read out by the different speakers as follows: ${ }^{106}$

Tomato Story

[^63]I'm going to have a small dinner party tonight, but I'm still wondering what I should make for the dinner. I'm sure one of the guests, Janet, likes Italian food. So I'll make pasta with a tomato sauce and salad. Let's make the tomato sauce first before cooking the spaghetti. Here is the recipe:

Cut the onions and tomatoes finely and put them in a preheated pan with oil. Stir for about thirty minutes, and add water, salt and pepper.

Mmm, it doesn't sound difficult. Ooops, it's already $4: 40 \mathrm{pm}$. I almost forgot to buy a cheese cake for dessert. The cake shop closes at $5: 30$, so I have to hurry. I can't be late.

Particularly in the phonetic sense, the characteristics of pronunciation that divide the major non-Caribbean English varieties fall mainly into two types: an 'English' type and an 'American' type (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 6). The critical features differentiating the two main types include the following six critical keys, which come from a list of 11 given in Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 6). Taking these criteria into consideration, therefore, this 114 -word passage adequately reflects the accent difference. The key words include the following features, which are taken directly from Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 6) (the examples are my own):
$>/ a: /$ rather than /ǽ/ as in path etc in the British type e.g. pasta
$>$ absence of non-prevocalic $/ \mathrm{r} /$ as in pair in the British type-
e.g. dinner, party, for, dinner, first, before, here, stir, thirty, pepper, four, forget, dessert, thirty
$>$ absence of contrast of $/ \mathrm{b} /$ and $/ \mathrm{a}: /$ as in brother and father in the American type
no example
$>$ consistent voicing of intervocalic $/ \mathrm{t} /$ as in water in the American type
e.g. tomato, spaghetti, preheated, party, thirty, water, forty, thirty
$>$ unrounded /a/ as in pot in the American type
e.g. forgot, shop, can't
$>$ syllabic $/ \mathrm{r} /$ as in bird in the American type
e.g. thirty, first
$>$ miscellaneous (some items that do not fall into the above categories) e.g. tomato

In addition, this passage was read aloud by seven speakers in six different accents: two Japanese, one American, one Australian, one British, one Singaporean and one from the Philippines. The speakers who cooperated in this study were all female aged between 20 and 49 with reasonably similar voice types and educated accents. Furthermore, approximately 15 seconds were given between readings to allow participants to indicate the speakers' nationalities from a choice of six countries based on their accent. In this
way, as each participant listened to the same passage, whether they identified the nationality correctly or not depended solely on their familiarity with the accents.

### 5.1.3 Analysis

In order to demonstrate Hypothesis 1(a), which aims to identify how the target accents are perceived by Japanese EFL learners, two different tests were chosen: correspondence analysis and residual analysis. Although correspondence analysis is not yet commonly used in the discipline of linguistics, it is an effective technique to explore a matrix of frequency data when the aim is to obtain a graphical representation of the residuals from the independent model. The two axes in a correspondence analysis chart designate the two major factors that decide the coordinates' locations. The coordinates in this analysis are derived by the row categories and column categories of the table and are computed by partitioning the total $\chi^{2}$ value rather than the total variance. In this sense, correspondence analysis is analogous to principle components for count data (Everitt and Dunn 1991: 57-63). While correspondence analysis is capable of visualizing the relationship among accents, residual analysis is another effective way to explore a cross tabulation of frequency data. As the deviation between observed and expected values is measured for every category in each variable as residual, residual analysis provides a more detailed examination.

For performing correspondence analysis, the collected data from the audio test was formatted into a $7 \times 6$ contingency table as shown in Table 15 below. The table shows the frequency tallies by the speakers (horizontal) and the choices (vertical) are tabulated.

| Nationality <br> Speaker | JP | US | AU | UK | SG | PH | Missing |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| JP1 | 386 | 26 | 29 | 57 | 56 | 38 | 2 |
| JP2 | 247 | 131 | 70 | 69 | 59 | 17 | 1 |
| US | 7 | 236 | 103 | 173 | 51 | 22 | 2 |
| AU | 2 | 140 | 156 | 158 | 74 | 61 | 3 |
| UK | 13 | 183 | 128 | 145 | 75 | 49 | 1 |
| SG | 41 | 10 | 29 | 36 | 109 | 367 | 2 |
| PH | 35 | 53 | 133 | 93 | 190 | 85 | 5 |

Table 15 The row frequency of accent recognition test. ${ }^{107}$

[^64]In addition to correspondence analysis and residual analysis, a Chi-square test was chosen in order to demonstrate Hypothesis 1(b), which aims to identify how accurately the target accents are perceived by Japanese EFL learners. The Chi-square test demonstrates the differences in multiple independent groups. Consequently, this test enables the identification (if any) of how differently the Japanese EFL learners perceive the six nationalities in accuracy.

In performing the Chi-square test, the frequency tallies for incorrect choices were summed up and the data set used to demonstrate Hypothesis 1(a) was recalculated into a 2 $\times 6$ contingency table by the correct/incorrect identification, and on the five pairs of countries which were adjacent to each other after having been arranged in order of frequency of correct responses. The results are shown in Table 16 below, which is reformatted from Table 15.

|  | JP | US | AU | UK | SG | PH |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Correct | 633 | 236 | 156 | 145 | 109 | 85 |
| Wrong | 552 | 356 | 435 | 448 | 483 | 504 |
| Missing | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 1185 | 592 | 591 | 593 | 592 | 589 |

Table 16 Row numbers of correct and incorrect answers in accent recognition.

### 5.1.4 Results

As a result of performing the three tests (correspondence analysis, residual analysis, and the Chi-square test), the different degrees of familiarity that the participants have with each of the target varieties were revealed. The results of the analyses are provided in the following sections.

### 5.1.4.1 Results for Correspondence Analysis

The first statistical test performed is the correspondence analysis, which provides the two graphical presentations (Chart 3 and Chart 4 below) showing how similarly/differently the respondents perceived these six target English accents. The six plots in Chart 3 below show how each accent model was perceived. The vertical and horizontal axes indicate the two major factors, that is Japanese-ness and Target-ness, which decide the coordinates' locations.


## Chart 3 Column plotting for nationalities by correspondence analysis.

As Chart 3 shows, one of the most significant differences was found in the distance between the JP accent and other accents in the vertical direction. This strong discrimination of the Japanese accent from the others clearly suggests that Japanese EFL learners can detect the Japanese accent within the spoken English samples. Therefore, the first factor (the vertical axis) is named Japanese-ness, although the question still remains as to whether this factor (Japanese-ness) is due to Japanese as the learners' first languages or Japanese language uniqueness regardless of the learners' first languages.

Although no such strong discrimination as Japanese-ness was found along the horizontal axis to identify a second factor, a notable point should be still made about the six plots spreading out horizontally. As Chart 3 shows, JP lies sandwiched between the other five accents with AU, UK, and US to the right and SG and PH to the left, with some kind of criterion working to discriminate AU, UK, and US from SG and PH. This second factor, identified as Target-ness, seems to work as a criterion whether the participants feel like obtaining the accents of the speech samples or whether the participants feel familiarity with the accents.

As this second factor may be target-related or familiarity-related, in order to
determine how the second factor functions it is useful to take the situation regarding the current and historical EFL learning into account. Since the current learners are frequently exposed to Inner Circle English as the audio model, whereas Asian varieties are hardly introduced in the formal English classrooms (Chapter 4), it might well be said that the second factor is due to the familiarity with the accents. However, the interpretation of the Target-ness factor as familiarity is contradicted by the following fact. As Japanese functions dominantly in society, particularly as an education medium language, the Japanese accent is the most familiar to learners. Despite this, the Japanese accent is valued in the mid-range, lying between the Inner Circle countries and the Outer Circle countries. Furthermore, the historical situation encourages interpreting the horizontal factor functions as a criterion for possible target accents. Since the mid 19th century Japan has been trying to adapt to western culture (including political systems, industries, education, etc), and both British and American English have been studied as the primary targets, as well as other western languages (Chapter 2). Non-western countries such as Singapore and the Philippines have been looked down on by the Japanese (Terasawa 2000: 87-88), and, hence, their varieties of English as a target language. Accordingly, it is plausible to interpret that the further to the right the horizontal axis is positioned, the more pro-target the variety, and the more to the left the position on the axis, the more anti-target. Therefore, the horizontal factor in Chart 3 is named Target-ness.

In addition to the vertical and horizontal directions respectively, the scattered plots in both dimensions reveal that some accents are similarly perceived by the participants'. Among the six plots in Chart 3, those of AU, UK, and US are located close to each other while PH and JP are distant from the three Inner Circle accents, with SG located in between. In other words, a strong connection is seen between these Australian, UK, and US accents, and this closeness shows that these commonly used accents are mentally perceived by Japanese EFL learners as being extremely similar.

The other graphical presentation of correspondence analysis (Chart 4) reveals the learners' unfamiliarity with Singaporean and Philippine English. In Chart 4, another seven plots were added onto Chart 3 to show the inferred nationalities of the seven speakers. This revealed how accurately the participants matched the speech samples and shows the typical accent pattern for the six varieties.


Chart 4 Row \& column plotting for speakers and nationalities by correspondence analysis.

For example, as seen in Chart 4 above, the inferred nationalities (the empty boxes) and the accent model nationalities (the shaded boxes) for SG and PH were far apart horizontally. This incompatibility suggests that Japanese EFL learners cannot ascertain the accent models of Singaporean-ness and Philippine-ness from the actual sounds. In contrast, those of the other countries were closer to each other in a horizontal direction. The learners' mental accent pattern for the other four accents are more established or compatible with the actual sounds. Interestingly, however, the SG and PH speech samples were plotted even closer to the other varieties' mental accent pattern than their own. That is, the PH accent was typically thought to be SG, and vice-versa. This result, therefore, indicates that the SG and PH accents are confused by Japanese EFL learners and suggests that they are guessing the answers without conviction.

### 5.1.4.2 Results for Residual Analysis

While correspondence analysis visually showed the different perception levels of different English accents, it is also necessary to examine the results of residual analysis (Table 17) because this analysis provides a more precise account. In the residual analysis, as standardized residual values are distributed normally, a value greater than 1.96 reveals a positive significant difference from the expected value while a value smaller than 1.96 indicates a negative significance. It should also be noted that the larger the indicated residual values the more frequently participants associated the speakers' accents (shown as 'speaker' in rows) with the selected mental accent images (shown as 'nationalities' in columns). The smaller (including the negative numbers) the residual values, the lower the respondent's frequency of recognition.

| Count | 386 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Expected Count | 104.4 |
| Percentage by Row | $65.0 \%$ |
| Adjusted Std. Residual | 32.8 |
| (Bolded when significant.) | $\mathbf{( 3 2 . 8 )}$ |


| Nationality | JP | US | AU | UK | SG | PH | Missing | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Speaker |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| JPN1 | 386 | 26 | 29 | 57 | 56 | 38 | 2 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $65.0 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $4.9 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $6.4 \%$ | $.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 32.8 | -9.7 | -7.8 | -5.5 | -4.0 | -6.5 | -.2 |  |
| JPN2 | 247 | 131 | 70 | 69 | 59 | 17 | 1 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $41.6 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $11.6 \%$ | $9.9 \%$ | $2.9 \%$ | $.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | 16.6 | 2.2 | -2.8 | -4.1 | -3.6 | -9.1 | -.9 |  |
|  | 7 | 236 | 103 | 173 | 51 | 22 | 2 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $1.2 \%$ | $39.7 \%$ | $17.3 \%$ | $29.1 \%$ | $8.6 \%$ | $3.7 \%$ | $.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | -11.3 | 14.2 | 1.3 | 8.0 | -4.6 | -8.5 | -.2 |  |
| US | 2 | 140 | 156 | 158 | 74 | 61 | 3 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $.3 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ | $10.3 \%$ | $.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | -11.9 | 3.3 | 7.8 | 6.2 | -1.7 | -3.7 | .5 |  |
| UK | 13 | 183 | 128 | 145 | 75 | 49 | 1 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $2.2 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ | $21.5 \%$ | $24.4 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $8.2 \%$ | $.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | -10.6 | 8.1 | 4.3 | 4.7 | -1.6 | -5.2 | -.9 |  |
| SG | 41 | 10 | 29 | 36 | 109 | 367 | 2 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $6.9 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $4.9 \%$ | $6.1 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ | $61.8 \%$ | $.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | -7.4 | -11.5 | -7.8 | -8.0 | 2.7 | 33.9 | -.2 |  |
| PH | 35 | 53 | 133 | 93 | 190 | 85 | 5 | 594 |
|  | 104.4 | 111.3 | 92.6 | 104.4 | 87.7 | 91.3 | 2.3 | 594.0 |
|  | $5.9 \%$ | $8.9 \%$ | $22.4 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ | $32.0 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  | -8.1 | -6.6 | 4.9 | -1.3 | 12.8 | -.8 | 1.9 |  |
| Total | 731 | 779 | 648 | 731 | 614 | 639 | 16 | 4158 |
|  | 731.0 | 779.0 | 648.0 | 731.0 | 614.0 | 639.0 | 16.0 | 4158.0 |
|  | $17.6 \%$ | $18.7 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ | $14.8 \%$ | $15.4 \%$ | $.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

Table 17 Residual analysis of the accent recognition matrix.

In order to discuss the learners' difficulty of accent identification by comparing the ratio across the accents, attention will now be given to the divide between correct and incorrect accent identification. Table 18, which follows, is extracted from Table 17 and shows the percentage of accent recognition and, thus, reveals the accents that are more/less confusing to identify.

| Nationality <br> Speaker | JP | US | AU | UK | SG | PH | Missing | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| JPN1 | $65.0 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $4.9 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $6.4 \%$ |  | $100 \%$ |
| JPN2 | $41.6 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $11.6 \%$ | $9.9 \%$ | $2.9 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| US | $1.2 \%$ | $39.7 \%$ | $17.3 \%$ | $29.1 \%$ | $8.6 \%$ | $3.7 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| AU | $0.3 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ | $10.3 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| UK | $2.2 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ | $21.5 \%$ | $24.4 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $8.2 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| SG | $6.9 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $4.9 \%$ | $6.1 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ | $61.8 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| PH | $5.9 \%$ | $8.9 \%$ | $22.4 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ | $32.0 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |

NB: The figures bolded when the answer is correct.

Table 18 Percentages of the answers in accent recognition (extracted from Table 17).

For example, some accents showed a high percentage of correct identification: 65.0\% for JPN1, 41.6\% for JPN2, followed by US at 39.7\%. The two JP speakers and the US speaker were recognized correctly more frequently than the accents of the other nationalities tested. Moreover, although AU and UK speakers still rated at more than $20 \%$, Japanese EFL learners were more likely to identify these accents as another variety. The AU speaker was identified more frequently as having a UK accent (26.6\%) than the correct AU (26.3\%), and the UK speaker was identified more frequently as having a US accent (30.8\%), rather than a UK one (24.4\%). Furthermore, this tendency towards misidentification was more obvious for SG and PH speakers. Not only was the ratio of correct identifying for the PH and SG speakers extremely low, but also the SG speaker was more likely to be identified as a PH accent than as an SG accent, and vice versa. As seen in Table 18, for each participant who correctly identified the SG speaker (18.4\%), 3.4 participants mistook it for a PH accent (61.8\%). Similarly, for each respondent that correctly identified the speaker to be PH ( $14.3 \%$ ), 2.2 respondents incorrectly identified the accent to be SG (32.0\%). These results show that AU, UK, SG and PH accents are more difficult for Japanese EFL learners to identify correctly.

### 5.1.4.3 Results for Chi-square Analysis

To demonstrate Hypothesis 1(b), to identify how accurately the target accents are perceived to Japanese EFL learners, a Chi-square test was performed. The results of a Chi-square test are shown in Chart 5, which reveals the different level of participants' familiarity with the accent of each variety. As a whole, the $\chi^{2}$ value was significant ( $\chi^{2}=416.571, \mathrm{df}=5, \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.000$ ) showing that there was a significant difference in
identifying the nationalities among the target accents. Furthermore, in order to find out where the difference lies, Chi-square tests were performed on the five data sets $(2 \times 2$ tables for JP-US, US-AU, AU-UK, UK-SG, SG-PH).


NB: The $x^{2}$ values for $2 \times 2$ contingency tables were all adjusted by Yates's Correlation Factor. *** shows significant difference at $p \leqq 0.000$ level, * at $p \leqq 0.05$ level.

## Chart 5 Numbers of correct and incorrect answers in accent recognition.

Based on these Chi-square tests, four distinctive groups, in terms of the degree of identifying correct target accents, were extracted. The significant differences were found between JP and US ( $\chi^{2}=28.479, \mathrm{df}=1, \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.000$ ), US and $\mathrm{AU}\left(\chi^{2}=23.612, \mathrm{df}=1, \mathrm{p}\right.$ $\leqq 0.000$ ), and UK and $\mathrm{SG}\left(\chi^{2}=6.064, \mathrm{df}=1, \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.014\right.$ ), whereas significant differences were not found between AU and $\mathrm{UK}\left(\chi^{2}=0.492, \mathrm{df}=1, \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.483, \mathrm{NS}\right)$ and SG and $\mathrm{PH}\left(\chi^{2}=3.124, \mathrm{df}=1, \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.077, \mathrm{NS}\right)$. As the numbers indicate, the ratio of correct responses for the JP accent is significantly highest among the six target accents, followed by the US as the second, by AU and the UK as the third, and finally by SG and the PH. Therefore, this order of the nationalities shows which accent the Japanese EFL learners are more familiar with and how confident they are in identifying the accents.

### 5.1.5 Discussion and Conclusion

The results of the correspondence analysis and residual analysis, as discussed above, clearly support Hypothesis 1(a). The perception of different English accents by Japanese EFL learners is shown to be divided into three groups: Japanese-accented English; American, Australian, and British English; and Philippine and Singaporean English.

The most characteristic accent group in terms of concordance is solely composed of

Japanese accent, namely, mother tongue speakers. The Japanese accent is quite distant from all the other varieties tested. Moreover, the Japanese accent is less likely to be mistaken for other varieties. In other words, both of the Japanese speakers' speech are identified correctly more frequently than other accents. Since these phenomena are seen only for the Japanese accent, the Japanese accent can be treated independently from other varieties. Consequently, the first group of Japanese accent is called the Mother Tongue group.

Among those accents other than Japanese, there seems to be a dense cluster comprising AU, UK, and US. The Japanese EFL learners could identify the correct accents for these at 20-40 percent higher than for any other accents, except for UK. In addition, they tended to mistakenly choose one or other of the other two among these three Inner Circle varieties. Thus, having considered the above facts, these accents can be treated as being very close to each other compared with the other varieties. These varieties are spoken in Inner Circle countries, according to Kachru's terminology. Consequently, hereafter, this group of Australian, British, and American English is called the Inner Circle English group.

The final group, which includes the Philippine and Singaporean accents, displays different characteristics to the countries in both the Mother Tongue and Inner Circle English groups in this survey. The correspondence analysis shows that the PH and SG nationality plots are located quite a distance from the Mother Tongue group, but neither of them is close to the Inner Circle English group. Furthermore, the distances among the nationalities and the speakers for PH and SG are much wider compared to those between Japan, Australia, the UK and the US. Also, the much higher percentage of listeners making the wrong choice than those making the correct choice of accent demonstrates that Japanese EFL learners perceive the PH and SG accents differently from other varieties. Accordingly, PH and SG do not fall into the categories of either the Mother Tongue or the Inner Circle English groups. Interestingly, those varieties that had many more wrong answers than correct answers show that Japanese EFL learners do not have a competent criterion for recognizing SG and the PH accented English. Since both varieties are unfamiliar to Japanese EFL students, they may be classified in one group, although these countries do not form a cluster in Chart 3 above. Therefore, the Singaporean and Philippine accents can be called the Outer Circle English group because

English was historically and still is now used as a second language in these countries (Kachru 1988, 1992a).

The discussion in support of Hypothesis 1(a) not only demonstrated that three groups (Mother Tongue, Inner Circle English, and Outer Circle English) exist, but also revealed that Japanese EFL learners have the ability to discriminate their native accent from the other accents tested for, and to distinguish the accents they encounter through their EFL learning. These two factors that the Japanese EFL learners use in the perceiving of the different English accents are the Japanese-ness factor, which detects Japanese sounds as a typical Japanese EFL learner is expected to, and the Target-ness factor, which values the degree of the accents according to whether they could be the learning models.

In addition to confirming Hypothesis 1(a), the above discussion also provides significant support for Hypothesis 1(b), which concerns the significant differences in accuracy by Japanese EFL learners in identifying the accents of different nationalities. From the results of the Chi-square test, significant differences in the correct accent identification for Japanese EFL learners were recorded between JP and US, US and AU, and UK and SG, while no significant differences were found between AU and UK, or SG and PH. That is, Japanese EFL learners can identify correctly in descending order: JP followed by US, then AU and UK, finally SG and PH. Assuming that the degree of familiarity with an accent corresponds closely to that of recognition (Chiba et al. 1995), it is not surprising that Japanese was the most familiar accent to the Japanese taking into consideration that this is their first language. The next most familiar accent was US, followed by AU and UK. Finally, Japanese EFL learners are at least familiar with PH and SG accents. In this way, the ratio of correct recognition revealed the degree of familiarity with different accents, and hence the levels of exposure to different accents that Japanese EFL learners receive in the formal classrooms. Thus, Japanese EFL learners appear to have been exposed to US accents more than any other non-Japanese accents, even though UK and AU are alternative mainstreams as a target of standard English for EFL learners. SG and PH English do not appear to be commonly heard in the English language environment in Japan.

These results of the Chi-square test, together with those of correspondence analysis and residual analysis, uncovered the fact that Japanese EFL learners are frequently
exposed to the US English variety among the various accents tested, as well as to Japanese English. It should be noted that AU, UK, and US were clustered differently in these analyses. While the participants' perception of these three accents allowed them to fall very closely into the Inner Circle English group according to Japanese-ness and Target-ness, the US variety is significantly more identifiable than the AU and UK varieties. These definitive pictures reveal the fact that Japanese EFL learners are particularly familiar with US English. These results indicate that the learners are exposed to the spoken US English in the classrooms.

In addition to the strong familiarity with the US accent among the learners, which indicate its dominant exposure, an even stronger familiarity was found with the Japanese accent (for both JP1 and JP2). Eliminating the Japanese accent is not possible as long as the Japanese language is primarily used in society and the classrooms. For example, although the government has sent native English speakers to the classroom, and educational technology has been improved, not all students have access to these resources in any considerable amount. Moreover, not only is model reading and explanation by the teachers mainly Japanese accented, but pair or group work with classmates in secondary and tertiary classrooms and in private classrooms is also Japanese accented. Furthermore, the exposure to the Japanese accented English, as well as Japan-ized or borrowed English language, is flooded in the mass media, with people exposed to this type of English daily through television or radio. Therefore, taking into account these social and linguistic realities, the strong familiarity with Japanese accent is natural and unavoidable.

Considering the relationship between the amount of available exposure to each English variety and the accuracy of its identification, Japanese EFL learners are likely to be reinforced to familiarize with specific varieties through their being provided as models. A closer look at the distribution table by the learners' education levels (Table 19) reveals the following two characteristics about the relationship between the degree of correct recognition and the education levels. The first characteristic point is that the degree of the correct recognition improves as the learning proceeds. For the speaker JPN1, the percentage goes from 47.9 at junior high school level to 73.3 at the senior high school level, and finally to 75.0 at the university level; for the Australian speaker, 20.9, to 27.1, and to 32.4 percent; for the Philippine speaker, 11.8 , to 15.3 , and to 16.9 percent (Table 19). Although the British speaker was recognized at almost equal percentages between
the senior high school and the university levels (25.8 and 25.7), and although the other Japanese, the American, and Singaporean speakers show a slightly skewed ratio between the junior high and senior high levels (45.0 and 35.2 for JPN2, 37.4 and 35.6 for US, and 17.5 and 15.3 for SG ), an increasing tendency is generally observed. The second characteristic point is that the accuracy of the accent recognition of the English majored students is much higher than that of the other majored students. The difference between the English-major students and the other university students is approximately 1-2 percent for Outer Circle English-accented speakers, 7-8 percent for Japanese English-accented speakers, and 8-16 percent of Inner Circle English-accented speakers (Table 19). In general, it is considered that the learners have listened to a greater amount and various types of English as the learning proceeds. Also, the English-major students would listen to various English accents more frequently than the students at any other education levels do. Therefore, these characteristics indicate that the accuracy of accent identification would increase as the learners listen to a particular English variety more and more. In other words, listening to plenty of variously accented English is necessary in order to be familiar with English as a global lingua franca.

| Speakers | JPN1 | JPN2 | US | UK | AU | SG | PH |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TOTAL | 64.9\% | 41.7\% | 39.7\% | 24.4\% | 26.2\% | 18.3\% | 14.5\% |
| JH | 47.9\% | 45.0\% | 37.4\% | 21.8\% | 20.9\% | 17.5\% | 11.8\% |
| SH | 73.7\% | 35.2\% | 35.6\% | 25.8\% | 27.1\% | 15.3\% | 15.3\% |
| UNIV | 75.0\% | 47.3\% | 49.3\% | 25.7\% | 32.4\% | 24.3\% | 16.9\% |
| ENG | 82.2\% | 55.6\% | 57.8\% | 42.2\% | 42.2\% | 26.7\% | 17.8\% |

Table 19 Percentages of the correct accent recognition by the speakers and the education levels.

In summary, the accent recognition study revealed the following two main points. The first main point is that the six accents could be roughly classified into Mother Tongue, Inner Circle English, and Outer Circle English groups for Japanese EFL learners. It was additionally found that the learners apply two criteria, Japanese-ness and Target-ness, when identifying the nationalities of spoken samples. Moreover, the second main point is how the respondents' familiarity with the English accent differs according to the nationality of the speaker. Japanese EFL learners are most familiar with the Japanese accent as it is their native language accent. As far as foreign accent is concerned,

Japanese EFL learners are not only more familiar with the US than any other accent, but are also unacquainted with and cannot distinguish between the accents of the Outer Circle English varieties, such as PH and SG. Although discussing the English-language situation in Japan as a whole is beyond the scope of this study, these findings support the general observation that English learning in Japan is dominated by the US variety and that the English varieties in the Outer Circle are neglected in the classrooms. Furthermore, the results of the accent recognition test suggests that it is important for the learners to be exposed to various English accents frequently in terms of learning English as a global lingua franca. In this way, this study has supplied a more precise account of the linguistic state in terms of accent perception.

### 5.2 Spelling Preference Study

Following the discussion regarding accent recognition in spoken English, the state of Japan's English language teaching will now be discussed in detail from a different angle, namely spelling in written English. This issue is elaborated on in order to find out which English is actually learned by Japanese EFL learners who have learned English under the 1989 curriculum. In this study, the English varieties examined include the British and American spelling systems.

### 5.2.1 Hypothesis

The spelling preference study examines which English variety is dominantly learned through EFL education in Japan, and proposes the following Hypothesis 2(a).

Hypothesis 2(a)
There is a significant US orientation in spelling choice.
This spelling preference study investigating Hypothesis 2(a) demonstrates whether Japanese EFL learners feel equally comfortable with each English variety in terms of production, and which English variety they tend to use, if any. Since different spellings are preferred in different varieties in the English language, it is natural for learners to use modes of spelling that they are more exposed to if there is more than one spelling option. Consequently, their preferences in spelling reveal another dimension of the issue of English varieties in Japanese EFL education. Investigating whether the US orientation
also exists in the production of such spellings revealed an interesting result. A significant US orientation was discovered as was the fact that learners were unacquainted with the English varieties in the Outer Circle.

### 5.2.2 Data Collection

In order to test the above hypothesis, question [2] investigated which English variety Japanese EFL learners tended to produce in the questionnaire (cf. Appendix 3 for an original version and Appendix 4 for an English translation). Learners' spelling options were examined in question [2] by asking respondents to select the spelling that they felt was most appropriate from a list of the paired British and American spelling items arranged in random order. Both paired items are correct, and as the target spellings have been classified into patterns, their preference reveals which variety learners have been learning.

The 13 paired spelling items included in question [2] exhibit whether the learners tended to choose British and American spellings. According to Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 82-87), there exist the following 16 patterns of contrast in spelling between 'English' type (British) and 'American' type standards: ${ }^{108}$

1. -our vs. -or as in colour vs. color;
2. -ou- vs. -o- as in mould vs. mold;
3. -ae l-oe vs. -e- as in manoeuvre vs. maneuver;
4. en- vs. in- as in enquire vs. inquire;
5. -dgement vs. -dgment as in judgement vs. judgment;
6. -re vs. -er as in centre vs. center;
7. $-c e$ vs. - se as in defence vs. defense;
8. -ise vs. ize as in apologise vs. apologize;
9. -xion vs. -ction as in inflexion vs. inflection;
10. doubled consonant vs. single consonant as in travelled vs. traveled;
11. single $-l$ - vs. double $-l$ - as in skilful vs. skillful;
12. -gg- vs. -g- as in waggon vs. wagon;
13. -st vs. no ending as in amongst vs. among;
14. other patterns of expressions eg. cheque vs. check, programme vs. program, and draught vs. draft;
15. hyphenated words vs. fused or two separate words as in book-keeper vs. bookkeeper and co-operate vs. cooperate;
16. retained French diacritics vs. diacritics not necessary as in élite vs. elite and fianceé vs. fiancee.
(Italics added)
[^65]Among the 16 dichotomous standards, the underlined patterns $1,6,8$, and 14 , were selected to consider whether they could provide understandable words to learners aged between 12 and 15 . Consequently, 13 pairs in total (a few pairs for each of the four patterns) were included in the questionnaire as follows: ${ }^{109}$

| UK | US | Patterns |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 favourite | favorite | Pattern 1 |
| 2 colour | color | " |
| 3 behaviour | behavior | " |
| 4 centre | center | Pattern 6 |
| 5 metre | meter | " |
| 6 theatre | theater | " |
| 7 realise | realize | Pattern 8 |
| 8 apologise | apologize | " |
| 9 memorise | memorize | " |
| 10 specialise | specialize | " |
| 11 licence | license | Pattern 14 |
| 12 mum | mom | " |
| 13 programme | program | " |

### 5.2.3 Analysis

Having collected the data through question [2], the frequency tallies for the given items that the participants chose were calculated and described as percentages both for the sample and for the level of education. As the results made it overwhelmingly clear which spelling learners prefer, no statistical test was performed.

### 5.2.4 Results

Table 20-Table $32{ }^{110}$ below summarize the ratio of spelling choices by the pairs and the majority of pairs more likely to show the US spellings. In each table, numbers show the percentage of respondents who chose the words in the horizontal heading. Judging from the preference, fairly high percentages for US spelling were found in all the paired items with different spellings except for licence/license (Table 30). This shows that, in terms of spelling, Japanese EFL learners are more comfortable with the American way of

[^66]spelling than the British system.

| [2](1) | missing | favourite | favorite |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL. | 1.3 | 11.1 | 88.6 |
| JH | 2.4 | 11.9 | 85.7 |
| SH | 1.3 | 9.3 | 89.4 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 8.8 | 91.2 |

Table 20 (1) -our-/-or- type favourite/ favorite.

| [2](5) | missing | behaviour | behavior |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 4.0 | 25.1 | 70.9 |
| JH | 9.5 | 50.5 | 40.0 |
| SH | 1.3 | 11.9 | 86.9 |
| UNI | 0.7 | 11.1 | 89.2 |

Table 21 (1)-our-/-or- type behaviour/ behavior.

| [2](8) | missing | colour | color |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 0.8 | 7.7 | 91.4 |
| JH | 0.0 | 9.0 | 91.0 |
| SH | 1.7 | 4.2 | 94.1 |
| UNI | 0.7 | 11.5 | 87.8 |

Table 22 (1)-our-/-or- type colour/color.

| [2](2) | missing | realise | realize |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 2.0 | 22.9 | 75.1 |
| JH | 4.3 | 53.8 | 41.9 |
| SH | 0.8 | 5.1 | 94.1 |
| UNI | 0.7 | 7.4 | 91.9 |

Table 23 (2)-ise--ize type realise/realize.

| [2](6) | missing | apologise | apologize |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 3.5 | 21.4 | 75.1 |
| JH | 9.0 | 51.4 | 39.5 |
| SH | 0.8 | 5.1 | 94.1 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 4.7 | 95.3 |

Table 24 (2)-ise/-ize type apologise/apologize.
school students; SH for senior high school students; UNI for university students.

| [2](10) | missing | specialise | specialize |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 3.5 | 37.4 | 59.1 |
| JH | 7.6 | 68.1 | 24.3 |
| SH | 1.7 | 22.9 | 75.4 |
| UNI | 0.7 | 16.9 | 82.4 |

Table 25 (2)-ise/-ize type specialise/specialize.

| [2](13) | missing | memorise | memorize |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 1.3 | 43.4 | 55.2 |
| JH | 2.4 | 73.8 | 23.8 |
| SH | 1.3 | 24.2 | 74.6 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 31.1 | 68.9 |

Table 26 (2)-ise/-ize type memorise/memorize.

| [2](4) | missing | centre | center |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 1.2 | 5.4 | 93.4 |
| JH | 1.4 | 8.1 | 90.5 |
| SH | 1.3 | 5.5 | 93.2 |
| UNI | 0.7 | 1.4 | 98.0 |

Table 27 (3)-re/-er type centre/center.

| [2](7) | missing | theatre | theater |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 3.4 | 11.1 | 86.5 |
| JH | 7.6 | 18.1 | 74.3 |
| SH | 1.7 | 5.9 | 92.4 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 5.4 | 94.6 |

Table 28 (3)-re/-er type theatre/theater.

| [2](12) | missing | metre | meter |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 0.7 | 7.1 | 92.3 |
| JH | 1.0 | 14.8 | 84.3 |
| SH | 0.8 | 3.4 | 95.8 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 2.0 | 98.0 |

Table 29 (3)-re/-er type metre/meter.

| [2](3) | missing | licence | license |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 2.4 | 68.4 | 29.3 |
| JH | 4.8 | 78.1 | 17.1 |
| SH | 1.7 | 57.2 | 41.1 |
| UN | 0.0 | 72.3 | 27.7 |

Table 30 (4) Other types licence/license.

| [2](9) | missing | programme | program |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 0.3 | 2.5 | 97.1 |
| JH | 0.0 | 2.9 | 97.1 |
| SH | 0.8 | 3.4 | 95.8 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 0.7 | 99.3 |

Table 31 (4) Other types programme/program.

| [21 (1]) | missing | mum | mom |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 0.8 | 15.5 | 83.7 |
| JH | 1.4 | 11.9 | 86.7 |
| SH | 0.8 | 16.5 | 82.6 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 18.9 | 81.1 |

Table 32 (4) Other types mum/mom.

In fact, the exceptions to the general US tendency were found in the five cases by the junior high school students' responses: behavior/behaviour, realize/realise, apologize/apologise, specialize/specialise, memorize/memorise (Table 21, Table 23, Table 24, Table 25, Table 26 respectively). However, as the proportion of those who did not answer the question was higher for junior high school students than for any other groups, it may be that the respondents were not so sure which to choose. In addition, no significant difference was found between the number who chose the US type versus the UK type, which shows that some words may be beyond the target vocabulary for junior high school students. As a result, the respondents would appear to have guessed the answer without conviction, which was a sacrifice that had to be made for having respondents who have a wide range of proficiency (particularly the younger ones). Therefore, overall, it can be concluded that Japanese EFL learners have learned American spellings rather than British alternatives.

### 5.2.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the findings of the UK/US spelling choices, Hypothesis 2(a): there is a significant US orientation in spelling choice, was strongly supported. A significant US preference was found in 12 out of 13 cases, while a UK preference could be seen only in one case. Considering the fact that Japanese EFL learners tend to choose US style over UK in spellings, it is reasonable to argue that it is more likely that learners are exposed to the US spellings in Japan. From this, it is also reasonable to assume that US spellings
tend to be presented to the learners in Japanese formal EFL classrooms, not the mixture of the UK and US styles.

In order to interpret the outcome of US dominance in spelling, it is worth considering whether the learners are freely making their own decisions to prefer the US spellings among the different possibilities. For example, the learners might be continuously reinforced with the US style by Japanese English teachers only giving points for the US spellings as correct in exams. Alternatively, textbooks, which are the learners' major input source, might be causing the US preference by providing only US spellings as the primary style (Section 4.2). Consequently, the readers subconsciously become accustomed to only US spellings. As a result, they may not be aware of other varieties that are not taught at school. Regardless of whether one or both of these possibilities is the case, it is plausible to state that Japanese EFL learners are acquainted with the US spelling system through formal EFL education.

### 5.3 Vocabulary Preference Study

This section examines vocabulary in order to discover which variety of English is actually learned by Japanese EFL learners who have learned English under the 1989 curriculum. In this study, the English varieties examined include British and American spelling systems.

### 5.3.1 Hypothesis

This vocabulary preference study examines which English variety (American or British vocabulary) is dominantly learned through the EFL education in Japan, as in the following Hypothesis 2(b).

Hypothesis 2(b)
There is a significant US orientation in vocabulary choice.
To examine Hypothesis 2(b) it is necessary to determine whether Japanese EFL learners prefer the vocabulary that often is used in the US variety, or if not, which English variety the learners tend to use. In the English language, different lexical items are preferred in different varieties, although the bulk of lexical items are the same in English varieties. Accordingly, it is natural for learners to use modes of vocabulary that they are more
exposed to if there is more than one vocabulary choice．In this vocabulary preference study，therefore，it is worthwhile investigating whether the US orientation exists in the vocabulary use as well as the learners＇accent or spelling choices．

Before moving on to the discussion of data collection，a comment about the English loanwords in Japanese is necessary．The respondents＇choice of vocabulary in this study may not only reflect their English learning experiences；it is also possible that the respondents＇choices could be influenced by loanwords．For example，to designate a metal container，kan（displayed either as 缶 or カン）is likely to be used in the Japanese language．The pronunciation of kan is very similar to can，rather than tin．As a result，can might be more frequently chosen due to its association with this Japanese word．Other examples of English loanwords in Japanese include kaa（from car rather than automobile），gaaden（from garden rather than yard），gasu or gasorin（from gas or gasoline rather than petrol），and posuto（from post）．It is worth noting，however，that not all of the loanwords are from the US variety as some are also from the UK variety．This matter will be discussed in more detail in Section 5．3．5．

## 5．3．2 Data Collection

For testing Hypothesis 2（b），questions［3］and［4］investigated which English variety Japanese EFL learners tend to produce（see Appendix 3 for an original version and Appendix 4 for an English translation）．Learners＇choices of vocabulary were examined in the 20 questions in［3］，which asked the learners to fill in blanks to complete sentences．In addition，the participants were given five pictures and asked to identify the subjects in question［4］．

Classifying the word options given in questions［3］and［4］by English varieties， however，does not provide a clear－cut picture because a relation between a word and its reference varies according to the word．Although several studies have been done on listing comparable words（de Funiak 1967，Platt et al．1984，Algeo 1989，Trudgill and Hannah 1994），the usual method is＇incapable of accounting for or accommodating the various complexities that in fact distinguish such dialect＇（Algeo 1989：219）．It is due to the fact that the different vocabulary use in the different varieties is not always dichotomous as，for example，mum and mom（in the order of the UK and US options）．For example，while fall is used exclusively in the US English，autumn is used in a wider

English speaking context including the US and the other varieties. Consequently, there is too much uncertainty to judge that a learner who chose autumn tends to have acquired the UK-oriented English, or that a learner who chose mom learned the US-oriented English.

Another reason that makes the classification (whether the chosen vocabulary is British or American) even more difficult is partly because the vocabulary options expected to fill in the blanks are not only subject to a UK/US dichotomy, but sometimes a third possibility. For example, mother for mom and mum is used not only in formal situations but also to show psychological distance in some occasions. In the 1980s some words such as mail carrier for mailman and postman have started to be used to avoid sexism in language use. Service station overlaps the UK petrol station and the US gas station, and is commonly used to refer to a place that provides both fuel and mechanical service in both English varieties. Phone was derived from telephone, and is a more neutral way of saying calling or ring in both English varieties. Accordingly, it is not clear-cut to identify the English variety that the learners have learned judging from chosen vocabulary.

Confronted by the difficulties with using the usual dividing method, a more complete picture was provided by two scholars. Algeo (1989: 221-222) is among those who approached lexicographical typology by focusing on 'forms (things to be named)' and 'referents (the names given to things)'. Algeo considers the four possibilities; firstly, one-to-one match of referent and form; secondly, multiple forms for a single referent (synonymy); thirdly, a single form for multiple referents (polysemy); and fourthly multiple forms for multiple referents (homonym and analogy). Furthermore, Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 87-93) give another slightly different typological approach, where differences in vocabulary can be classified into four categories: first 'Same word, different meaning'; second 'Same word, additional meaning'; third 'Same word, different in style, connotation, frequency of use'; and forth 'Same concept or item, different words' (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 87-93). Both studies provide an overall typological framework.

Despite of the all-roundness of Algeo's (1989) and Trudgill and Hannah's (1994) frameworks, since neither of them covers a detailed and suitable typological framework for the analysis of this study a new classification was constructed. The main concern of this study is how different lexical items are used for a single referent among the different
varieties so that we can tell which form is more preferred for a single referent to reflect a specific variety; it is not how different 'referents' designate a single word. Consequently, a more detailed classification is needed than Algeo's 'multiple forms for a single referent (synonymy)' and for Trudgill's 'Same concept or item, different word' to achieve the purpose of this study. Therefore, in this study, the vocabulary items were grouped into three types, as shown as Figure 11.

## Type 1


*distinctive use

Type 2

*used in both varieties, but one used more frequently
**For Type 1 and 2, dotted circles indicate a third choice in general use, if any.

Type 3(a)


Type 3(b) or

*one distinctive use and one general use

Figure 11 Three UK/US classifications of the vocabulary mapping a single referent.

Based on the above three vocabulary classification types (Figure 11), a total of 25 items were included in questions [3] and [4]. These vocabulary items were chosen from de Funiak (1967), Algeo (1989), Trudgill and Hannah (1994), Katsiavriades (1997), Burden (1999), Hopkins (1999), and Smith (1999). ${ }^{111}$ The criteria for selecting these

[^67]items were the comprehensibility and productivity of the expressions or vocabulary items for learners aged 12 to 15 . In addition, the target vocabulary list in the 1989 Course of Study (Monbusho 1989b) was referred to in order to give priority to the vocabulary found there (rather than unlearned and unfamiliar vocabulary).

Among the 25 items included in the questionnaire, 19 items, which are divided into the three types categorized as Figure 11, were selected for analysis. The following ten pairs are classified as Type 1. Since each word is used frequently in either the UK or US variety, the ratio of use straightforwardly reveals which variety the learners prefer. It should be noted that mum/mom might be an example that should be discussed orthographically, but it was included in Type 1 because the third possibility mother was included.

Type 1: UK/US distinctive use $+[$ commonly used $]{ }^{112}$

|  | UK | US | Common use |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | mum | mom | [mother] |
| 2. | queue | line |  |
| 3. | hire | rent (other than real estate) |  |
| 4. | note | bill |  |
| 5. | tick | check |  |
| 6. | petrol | gas | [service] |
| 7. | booked | made a reservation |  |
| 8. | rubber | eraser |  |
| 9. | capsicum | green pepper |  |

Another type of vocabulary classification is Type 2, in which each word is used more frequently in either the UK or US variety. Although the distinction is not very clear, unlike Type 1 , the ratio of usage still reveals which variety the learners tend to produce. Accordingly, the respondents' choice of the first item in each of the following three pairs reveals that their language is UK-oriented, while choosing the second item indicates the US orientation. In addition, Type 2 contains three pairs, two of which have a third option.

[^68]When the third option is chosen, it means that they are acquiring the vocabulary in general use (neutral between the UK and US varieties).

Type 2: used in both varieties, but one used more frequently, + [commonly used] ${ }^{113}$

| UK | US | Common use |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 10. postman | mailman | [deliverer] |
| 11. parcel | package |  |
| 12. ring | call | [phone] |

The last type of vocabulary classification is Type 3 , in which one option is used generally while the other option is used in a specific variety. Type 3 classification is further divided into Type 3(a), in which one option is used distinctively in the US variety, and Type 3(b), in which one option is used distinctively in the UK variety. Three for each subclassification were included as shown below. In the Type 3 classification, the ratio of the word used in a specific variety reveals the tendency toward a learned variety by Japanese EFL learners. For example, fall is used more frequently in the US, instead of autumn, which is considered to be more formal in the US. Garden is more widely used in British English to refer an open space per se or an area with vegetables or flowers, while yard is often found in American English. Also, fortnight, ${ }^{114}$ which sounds poetic and is uncommon in US English, is used to mean two weeks in British English. In addition, a US tendency would be claimed if automobile is chosen instead of the general term car. Similarly, the UK tendency would be indicated if tin or aeroplane was chosen instead of can or airplane respectively.

Type 3 (a): UK general use + US distinctive use ${ }^{115}$

| UK | US |
| :--- | :--- |
| 13. autumn | fall |
| 14. garden | yard |
| 15. car | automobile |

[^69]Type 3 (b): UK distinctive use + US general use

| UK | US |
| :--- | :--- |
| 16. tin | can |
| 17. a fortnight | two weeks |
| 18. aeroplane | airplane |

### 5.3.3 Analysis

Having collected the data through questions [3] and [4], frequency tallies for the given items that the subjects chose were constructed and described as percentages, both for the sample and for the level of education. The results made overwhelmingly clear which spelling learners prefer, so that no statistical test was performed.

### 5.3.4 Results

The following tables (Table 33-Table 51) ${ }^{116}$ summarize the ratio of vocabulary choices by the two-three options, where numbers show the percentage of respondents who chose the words in the horizontal heading. Among the ten Type 1 items (Table 33Table 42), the majority of respondents chose US vocabulary over UK vocabulary in three cases (Table 33, Table 34, and Table 41). In the remaining seven cases, although the majority of respondents could not provide acceptable answers, those who could answer tended to prefer US vocabulary to the UK alternatives (Table 35-Table 40, and Table 42). These results show that Japanese EFL learners have a US variety preference in Type 1 vocabulary selection.

| LEVEL | missing | mum | mom | mother |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 5.7 | 6.7 | 54.7 | 32.8 |
| JH | 12.9 | 2.4 | 43.3 | 41.4 |
| SH | 1.3 | 9.7 | 66.1 | 22.9 |
| UNI | 2.7 | 8.1 | 52.7 | 36.5 |

Table 33 Type $1 \mathrm{mum} / \mathrm{mom} / \mathrm{mother}$-Q3A071.

| LEVEL | missing | petrol | gas | service |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 37.2 | 0.3 | 62.1 | 0.3 |
| JH | 63.8 | 0.0 | 22.9 | 13.3 |
| SH | 13.6 | 0.8 | 80.1 | 5.5 |
| UNI | 6.1 | 0.0 | 89.2 | 4.7 |

Table 34 Type 1 petrol/gas/service-Q3A130.

[^70]| LEVEL | missing | queue | line |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 59.3 | 0.5 | 40.2 |
| UH | 92.4 | 0.0 | 7.6 |
| SH | 40.3 | 0.4 | 59.3 |
| UNI | 42.6 | 1.4 | 56.1 |

Table 35 Type 1 queue/line-Q3A040.

| LEVEL | missing | hire | rent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 76.8 | 1.3 | 21.9 |
| JH | 98.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 |
| SH | 62.3 | 2.5 | 35.2 |
| UNI | 68.9 | 0.7 | 30.4 |

Table 36 Type 1 hire/rent-Q3A050.

| LEVEL | missing | note | bill |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 87.0 | 0.5 | 12.5 |
| JH | 99.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| SH | 82.2 | 1.3 | 16.5 |
| UNI | 77.7 | 0.0 | 22.3 |

Table 37 Type 1 note/bill-Q3A090.

| LEVEL | missing | tick | check |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 53.5 | 0.2 | 46.3 |
| JH | 77.1 | 0.0 | 22.9 |
| SH | 48.7 | 0.4 | 50.8 |
| UNI | 27.7 | 0.0 | 72.3 |

Table 38 Type 1 tick/check-Q3A110.

| LEVEL | missing | booked | made a reservation |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 68.9 | 8.1 | 23.1 |
| JH | 97.6 | 0.5 | 1.9 |
| SH | 55.9 | 15.3 | 28.8 |
| UNI | 48.6 | 7.4 | 43.9 |

Table 39 Type 1 booked/made a researvation-Q3A140.

| LEVEL | missing | lift | ride |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 98.0 | 0.3 | 1.7 |
| JH | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| SH | 96.6 | 0.4 | 3.0 |
| UNI | 97.3 | 0.7 | 2.0 |

Table 40 Type 1 lift/ride-Q3A160.

| LEVEL | missing | rubber | eraser |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 25.4 | 0.3 | 74.2 |
| JH | 41.0 | 0.5 | 58.6 |
| SH | 17.4 | 0.4 | 82.2 |
| UNI | 16.2 | 0.0 | 83.8 |

Table 41 Type 1 rubber/eraser-Q4A03.

| LEVEL | missing | capsicum | green pepper |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 95.8 | 0.0 | 4.2 |
| JH | 97.1 | 0.0 | 2.9 |
| SH | 96.2 | 0.0 | 3.8 |
| UNI | 93.2 | 0.0 | 6.8 |

Table 42 Type 1 capsicum/green pepper-Q4A04.

For the Type 2 vocabulary selection, while less obvious, domination of the US options was still found. For example, on the one hand, the majority of respondents chose postman over mailman (Table 43), which indicates the preference of the UK-oriented varieties. On the other hand, over 80 percent of the respondents chose call over ring or phone (Table 45), which suggests preference of the US-oriented varieties. In addition, although package/parcel might be beyond their lexicon because the majority of respondents could not provide acceptable answers for the blank (Table 44), package (indicating a US tendency) was likely to be chosen among those who could provide an answer, except for the senior high school students. Thus, these results show that Japanese EFL learners often prefer neutral vocabulary, although the US variety is also dominant in some Type 2 vocabulary selection.

| LEVEL | missing | postman | mailman | deliverer |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 34.5 | 58.4 | 6.7 | 0.3 |
| JH | 47.6 | 49.5 | 2.9 | 0.0 |
| SH | 30.9 | 60.2 | 8.9 | 0.0 |
| UNI | 21.6 | 68.2 | 8.8 | 1.4 |

Table 43 Type 2 postman/mailman/deliverer-Q3A072.

| LEVEL | missing | parcel | package |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 79.5 | 7.6 | 13.0 |
| JH | 99.5 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| SH | 70.8 | 15.7 | 13.6 |
| UNI | 64.9 | 5.4 | 29.7 |

Table 44 Type 2 parcel/package-Q3A080.

| LEVEL | missing | ring | call | phone |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 9.6 | 0.7 | 84.7 | 5.1 |
| JH | 19.5 | 0.0 | 76.7 | 3.8 |
| SH | 3.0 | 1.3 | 91.5 | 4.2 |
| UNI | 6.1 | 0.7 | 85.1 | 8.1 |

Table 45 Type 2 ring/call/phone-Q3A120.

For the Type 3(a) vocabulary selection, the respondents tend to prefer the word options in neutral use. For example, more than 90 percent of the respondents preferred car to automobile (Table 48), and a small but still quite significant number of respondents chose garden over yard (Table 47). As both car and garden are such words that are used across all English varieties, these results by themselves do not prove Japanese EFL learners' preference for a specific variety, but only a general use. However, an interesting point is seen in the fall/autumn selection. The respondents chose fall, the vocabulary unique to the US, not autumn, the commonly used alternative in other varieties (Table 46). Consequently, this dominance in fall over autumn indicates that the US vocabulary is more preferred. Therefore, based on these results, Japanese EFL learners often prefer neutral vocabulary, although US variety is also dominant in some cases.

| LEVEL | missing | autumn | fall |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 15.2 | 21.5 | 63.3 |
| JH | 28.1 | 8.1 | 63.8 |
| SH | 7.2 | 28.8 | 64.0 |
| UNI | 9.5 | 29.1 | 61.5 |

Table 46 Type 3(a) autumn/fall-Q3A060.

| LEVEL | missing | garden | yard |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 15.7 | 67.2 | 17.2 |
| JH | 28.6 | 49.0 | 22.4 |
| SH | 8.1 | 76.7 | 15.3 |
| UNI | 9.5 | 77.7 | 12.8 |

Table 47 Type 3(a) garden/yard-Q3A170.

| LEVEL | missing | car | automobile |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 2.5 | 92.8 | 4.7 |
| JH | 5.2 | 93.3 | 1.4 |
| SH | 0.4 | 93.2 | 6.4 |
| UNI | 2.0 | 91.2 | 6.8 |

Table 48 Type 3(a) car/automobile-Q4A05.

For the Type 3(b) vocabulary selection, neither significant UK nor US preference
was observed in all three paired items. For example, the majority of the respondents chose can, while few of them provided tin (Table 49); more than 70 percent of the respondents chose two weeks over fortnight's time (Table 50); and aeroplane was greatly surpassed by airplane (Table 51). Since can, two weeks, and airplane are commonly used in any English variety, these results show neutral vocabulary preference for Japanese EFL learners. Although more than half of the junior high school students could not give acceptable answers for both tin/can and aeroplane/airplane, those who could answer mostly chose this general vocabulary option. Therefore, in the Type 3(b) vocabulary selection, Japanese EFL learners clearly tend to prefer the word options in general use.

| LEVEL | missing | tin | can |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 37.0 | 0.2 | 62.8 |
| JH | 57.6 | 0.0 | 42.4 |
| SH | 26.7 | 0.4 | 72.9 |
| UNI | 24.3 | 0.0 | 75.7 |

Table 49 Type 3(b) tin/can-Q3A111.

| LEVEL | missing | a fortnight | two weeks |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 22.4 | 3.0 | 74.6 |
| JH | 27.1 | 0.5 | 72.4 |
| SH | 22.9 | 5.1 | 72.0 |
| UNI | 14.9 | 3.4 | 81.8 |

Table 50 Type 3(b) a fortnight time/two weeks-Q3A150.

| LEVEL | missing | aeroplane | airplane |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 28.1 | 0.3 | 71.5 |
| JH | 55.2 | 0.0 | 44.8 |
| SH | 17.8 | 0.8 | 81.4 |
| UNI | 6.1 | 0.0 | 93.9 |

Table 51 Type 3(b) aeroplane/airplane-Q4A02.

### 5.3.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Hypothesis 2(b): there is a significant US orientation in vocabulary choice, was supported. Based on the results above, one general point becomes very clear. As far as vocabulary is concerned, Japanese EFL learners are very familiar with the neutral vocabulary, with some tendency toward the US variety. Roughly along the four types of vocabulary classification, three types, namely Type 2, Type 3(a), and Type 3(b), show
neither significant US preference nor UK preference, although a hint of the US tendency was observed in Type 2 and Type 3(a). These results suggest that Japanese EFL learners are more comfortable with the neutral vocabulary over variety specific options. From this, in terms of vocabulary, it may be concluded that formal EFL education teaches a world wide lingua franca type English.

Although the general tendency of vocabulary choice appears to be neutral for English varieties, it is important to consider the influence of English loanwords in Japanese in light of the results. It is notable, for example, that the three items showing a UK orientation are all loanwords (postman, garden, and car) and that there are some loanwords, such as can or gas, where a US preference was shown. Based on the fact that loanwords are likely to be chosen, regardless of whether they originate in the UK or the US, and that the questions indicating a UK preference were all loanwords, these three choices indicating a UK preference may not in fact reveal a preference for the UK vocabulary. That is, it may be going too far to conclude that formal EFL education teaches a worldwide lingua franca type English, because the frequent exposure to loanwords may affect the result. However, it is important to point out that not all question items contained loanwords, and for the questions that did not involve loanwords, a significant US preference was found. On the whole, among the 19 choices in the four typological classifications in terms of English varieties, a significant US orientation was found in five cases and an insignificant US tendency in 11 cases, while significant UK orientation could be seen in only one case and an insignificant UK tendency in two cases. Specifically, in the Type 1 vocabulary selection, this US preference is clearly seen. Among the nine Type 1 question items, even discarding loanwords, all selections were toward the US variety. These results show that Japanese EFL learners tend to choose US expressions over UK expressions in terms of lexical item choice regardless of the influence of English loanwords in Japanese. Accordingly, it is reasonable to argue that EFL learners are more likely to have been exposed to US variety in Japan.

Having confirmed Hypothesis 2(b), an additional interesting point was found in this vocabulary preference study. The vocabulary taught under current EFL teaching does not cover enough for practical communication. In the survey, relatively few people could give valid answers in six out of 19 cases. Since the vocabulary items used in this study are used daily at survival level and not at the academic level, these small numbers of valid
responses show that Japanese EFL learners' English language proficiency is not particularly high. In fact, there is fairly general agreement that those who have spent 610 years learning English are not achieving a satisfactory level of proficiency in their communication skills in English (Funabashi 2000a: 211, Terasawa 2000: 224). Consequently, it may be worth considering what kind of vocabulary should be introduced to learners. However, the matter will be left open because inquiring further into this matter would lead the study into that specialized area of curriculum development, and such a digression would undoubtedly obscure the outline of this thesis argument on the EFL policy in terms of English variety.

### 5.4 Grammatical Preference Study

This section examines the grammatical component in order to discover which variety of English is actually learned by Japanese EFL learners who have learned English under the 1989 curriculum. In this grammatical study, British and American grammar systems are the focus. The term grammar here is interpreted broadly as the way words or phrases are combined. That is, 'grammar' refers not only syntax, but also morphology and to the lexicon. A broad definition of grammar is used in this study because a narrow definition, referring only to syntax for example, would limit the scope of the survey materials used to analyze the participants' English proficiency (see Section 5.4.2 for details).

### 5.4.1 Hypothesis

The working hypothesis to be examined in this grammatical study is as follows:
Hypothesis 2(c)
There is a significant US orientation in grammatical choice.
Hypothesis 2(c) investigates whether Japanese EFL learners prefer the grammatical standards that are often used in the US variety, or, if not, which English variety the learners tend to prefer. Since different grammatical patterns are preferred in some cases in different English varieties, it is natural for learners to use modes of grammatical patterns that they are more exposed to. Consequently, their preferences in grammatical patterns reveal another dimension of Japan's linguistic state. Therefore, it is worthwhile
investigating whether the US orientation exists in the grammatical patterns.

### 5.4.2 Data Collection

In order to test Hypothesis 2(c), learners' production was examined in terms of grammar in questions [3] and [4] by filling in blanks to complete sentences (Appendices 3 and 4). To ascertain learners' grammatical preferences, three fill-in-the-blanks type questions were given, together with several items for vocabulary in question [3]. Also, since grammatical usage shows some characteristics of the UK and US English varieties, another fill-in-the-blanks type question was included in question [4].

The choice of questions was determined partly by operational limitations. For instance, although some syntactic items, such as I suggested that he should start/ I suggested that he start, are good examples to determine learners' preferences, they were not included in the survey questionnaire. The reason for this exclusion is because these items were far beyond the participants' actual proficiency and the responses were expected to be extremely low. As a result, four target grammatical items were chosen so as to reveal the learners' preferences. These items are classified into three types (Type $1-3$ ) in the same way as the vocabulary preference study (Section 5.3.2). The two Type 1 grammatical items distinguish the variety preference straightforwardly. The first item addresses which word follows after the comparative adjective different. Since from is generally preferred and than and to are often used colloquially, in terms of prescriptive grammar, the frequency of usage for the three choices was compared with each other. In general, than and from are followed in the US variety, whereas to and from are commonly used in the UK variety. This suggests that those who chose from imply a neutral grammatically preference while those who chose than or to indicate their grammatical preference is UK- or US-oriented, respectively. Moreover, the second item concerns which preposition and vocabulary are chosen when buying a cooked dish at a restaurant to take away and eat elsewhere. For example, to go or take out are commonly used in the US variety while take away is often used in the UK variety. Thus, those who chose take away suggest that they have been learning UK English while those who chose to go or take out show that their learned English is US-oriented.

The Type 2 grammatical items used in this study are verb inflections. Generally speaking, irregular verbs tend to have become regularized in North American English,
whereas British English retains irregular inflections. For example, learn is inflected into learned in the US variety while British English prefers learnt for its past tense and past participle. Therefore, those who chose learned indicated that they have studied the US English while those who chose learnt show that they have studied UK-oriented English.

The final grammatical item, Type 3, concerns the word order. In English, UK English only allows the indefinite article to come immediately before the unit of measure, while US English can also have $a$ before half. For example, in US English, thirty minutes can be expressed in either of the two orders (a half hour and half an hour). Therefore, those who choose a half hour expression would show that they have learned the US variety and those who choose half an hour would indicate they have learned the UK variety.

In summary, the grammatical target items included in the questionnaire are listed as below. When the first item in a row is chosen, that indicates a UK English orientation; and when the second item is chosen, this means the subjects have a US orientation. ${ }^{117}$ However, the comparative adjective followed different has a third possibility, which is also commonly used.

| Type 1: UK/US distinctive use + [commonly used $]$ |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| UK | US | Common use |
| 1. to | than | $[\text { from }]^{118}$ |
| 2. (to) take away | (to) go / take out ${ }^{119}$ |  |

Type 2: both used generally, but more frequent use in each variety
3. learnt learned ${ }^{120}$

Type 3 (a): UK general use + US distinctive use
4. half an (hour) a half (hour) ${ }^{121}$

Type 3 (b): UK distinctive use + US general use
N/A

[^71]
### 5.4.3 Analysis

Having collected the data through questions [3] and [4], frequency tallies for the given items that the subjects chose were constructed and described as percentages, again, both for the sample and for the level of education. The results clearly indicate which grammar learners prefer, so that here as well no statistical test was performed. However, it seems that several target items in the grammar study were beyond the knowledge of some participants, which resulted in a relatively large number of empty answers. It is understandable that some participants, particularly the junior high school students, would have trouble with some of the target items in the grammar study because the participants were required to supply their own answer to fill-in-the-blank type questions. Nevertheless, even for the questions where many respondents gave no answers, it is still informative to observe, among those who provided answers, whether the respondents are UK or US oriented. Thus, instead of eliminating the items that appeared to be difficult for the respondents entirely from analysis, the empty answers were discarded, and the remaining data was analyzed. When discussing the results more consideration will be given to the items that the majority of participants gave answers to, although the items that fewer students could answer will also be considered.

### 5.4.4 Results

The following tables (Table 52 -Table 55 ) ${ }^{122}$ summarize the ratio of grammatical choices. In each table, numbers show the percentage of respondents who chose the words in the horizontal heading. The results for one of the Type 1 items, than/tolfrom, reveal that the respondents chose the commonly used preposition for both varieties from compared to than or to, and that to was chosen more than than (Table 52). This result shows that the learners are more comfortable using the neutral option. However, since the comparison between than and to is extremely minor, the difference can be safely ignored. Therefore, for the choice of than/tolfrom, Japanese EFL learners tend to prefer the prescriptively correct expression and little can be said in terms of UK/US preference. Furthermore, for another trichotomy item: go/ take away/ take out, more than half of the respondents could not give acceptable answers (Table 53), which indicates that the items may be beyond

[^72]their current lexicon. However, the respondents who could provide answers mostly completed the sentences with go and take out not take away. As both expressions are frequently used in US variety, a US preference can be claimed for this expression.

| LEVEL | missing | to | than | from |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 35.7 | 3.4 | 1.7 | 59.3 |
| JH | 71.9 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 22.4 |
| SH | 12.3 | 4.2 | 0.4 | 83.1 |
| UNI | 21.6 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 73.6 |

Table 52 Type 1 to/than/from-Q3A020.

| LEVEL | missing | take away | go | take out |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 51.0 | 0.7 | 5.4 | 42.9 |
| JH | 71.9 | 1.0 | 7.1 | 20.0 |
| SH | 47.9 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 50.8 |
| UNI | 26.4 | 0.7 | 11.1 | 62.8 |

Table 53 Type 1 take away/go/take out-Q3A030.

For the Type 2 grammatical component, the majority of participants who could answer preferred learned (Table 54). Those who preferred learnt made up less than one percent of the total. This reveals that Japanese EFL learners prefer the US variety. However, it is worth mentioning that this choice might be caused by (over)generalization of the past form of a verb. As the majority of the verbs they learn are regular verbs, they may apply the generalizing rule onto the regular past tense form by adding $-(e) d$ in the word's final position, even if they guessed the answer correctly. Therefore, it is safer not to conclude a US preference from this item.

| LEVEL | missing | learnt | leamed |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 35.5 | 0.5 | 64.0 |
| JH | 52.9 | 0.0 | 47.1 |
| SH | 19.9 | 1.3 | 78.8 |
| UNI | 35.8 | 0.0 | 64.2 |

Table 54 Type 2 learnt/learned-Q3A011.

For the Type 3 grammatical component, the majority of responses were not grammatically correct answers (Table 55). Among those who gave valid answers, a little more than half chose half an hour, which is considered to be a UK-oriented expression. Normally, in the English language, a noun phrase begins with an article, which is
followed by adjectives, and then nouns. The reversed order of such a phrase is irregular, as seen in half an hour. Consequently, if respondents were guessing the answer to this question, more would be expected to answer answering a half hour. Therefore, as the result is unclear, it cannot be argued whether Japanese EFL learners' show UK tendency in terms of Type 3 grammatical component.

| LEVEL | missing | half an hour | a half hour |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 67.5 | 18.9 | 13.6 |
| JH | 84.8 | 11.0 | 5.2 |
| SH | 59.7 | 23.7 | 16.5 |
| UNI | 55.4 | 23.6 | 20.9 |

Table 55 Type 3 half an hour/ a half hour-Q3A190.

### 5.4.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the results above, Hypothesis 2(c), regarding the possibility of a significant US preference in the grammatical component, was not supported. One US tendency in take away/goltake out and one general use in tol thanl from were found, and the two other questions given did not provide enough evidence to establish either a UK or a US preference. Therefore, Japanese EFL learners tend to use more neutral grammatical forms between the UK and US English. In other words, these results suggest that variety free grammar is taught in Japanese formal EFL classrooms.

### 5.5 Stylistics Preference Study

This section examines the stylistic component in order to discover which variety of English is actually learned by Japanese EFL learners who have learned English under the 1989 curriculum. In this stylistics preference study, British and American ways of documenting dates are to be the focus.

### 5.5.1 Hypotheses

The working hypothesis to be examined in this stylistic study is as follows:
Hypothesis 2(d)
There is a significant US orientation in stylistic choice.
This stylistics preference study to examine Hypothesis 2(d) demonstrates whether

Japanese EFL learners prefer the stylistic standard that often is used in the US variety, or if not the US variety, which English variety the learners tend to use, the UK variety or a combination of these two varieties. Since different stylistic patterns are preferred in different English varieties, it is natural for learners to use modes of stylistics that they are more exposed to if there is more than one stylistic pattern. Accordingly, their preferences in stylistics reveal another dimension of Japan's linguistic situation, and investigating whether the US orientation also exists in the stylistic patterns adds an interesting and important dimension to this study.

### 5.5.2 Data Collection

In order to test Hypothesis 2(d), learners' production was examined by focusing on the style of writing for dating because the stylistics of writing a date indicates whether the writer is following the American or the British way, although problems of interpretation can sometimes create confusion. In general, when a date is written, the US English users and the UK English users follow different formats. Indeed, Sakimura reports that the UK type is actually used by the US government and military and is recommended for use in the Chicago Manual, but each stylistic way is followed commonly and consistently within either UK or US standard in the general population (Sakimura 1991: 181-2). Usually, a date is distinctly expressed in the order of month, day, and year, such as September 17, 1984 in American English, whereas day and month are swapped to give 17 September 1984 in British English. However, when a date is written down only using numbers such as $9 / 17 / 1984$ or 17/9/1984, which often is the case, these two different formats sometimes cause trouble when exchanging information. For example, when both the number of the day and the month are less than or equal to 12 , for example, $6 / 1 / 1999$, it is ambiguous as to whether it refers to June 1 or January 6. Therefore, surveying how the learners write the date in numbers reveals the English variety they are familiar with. ${ }^{123}$

In question [5], subjects were asked about three specific dates and were to complete sentences by filling blanks with numbers. These dates include the date they completed the questionnaire, their birthdays, and Christmas day, which are all classified as Type 2, UK/US dichotomy, as the list below shows. Thus, providing the answers in $\mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{yy}$

[^73]suggests a US tendency, while choosing dd $/ \mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{yy}$ order indicates a UK tendency.
Type 2: both used generally, but more frequent use in each variety

|  | UK | US |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. today | $\mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{yy}$ | $\mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{yy}$ |
| 2. birthday | $\mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{yy}$ | $\mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{yy}$ |
| 5. Christmas day | $\mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{yy}$ | $\mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{yy}$ |

Type 1, 3 and 4
N/A

### 5.5.3 Analysis

Having collected the data through questions [5], frequency tallies for the given items that the subjects chose were constructed and described as percentages both for the sample and for the level of education. As the results made overwhelmingly clear which spelling leaners prefer, no statistical test was considered necessary.

### 5.5.4 Results

The following tables (Table 56-Table 58) ${ }^{124}$ summarize the ratio of the dichotomous stylistic choices. In each table, numbers show the percentage of respondents who chose the words in the horizontal heading. Among all three questions, there were more respondents who wrote the three dates in the American way. Approximately 90 percent of the junior high school students followed the US type stylistics (Table 56-Table 58). In addition, for senior high school and university students, on the other hand, the numbers for the US type expression ( $\mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{dd} / \mathrm{yy}$ ) exceeded those for the UK type expression (dd $/ \mathrm{mm} / \mathrm{yy}$ ). Therefore, these overall results show that the learners have a US variety preference for the stylistics component.

| LEVEL | missing | MM/DDMY | DD/MMMY |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 1.2 | 65.5 | 33.3 |
| JH | 1.9 | 90.0 | 8.1 |
| SH | 1.3 | 53.0 | 45.8 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 50.7 | 49.3 |

Table 56 Type 2 today-Q5A01.

[^74]| LEVEL | missing | MM/DD/YY | DD/MM/YY |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 0.8 | 67.8 | 31.3 |
| JH | 1.9 | 90.5 | 7.6 |
| SH | 0.4 | 57.2 | 42.4 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 52.7 | 47.3 |

Table 57 Type 2 birthday-Q5A02.

| LEVEL | missing | MM/DDNY | DD/MMMY |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL | 1.2 | 65.8 | 33.0 |
| JH | 2.4 | 90.0 | 7.6 |
| SH | 0.8 | 54.2 | 44.9 |
| UNI | 0.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |

Table 58 Type 2 Christmas day -Q5A03.

An interesting point, however, is that senior high school and university students show a different tendency in the stylistic preference from that of junior high school students for all three questions. Those who chose the US style and those who chose the UK style were remarkably similar for senior high school and university students, while the US style is predominant for junior high school students. Since the US dating style was introduced in the current secondary school EFL textbooks (Section 4.2), analyzing the textbooks' account for this marginal phenomenon for the senior high school and university students is problematic. One probable explanation is that the teachers introduced the alternative way as it is also commonly used in everyday usage. It may also be that the learners have encountered, and picked up, the other way of dating outside the classrooms as their learning proceeds.

### 5.5.5 Discussion and Conclusion

A significant US preference among junior high school students and a slight US tendency among the remaining respondents were found. Thus, Hypothesis 2(d), regarding the US preference in the stylistic component, was supported. In particular, fairly large numbers of junior high school students chose the US style. In Japanese junior high school EFL classrooms, how to write dates is taught at an early stage in their curriculum. It is hard to imagine that they do not yet know dating order. In addition, as a date is written in the order of year, month, then day in Japanese (as their first language), no interference from Japanese should be claimed. Considering the fact that the
respondents who gave the dates in that Japanese style were less than three percent, it is inconceivable that the junior high school students who chose mm/dd/yy did not know how to style dating or were affected by Japanese date stylistics. Thus, this provides strong evidence for a US preference in the stylistic aspect.

### 5.6 Attitudinal Difference Study

Following the five linguistic studies, in which Japanese EFL learners were proven to be exposed to American English from the accent, spelling, and stylistic points of view and to neutral English from vocabulary and grammatical points of view, the learners' attitudes toward English varieties will now be considered.

### 5.6.1 Hypothesis

The working hypothesis to be examined in this attitudinal difference study is as follows:

Hypothesis 3
There is a significant difference in attitudes toward different English varieties.
Hypothesis 3 demonstrates whether the attitudes toward different English varieties differ to each other and, if so, in which order the varieties are favored. Examining the attitudinal differences for the English varieties is important because it will reveal a sociolinguistic picture and allow an evaluation of whether, and how, the current course objectives are effectively implemented. Although many varieties are worth considering in this study, in order to achieve these purposes in as much detail as possible, the numbers had to be limited to a size suitable for a questionnaire. Consequently, the varieties included in this attitudinal difference study are American, British, Australian, and Singaporean. British and American varieties were chosen as the worldwide mainstreams, Australian as another Inner Circle variety, and Singaporean as an Outer Circle variety.

### 5.6.2 Data Collection

In order to test Hypothesis 3, a total of 48 questions were included in the questionnaire as in [9] (Appendices 3 and 4). The same 12 questions were asked for the four varieties (UK, US, AU, and SG) respectively. Each question asked about a different
aspect of linguistic attitude, and the participants were asked to score from 1 to $7: 1$ for the most positive and 7 for the most negative. The 12 questions are as follows: ${ }^{125}$

Whether XX English has high status / is prestigious.
Whether XX English is worth learning.
Whether mastering XX English would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the world.
Whether mastering XX English would be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.
Whether mastering XX English would be useful for my academic achievement.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is cool.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is intelligent.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is honest.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is friendly.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is reliable.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is generally likable.
Whether a Japanese speaking XX English is successful.
('XX' above should be replaced with either UK, US, AU, or SG.)

### 5.6.3 Analysis

In order to demonstrate Hypothesis 3, the attitudinal scores have to be calculated for the final statistical analysis. First of all, factor analysis was performed on the raw data of 12 answers by varieties collected through questions [9]. As a result, four factors (prestige/formality, benefit, admiration/approval, and favor) were extracted as shown in Table 59. These $\alpha$ values in the table show that the 12 items of four factors for each variety are categorized reasonably as one group.

| Cronback's $\alpha$ (N=584) | Items | UK | US | AU | SG |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 4 factors 12 items |  | .7978 | .7205 | .8028 | .7701 |
|  | (1) prestige/formality: | $\mathrm{H} 3-1, \mathrm{H} 3-2, \mathrm{H} 3-3$ |  |  |  |
| (2) benefit: | $\mathrm{H} 3-4, \mathrm{H} 3-5$, <br> $\mathrm{H} 3-6, \mathrm{H} 3-7$ |  |  |  |  |
| (3) admiration/approval: | $\mathrm{H} 3-8, \mathrm{H} 3-9$, <br> $\mathrm{H} 3-12$ |  |  |  |  |
| (4) favor: | $\mathrm{H} 3-10, \mathrm{H} 3-11$ |  |  |  |  |

Table 59 Cronback's $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ by factors.

The average scores for each of the four factors were added up and the total scores for each variety were treated as established attitudinal scales. The descriptive statistics for the

[^75]attitudinal scale scores are shown in Table 60. Since the smaller numbers of the scores indicate the more positive attitudes, the participants show the most positive attitudes toward the UK variety, followed by the US, Australian, and finally by the Singaporean variety, as far as comparing the mean scores.

|  | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum | Mean Rank |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| UK | 584 | 11.840 | 3.797 | 4.0 | 28.0 | 1.48 |
| US | 584 | 13.429 | 3.470 | 4.0 | 28.0 | 2.07 |
| AU | 584 | 14.836 | 3.593 | 4.3 | 28.0 | 2.86 |
| SG | 584 | 16.480 | 3.316 | 7.3 | 28.0 | 3.58 |

Table 60 Descriptive statistics for attitudinal scales.

Finally, in order to test the statistically significant difference among the attitudes toward the four varieties, the Friedman test, together with the Nemenyi test, were performed.

### 5.6.4 Results

Performing the Friedman test and the Nemenyi test revealed a different degree of attitudes that the participants have toward each variety. First, as a result of the Friedman test, a significant difference in the attitudes towards English varieties was found ( $x$ ${ }^{2}=939.850 ; \mathrm{df}=3 ; \mathrm{N}=584 ; \mathrm{p} \leqq 0.000$ ). This significant $\chi_{\mathrm{R}}{ }_{\mathrm{R}}$ value shows that the attitudes that the learners have toward the four varieties are significantly different in a statistical sense. Secondly, in order to determine where the difference lies, the Nemenyi test was then performed. As a result, a significant difference was found among all the varieties examined in this study (Table 61). These critical values show that the attitude toward the UK variety is the most positive, followed by US, then AU, and finally by SG , at $\mathrm{p} \leqq 0.001$ level.

|  | UK | US | AU | SG |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| UK |  | $0.59^{* * *}$ | $1.38^{* * *}$ | $2.10^{* * *}$ |
| US |  |  | $0.79^{* * *}$ | $1.51^{* * *}$ |
| AU |  |  |  | $0.72^{* * *}$ |

Table 61 Difference in rank order (result of the Nemenyi test ${ }^{126}$ ).

As seen above, therefore, based on the results of the Friedman test and the Nemenyi test, it should be concluded that Japanese EFL learners have different attitudes toward
question numbers (e.g. the item H3-1 was asked in question [9](1)).
different English varieties.

### 5.6.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Having found significant attitudinal differences among the four varieties, Hypothesis 3 was strongly supported. The results further show that the respondents had the most positive attitudes toward the UK, followed by the US, AU, and SG varieties. The finding of the attitudinal difference discloses a sociolinguistic picture as well as an educational efficacy.

In terms of projecting a sociolinguistic picture from the order of results, it might be possible to interpret the respondents as having positive attitudes more toward Inner Circle varieties than to Outer Circle varieties. However, future research including other varieties such as Scottish, Irish, the Philippines, Indian, some Caribbean countries, and some African countries must be conducted to confirm this conclusion.

In terms of evaluating the current course objectives, the notable differences in the attitudes found in this study are not encouraging with regards to the achievement of the course objective, which is for learners to be able to face foreigners, foreign languages or their cultures without negative biases acquired through learning a foreign language. Although these results might have been improved if we could have compared the current attitudes to those of past learners, for example, 30 or 40 years ago in a time flow, there is unfortunately no definite information about the earlier attitudes of foreign language learners to make such a comparison. However, the circumstances of evaluating learners' psychological attitudes to be cultivated under the 1989 Course of Study are at least far from being achieved in an absolute sense.

### 5.7 Attitudinal Relation Study

Following the attitudinal difference study, which observed that Japanese EFL learners do not equally rank different English varieties, this section will explore in more detail characteristics about Japanese EFL learners' attitudes toward English varieties. This issue is elaborated on in order to comprehend the nature of learners' attitudes, so that

[^76]suggestions will be offered for developing an ideal (in terms of cultivating balanced attitudes toward different English varieties) EFL education system in Japan.

### 5.7.1 Hypotheses

In order to observe the structure of the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties, two hypotheses will be examined. The first hypotheses is:

> Hypothesis 4
> There is a significant relationship between Attitudinal Bias and learners' perception of, or their behaviors related to, English learning.

Hypothesis 4 looks at how the attitudinal differences among English varieties are related to personal factors, such as how the learners perceive English learning or how they behave when learning English. Understanding the relationships between the learners' attitudes toward English varieties and the EFL learning-related personal factors will be useful in developing suggestions as to which psychological awareness factors should be examined when evaluating attitudes toward English varieties in classroom teaching. In addition, it is also useful to provide insight for future curriculum development to contribute to enriching the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties.

The second hypothesis is as follows:
Hypothesis 5
There are significant relationships among learners' various attitudes regarding English learning.

In order to build a more detailed picture of Japanese EFL learners' attitudes toward English varieties, Hypothesis 5 examines the relationships among the attitudes and some possible relevant factors, focusing on the UK and US English varieties. These factors are their attitudes toward the English varieties (Attitudes to Variety), the attitudes toward English speaking countries (Attitudes to Countries), which variety the learners recognize that other people expect them to learn (External Expectations), and which variety learners value learning (Internal Target). Hypothesis 5 examines all possible relationships among these four categories, for both the UK and US scores, as follows:

H5a: 'External Expectations' and 'Attitudes to Countries'
H5b: 'Internal Target' and 'Attitudes to Countries'
H5c: 'Attitudes to Variety' and 'Attitudes to Countries'
H5d: 'Internal Target' and 'External Expectations'
H5e: 'External Expectations' and 'Attitudes to Variety'.
H5f: 'Internal Target' and 'Attitudes to Variety'.

### 5.7.2 Data Collection

In order to test Hypothesis 4, a total of 90 items were included in the questions [0], [9], [10], and [11] (Appendices 3 and 4). The core data set was called 'Attitudinal Bias,' which is the difference between the highest and lowest attitudinal scores for each respondent, and was recalculated based on the battery of four scores (UK, US, AU, SG) used in the attitudinal difference study (question [9] and Section 5.6). Accordingly, 'Attitudinal Bias' shows Japanese EFL learners' bias to different English varieties; a lower score shows less bias and a higher score more bias. In addition, in order to see whether there exists any relationship with Attitudinal Bias, a total of 17 items used as the variables were included in the questionnaire (questions [0], [10], and [11]). The question numbers and the labels assigned for these 17 items (either psychological awareness or behavioral) are as follows: ${ }^{127}$

## Perception Factors

H4-1. Japanese EFL learners' desire to master English (Desire for Mastery)
H4-2. their interest in Foreign Language (Foreign Language Interest)
H4-3. their interest in English (English Interest)
H4-4. their goal in oral-aural skills (Listening and Speaking Goal)
H4-5. their goal in reading-writing skills (Reading and Writing Goal)
H4-6. their goal in academic achievement (Academic Goal)
H4-7. their liking of English learning (Liking English Learning)
H4-8. their confidence in the oral-aural skills (Listening and Speaking Confidence)
H4-9. their confidence in the reading-writing skills (Reading and Writing Confidence)
H4-10. their self-evaluation of the oral-aural skills (Listening and Speaking Self-evaluation)
H4-11. their self-evaluation of the reading-writing skills (Reading and Writing Self-evaluation)

## Behavioral Factors

H4-12. the numbers taking STEP ${ }^{128}$ exams (STEP Experience)
H4-13. the opportunity to learn English outside school (Self-study Opportunity)
H4-14. the opportunity to familiarize themselves with English TV/Radio programs (TV-Radio Opportunity)

[^77]
## H4-15. the opportunity to familiarize themselves with English by reading English stories (Reading Opportunity)

H4-16. the opportunity to familiarize themselves with English by listening to English songs (Music Opportunity)
H4-17. the opportunity to familiarize themselves with English by watching English movies (Movie Opportunity)

For the psychological awareness factors, the 11 items other than (H4-10) Listening and Speaking Self-evaluation and (H4-11) Reading and Writing Self-evaluation were scored from 1 to $7: 1$ for the most positive and 7 for the most negative. Items (H4-10) and (H4-11) and Behavioral factors (H4-12)-(H4-17) were scored from 1 to 5: 1 for the least opportunity and the larger score for more frequent opportunities.

In order to test Hypothesis 5, a total of 72 items were included in the questions [6], [7], [8], and [9]. Since Hypothesis 5 examines the relationship among 'Attitudes to Variety', 'Attitudes to Countries', 'External Expectations', and 'Internal Target' focusing on American and the British English, the scores were calculated by the factors and the varieties. The UK and US scores of 'Attitudes to Variety' are reused from the battery of four scores (UK, US, AU, SG) used in the attitudinal difference study (question [9] and Section 5.6). Moreover, the data for 'Attitudes to Countries' were taken from question [6]. Respondents were asked to choose the most favored country out of six choices for each of eight occasions. The six choices are the Philippines, Singapore, Australia, South Africa, UK, and US. The eight occasions are: ${ }^{129}$

H5a-1. the country the subject would like to visit
H5a-2. the subject's best liked country
H5a-3. the nationality of a person with whom the subject would like to become friends
H5a-4. the most important country the subject thinks is for Japan
H5a-5. the country the subject would like to study abroad in
H5a-6. the country the subject would be happy to receive an airmail letter from
H5a-7. the nationality of a student the subject would be happy to host at home
H5a-8. the countries in which the subject would like to be born if $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{he}$ has another chance

Furthermore, seven items were given for 'External Expectations', and respondents were asked to choose, from eight choices, the English variety they felt they were most expected

[^78]to learn. These choices included the Philippine, Singaporean, Australian, South African, UK, US, and Japanese English varieties, and 'don't know'. The items asked are: ${ }^{130}$

H5b-1. the variety the parents want the subject to learn
H5b-2. the variety which is more advantageous for passing STEP
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{~b}-3$. the variety evaluated highly by judges at speech contests
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{~b}-4$. the variety which is more advantageous for passing entrance exams
H5b-5. the variety the subject's English textbook tries to teach him/her
H5b-6. the variety the subject's Japanese teachers of English try to teach him/her

H5b-7. the variety the subject's Assistant Language teachers try to teach him/her

In addition, for 'Internal Target', the respondents were asked in [8] to choose the most desirable variety for all nine occasions out of seven choices. The seven choices were the Philippine, Singaporean, Australian, South African, UK, US, and Japanese English varieties. The nine occasions are: ${ }^{131}$
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-1$. the variety which is more advantageous when going abroad
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-2$. the variety which is more advantageous when talking to someone from overseas in English
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-3$. the variety which is more advantageous when listening to English radio programs
H5c-4. the variety which is more advantageous when watching English TV programs
H5c-5. the variety which is more advantageous to singing karaoke songs well
H5c-6. the variety which is more advantageous when trying to understand the meaning of English songs
H5c-7. the variety which is more advantageous when watching English movies
$\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-8$. the variety which is more advantageous when writing to the pen-pals
H5c-9. the variety which is more advantageous when reading English books
In order to create the categorical scores (for each of 'Attitudes to Countries', 'External Expectations', 'Internal Target'), one point was given for either a UK or US preference, depending on the answer for each question above. Then, the total tally for each category was used for the analysis. A higher score shows stronger preference for that country or variety: Attitudes to Countries scored from 0 to 9 , External Expectations scored from 0 to 7, and Internal Target scored from 0 to 9 . The scores that had unanswered items for any

[^79]factor were discarded.

### 5.7.3 Analysis

The data collected through the questionnaire was summarized by the factors within the categories including Attitudes to Varieties, Attitudinal Bias, Perception in English Learning, Behavior in English Learning, Attitudes to Countries, External Expectations, and Internal Target, as Table 62-Table 68 below show. The tables provide scores such as the valid number of respondents to be examined, the mean, the standard deviation, minimum and maximum scores, and these descriptive statistics reveal characteristics of Japanese EFL learners.

Among the seven categories above, focusing on the Attitudes to Variety reveals that the attitude toward the Singaporean variety is obviously less favorable than the rest. As seen in Table 62, whereas the maximum scores are all the same (28.0), the Singaporean minimum score (7.33) is higher (indicating less positive) than any other variety (US = UK $=4.0, \mathrm{AU}=4.25$ ). Moreover, the mean score for the Singaporean variety is the highest (16.48, indicating the least positive) of the four varieties ( $\mathrm{US}=13.44, \mathrm{UK}=11.84, \mathrm{AU}=$ 14.84). As discussed in the attitudinal difference study (Section 5.6), these descriptive statistics also show that Japanese EFL learners have less positive attitudes toward the Singaporean English variety than toward Australian, UK, or US varieties.

| Attitudes to Varieties | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Attitude to US English | 587 | 13.4361 | 3.4639 | 4.00 | 28.00 |
| Attitude to UK English | 585 | 11.8372 | 3.7946 | 4.00 | 28.00 |
| Attitude to SG English | 586 | 16.4767 | 3.3193 | 7.33 | 28.00 |
| Attitude to AU English | 584 | 14.8365 | 3.5933 | 4.25 | 28.00 |

Table 62 Descriptive statistics for Attitudes to the four varieties.

The attitudinal differences among the four varieties are presented in scores as Attitudinal Bias. Although this score indicates that the bias does exist, the degree of bias does not seem very extreme. The score shows each student's gap between the most and the least positive attitude (the smaller the minimum score is, the more balanced/similar attitudes toward the four varieties are). As observed in Table 63, the scores here are widely spread $(\operatorname{Min}=0.25, \operatorname{Max}=24.0)$ and the average score $(5.71)$ shows that most
learners' attitudes toward different English varieties tend to be less biased.

| Attitudinal Bias | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: | ---: |
| Attitudinal Bias | 574 | 5.7137 | 3.6292 | 0.25 | 24.00 |

Table 63 Descriptive statistics for Attitudinal Bias.

The descriptive statistics for the factors of Perception in English Learning disclose many characteristics (Table 64). Overall, since the scores for most of these factors are spread over the given range (1-7 or 1-5), except for Reading and Writing Confidence (27), this distribution shows that how Japanese EFL learners feel about EFL learning varies from learner to learner. Moreover, comparing the scores for the learners' interests in foreign languages and EFL learning (Foreign Language $=3.15, \mathrm{EFL}=2.80$ ) reveals that the Japanese students are more captivated by English than they are by other foreign languages. Furthermore, the average score of Desire for Mastery (2.69) shows that a good command of English is highly demanded by Japanese EFL learners.

These results together further reveal the characteristics of the learners' motivation in, and achievement of, learning English. In order to know what aspect the learners want to achieve by learning English, the mean scores for three goals are compared. As smaller numbers indicate that the learners are more positive about achieving the goals, the average scores (Listening and Speaking $=1.70$, Reading and Writing $=1.77$, Academic $=$ 2.03) across the range $1-7$ show that practical language skills and achievement in a school subject are all notable. Remarkably, a closer look reveals that, among these three goals, the mean scores for the Listening and Speaking Goal and the Reading and Writing Goal are much stronger than the Academic Goal. This phenomenon is explicable considering the fact that the Academic Goal has a slightly different implication from the other two Goals in Japan. The Listening and Speaking Goal and the Reading and Writing Goal are purely in the proficiency perspective, while the Academic Goal is how well the learner does in the classroom learning, not how well $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{he}$ communicates in the target language. Consequently, one of the characteristics of Japanese EFL learners is that they are learning English for more practical purposes than simply academic achievement. In addition, despite the high goal setting, the confidence and self-evaluation of the skills are not very satisfactory. For example, the scores of how confident the learners are in their language skills are quite high (Listening and Speaking $=5.46$, Reading and Writing $=5.13$, range $=$

1-7; the higher ranged score indicates their confidence is weak). Besides, the scores for their self-evaluation of those skills are also quite high (Listening and Speaking $=3.79$, Reading and Writing $=3.54$, range $=1-5$ ). Consequently, the respondents do not have much confidence or skills in their use of English despite their high motivation to learn English. In other words, an extensive gap exists between what the learners try to achieve and what they have actually achieved.

| Perception in English Learning | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Desire for Mastery | 583 | 2.69 | 1.41 | 1 | 7 |
| Foreign Language Interest | 590 | 3.15 | 1.61 | 1 | 7 |
| English Interest | 590 | 2.80 | 1.44 | 1 | 7 |
| Listening and Speaking Goal | 590 | 1.70 | 1.05 | 1 | 7 |
| Reading and Writing Goal | 590 | 1.77 | 1.05 | 1 | 7 |
| Academic Goal | 590 | 2.03 | 1.25 | 1 | 7 |
| Liking English Learning | 590 | 3.62 | 1.59 | 1 | 7 |
| Listening and Speaking <br> Confidence | 590 | 5.46 | 1.31 | 1 | 7 |
| Reading and Writing <br> Confidence | 589 | 5.13 | 1.36 | 2 | 7 |
| Listening and Speaking Self <br> Evaluation | 587 | 3.79 | 0.81 | 1 | 5 |
| Reading and Writing Self <br> Evaluation | 587 | 3.54 | 0.83 | 1 | 5 |

Table 64 Descriptive statistics for perception in English learning.

Despite of the gap between the high motivation and the low self-accomplishment in learning English, Japanese EFL learners do not utilize the available learning opportunities. Examining behavioral factors, showing the types of opportunities when Japanese EFL learners are exposed to English, reveals that the learners do not equally spend their time in familiarizing themselves with English although the scores are spread all over the possible range (1-5). Focusing on the frequency of the opportunities (the right half of Table 65, the statistics indicate the frequency of exposure according to the types of exposure), those who do not have any opportunities at all vary in numbers by the opportunity types. For example, 66 percent of the respondents ( 374 out of 571) declared 'none' for TV \& Radio Opportunity; 91 percent ( 515 out of 568) for Reading Opportunity; 40 percent (228 out of 569) for Music Opportunity; and 47 percent (264 out of 559) for Movie Opportunity. Accordingly, these results imply that Japanese EFL learners are rarely exposed to English through these media. In contrast, only 12.4 percent (73 out of 588) and 24 percent ( 137 out of 573 ) answered 'none' for STEP experience and

Self-study Opportunities respectively. Therefore, these results reveal that the main opportunities for the Japanese EFL learners to experience English outside the classroom are studying at home for EFL as a school subject and taking EFL qualification tests.

| Behavior in English Learning | N | Mean | STD | MIN | MAX | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ \text { w } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2-3 \\ & \text { /w } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 4-5 \\ & \text { /w } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 6-7 \\ & \text { /w } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | None |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| STEP Experience | 588 | 3.40 | 1.35 | 1 | 5 | 86 | 129 | 141 | 162 | 73 |
| Self-study Opportunity | 573 | 2.85 | 1.38 | 1 | 5 | 94 | 161 | 91 | 94 | 137 |
| TV/Radio Opportunity | 571 | 1.66 | 1.10 | 1 | 5 | 94 | 57 | 24 | 26 | 374 |
| Reading Opportunity | 568 | 1.14 | 0.49 | 1 | 5 | 41 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 515 |
| Music Opportunity | 569 | 2.50 | 1.51 | 1 | 5 | 83 | 107 | 52 | 101 | 228 |
| Movie Opportunity | 559 | 1.83 | 0.98 | 1 | 5 | 176 | 93 | 14 | 16 | 264 |

Table 65 Descriptive statistics for behavior in English learning.

Having shown how Japanese EFL learners perceive and deal with English learning, attention is now shifted to the UK/US comparisons of the three attitudinal aspects: Attitudes to Countries, External Expectations, and Internal Target. For Attitudes to Countries (the US and the UK only), the smaller scores indicate the more positive an attitude the learners have for that country. Results establish that the respondents showed slightly different attitude levels. Although the scores range from $0-8$ for both countries, the mean scores (US: 3.76, UK: 2.60; see Table 66) reveal that Japanese EFL learners have more positive attitudes toward the UK than the US English variety.

| Attitudes to Countries | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Attitude to US | 575 | 3.76 | 2.38 | 0 | 8 |
| Attitude to UK | 575 | 2.60 | 2.40 | 0 | 8 |

Table 66 Descriptive statistics for Attitude to Countries.

For External Expectations, the bigger scores indicate that the learners sense more expectations from society or the people around them to learn that variety, and the respondents showed significantly different levels of expectations. Although the scores range from $0-8$ for both varieties, the mean scores (US $=4.60, \mathrm{UK}=0.81$; see Table 67) vary widely. This difference in mean scores reveals that there is quite a large gap between the UK and US English varieties that Japanese EFL learners' sense others' expectation of them to learn; in other words, the students perceive the message that they should learn the US variety outside the language classroom.

| External Expectations | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| External Expect. US | 582 | 4.60 | 1.85 | 0 | 7 |
| External Expect. UK | 582 | 0.81 | 1.20 | 0 | 7 |

Table 67 Descriptive statistics for External Expectations.

For the Internal Target, the bigger the scores are, the more the learners target that variety. In this regard, the respondents also showed significant differences in the perceived advantage of learning specific varieties. Although the scores range from 0-9 for both varieties, the mean scores ( $\mathrm{US}=6.97, \mathrm{UK}=1.31$; see Table 68) differ from each other considerably. This significant difference in mean scores reveals that the Japanese EFL learners concentrate more on the US than UK as their ideal target.

| Internal Target | N | Mean | STD | Minimum | Maximum |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Internal Target US | 582 | 6.97 | 2.24 | 0 | 9 |
| Internal Target UK | 582 | 1.31 | 1.80 | 0 | 9 |

Table 68 Descriptive statistics for Internal Target.

Although the descriptive statistics disclose the many characteristics of Japanese EFL learners, as observed above, they alone are not sufficient to support Hypothesis 4 and Hypothesis 5. Therefore, as demonstrated in the following sections, Kendall's Tau test was performed to test both hypotheses, particularly as the data set contained many tied (identical) scores. In particular for Hypothesis 5, the scores for UK and US were examined separately.

### 5.7.4 Results

As a result of performing Kendall's Tau test, the structure of Japanese EFL learners' attitudes toward English varieties was revealed. In what follows, results of the analyses are provided, first for Hypothesis 4, then for Hypothesis 5.

### 5.7.4.1 Results for Hypothesis 4

The Kendall Tau tests were performed on the 17 sub-hypotheses for Hypothesis 4. As a result, eight out of the 11 correlations with perceptional factors (Table 70) and two out of the six correlations with behavioral factors (Table 71) were found to be significant. In particular, among the correlations found with the perceptional factors, negative correlations were found in all the combinations except for one, the Desire for Mastery. On one hand, this exceptional result reflects the relationship between the enthusiasm for
learning English and the peculiarity in English varieties (note that negative correlation applies to the data set where 1 is top, the most positive, and $7 / 5$ is bottom, the most negative). The significant Tau value with Desire for Mastery, which is the third highest ( $\mathrm{Tau}=0.092, \mathrm{p}<.003$ ), indicates that the learners' greater similarity within the range of attitudes is associated with a stronger motivation to master English. Therefore, obtaining proficiency is the objective rather than following a preference for specific English varieties.

On the other hand, an opposite picture, that of the learners who are eager to learn English and are particular about English varieties, was also revealed. For example, the Tau value was the highest in absolute value for English Interest ( $\mathrm{Tau}=-0.131, \mathrm{p}<.000$ ). This significant correlation shows that the English Interest and Attitudinal Bias have the closest relationship and that the amount of learners' interest in English language occurs in proportion to the amount of the attitudinal difference toward English varieties. Furthermore, the Tau value was also significant at the second highest value, that is, for Foreign Language Interest (Tau $=-0.100, \mathrm{p}<.001$ ). This significant correlation means that Foreign Language Interest and Attitudinal Bias have the next closest relationship, and that the level of learners' interest in foreign languages exists in proportion to the amount of the attitudinal difference toward English varieties. In addition, the relationships between Attitudinal Bias and the three types of goal factors are also significant: with Academic Goal (Tau $=-0.090, \mathrm{p}<.005$ ), with Listening and Speaking Goal ( $\mathrm{Tau}=-0.087, \mathrm{p}<.007$ ), and with Reading and Writing Goal ( $\mathrm{Tau}=-0.085, \mathrm{p}<.009$ ). These significant but negative correlations indicate that the greater the difference within the range of learners' attitudes, the greater the eagerness the learners tend to have to acquire English, both practically and academically. Finally, Liking English Learning also has a significant relationship with Attitudinal Bias at the 0.009 level (Tau= -.079). This indicates that the learners with the greater difference within the range of attitudes tend to enjoy English learning more. Therefore, the above results reveal that that the greater the difference within the range of attitudes the learners have, the stronger positive orientation learners show in English language.

Contrary to the above-mentioned factors, the learners' attitudinal difference among the English varieties does not seem to have a notable relationship with the perceptional factors regarding confidence and self-evaluation. For example, although the least
significant relationship was found with Reading and Writing Confidence (Tau = ..073, $\mathrm{p}<0.017$ ), the Tau value is rather low compared to the relationships with the above factors. In addition, no significant correlation was found in the other three confidence or selfevaluation factors: Listening and Speaking Confidence (Tau=-.051, $\mathrm{p}<.100$ ); Listening and Speaking Self-evaluation (Tau= $-.061, \mathrm{p}<.058$ ); and Reading and Writing Selfevaluation (Tau= $-.042, \mathrm{p}<.196$ ). It might be too strong to interpret that the lower the difference within the range of attitudes the learners have, the more confident and proficient the learners are with their reading and writing skills. Consequently, Attitudinal Bias does not appear to have a strong relation with the confidence in, and self-evaluation of, learners' English proficiency for Japanese EFL learners.

| English Interest | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.131, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Foreign Language Interest | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.100, \mathrm{p}<.001^{* *}$ |
| Desire for Mastery | $\mathrm{N}=569, \mathrm{Tau}=.092, \mathrm{p}<.003^{* *}$ |
| Academic Goal | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.090, \mathrm{p}<.005^{* *}$ |
| Listening and Speaking Goal | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.087, \mathrm{p}<.007^{* *}$ |
| Reading and Writing Goal | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.085, \mathrm{p}<.009^{* *}$ |
| Liking English Learning | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.079, \mathrm{p}<.009^{* *}$ |
| Reading and Writing Confidence | $\mathrm{N}=569, \mathrm{Tau}=-.073, \mathrm{p}<.017^{*}$ |
| Reading and Writing Self-evaluation | $\mathrm{N}=567, \mathrm{Tau}=-.061, \mathrm{p}<.058 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |
| Listening and Speaking Confidence | $\mathrm{N}=570, \mathrm{Tau}=-.051, \mathrm{p}<.100 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |
| Listening and Speaking Self-evaluation | $\mathrm{N}=567, \mathrm{Tau}=-.042, \mathrm{p}<.196 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |

(in order of significance level)
Table 69 Tau values for 11 factors in perception in English learning: Hypotheses 4a-m.

While many perceptional factors are associated with the ranges of the attitudinal difference among the English varieties, only a few learning behavioral factors have an association with the attitudes. As Table 70 shows, two types of opportunity to be exposed to English, through listening music and reading books in English, were found to be significant among the six behavioral factors (Attitudinal Bias: Tau $=.084$, $\mathrm{p}<.008$ and $T a u=.083, \mathrm{p}<.016$, respectively). This significant correlation means that the learners who spend more of their time listening to English songs or reading English original books are more likely to favor particular English varieties; or it could mean that those who are likely to favor particular English varieties tend to spend more time in listening to English songs or reading English original books. In contrast, no statistically significant correlation was found in Self-study Opportunity (Tau= .038, p< .220), Movie

Opportunity (Tau=.022, $\mathrm{p}<.496$ ), STEP Experience (Tau= $=019, \mathrm{p}<.536$ ), and TV and Radio Opportunity ( $T a u=-.007, \mathrm{p}<.826$ ). These results suggest that the frequency of the subjects' learning English outside the classroom, familiarizing themselves with English by watching movies, listening to the radio and watching TV, or past experience with taking English qualification examinations, has little to do with the learners' preferences toward English varieties.

| 1) Music Opportunity | $\mathrm{N}=554$, Tau $=.084, \mathrm{p}<.008^{* *}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2) Reading Opportunity | $\mathrm{N}=553, \mathrm{Ta}==.083, \mathrm{p}<.016^{*}$ |
| 3) Self-study Opportunity | $\mathrm{N}=558, \mathrm{Tau}=.038, \mathrm{p}<.220 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |
| 4) Movie Opportunity | $\mathrm{N}=544, \mathrm{Tau}=.022, \mathrm{p}<.496 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |
| 5) STEP Experience | $\mathrm{N}=568, \mathrm{Tau}=.019, \mathrm{p}<.536 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |
| 6) TV and Radio Opportunity | $\mathrm{N}=556, \mathrm{Tau}=-.007, \mathrm{p}<.826 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$ |

(in order of significance level)
Table 70 Tau values for six factors in behavior: Hypotheses $\mathbf{4 n} \mathbf{n}$-s.

### 5.7.4.2 Results for Hypothesis 5

Having demonstrated the relationship between the attitudinal differences and how the learners perceive English learning or how they are exposed to English, this section reveals the relationships among learners' various attitudes regarding English learning. The Kendall Tau test was performed on the six combinations among the four attitudinal categories to demonstrate Hypothesis 5. As a result, five significant correlations were found, as Table 71 below shows. In the table, the number of responses being analyzed, the Tau values, and the probability values for each relationship are provided. The most significant relationship was found between External Expectations and Internal Target, as per Hypothesis 5 d (US: Tau=.322, p<.000, UK: Tau=.377, p<.000) and the second closest relationship was found between Attitude to Countries and Internal Target, as per Hypothesis 5 b (US: Tau=.154, $\mathrm{p}<.000$, UK: Tau=.191, $\mathrm{p}<.000$ ). These results show that how the learners see English varieties in terms of learning is closely related to how they think about the countries where the varieties are spoken, and how keenly they feel about which variety they are expected to learn. In addition, a significant correlation was also found between Attitudinal Varieties and the three other Attitudinal Categories: Hypotheses 5c (US: Tau= $-.150, \mathrm{p}<.000$, UK: Tau= $-.085, \mathrm{p}<.005$ ), Hypotheses 5 e (US:

Tau $=-.095, \mathrm{p}<.001$, UK: Tau $=-.166, \mathrm{p}<.000$ ), and Hypotheses 5 f (US: Tau= -.075 , $\mathrm{p}<.013$, UK: Tau $=-.148, \mathrm{p}<.000$ ). These results indicate that attitudes toward English varieties are closely related to three factors: the subjects' own belief about which English varieties should be targeted, how they feel about the countries where the varieties are spoken, and how keenly they feel about which variety they are expected to learn. In contrast, no significant correlation was found between Attitude to Countries and External Expectations (US: Tau $=0.002, \mathrm{p}<0.961$, UK: Tau $=0.053, \mathrm{p}<0.124$ ). This non-significant result indicates that the way the learners see the countries in which the varieties are spoken has little to do with how they recognize the expectations of parents, schoolteachers, and others.

External Expectations and Internal Target (Hypothesis 5d):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=574, \mathrm{Tau}=.322, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=574, \mathrm{Tau}=.377, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
Attitude to Countries and Internal Target (Hypothesis 5b):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=563$, Tau $=.154, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=563$, Tau= $191, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
Attitude to Countries and Attitudes to Varieties (Hypothesis 5c):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=568$, Tau $=-.150, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=566$, Tau $=-.085, \mathrm{p}<.005^{* *}$
External Expectations and Attitudes to Varieties (Hypothesis 5e):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=580$, $\mathrm{Tau}=-.095, \mathrm{p}<.001^{* *}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=578$, Tau $=-.166, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
Internal Target and Attitudes to Varieties (Hypothesis 5f):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=579$, Tau= -.075, $\mathrm{p}<.013^{*}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=577$, Tau $=-.148, \mathrm{p}<.000^{* * *}$
Attitude to Countries and External Expectations (Hypothesis 5a):
US-US: $\mathrm{N}=565$, Tau $=.002, \mathrm{p}<.961 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$
UK-UK: $\mathrm{N}=565$, Tau $=.053, \mathrm{p}<.124 \mathrm{n} / \mathrm{s}$
(in order of significant absolute Tau values, US first, then UK)
Table 71 Kendall's Tau values of the relationships among the four attitudinal categories: Hypothesis 5.

Based on the above results of how each of the four attitudinal categories relates to the others, Figure 12 below was developed to illustrate the structure of the relationships. The different correlated levels among the four categories are presented as arrows, with
the solid arrows showing significant relationships between the categories (the more solid the line the more significant the relationship). The dotted straight lines show nonsignificant correlation between categories. Thus, as clearly presented in Figure 12, individual categories are not equally independent of each other, but some categories, that is, Internal Target, Attitude to Countries, and External Expectations, can be shaped into a group as indicated with the dotted oval.


Figure 12 Relationships among the four attitudinal categories with Kendall's Tau values (created based on Table 71).

### 5.7.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the results of performing Kendall's Tau test (Sections 5.7.4.1 and 5.7.4.2),
most of the sub-components in Hypotheses 4 and Hypothesis 5 were supported and another detailed picture of Japanese EFL education was revealed. These findings include the learners' understanding of the learning goals, the relationship between learners' attitudes and their proficiency, the efficacy of teaching English as a global lingua franca, the strong desire to master English, the effective learning opportunities, and finally, the detailed structure of the learners' attitudes toward English varieties.

The first finding from the attitudinal relation study is how the learners grasp the goals of the formal EFL learning. It seems that goal setting in language skills and in academic achievement have a different nature, generally, in Japan. For example, it has been pointed out that the English taught as a school subject represents a code system that is far from the practically used English today (Funabashi 2000a: 211-214, Terasawa 2000: 184-185). These criticisms also reveal that a high academic achievement in the school subject or at the entrance examinations does not necessarily result in the learners' high command of English. Contrary to Funabashi (2000a) and Terasawa (2000), the result of the attitudinal relation study was that Japanese EFL learners do not separate learning English for an academic purpose and learning English for a practical purpose. Delving further into the relationship among the perceptional factors, a significant correlation was found among the degree of all three goal settings: Reading and Writing and Academic Goals ( $\mathrm{N}=590$, Tau $=0.356, \mathrm{p}<0.000$ ), Listening and Speaking and Academic Goals ( $\mathrm{N}=590$, Tau $=0.314, \mathrm{p}<0.000$ ), Reading and Writing and Listening and Speaking Goals $(\mathrm{N}=590$, Tau $=0.760, \mathrm{p}<0.000$ ). These close relationships among three different goal settings may well reflect the EFL situation for these school-aged learners; they want to master English for practical purposes as well as to get good marks in English as a school subject, just as they do for mathematics or Japanese. In addition, the two types of interests, English language and foreign language more generally, are significantly correlated with each other ( $\mathrm{N}=590$, $\mathrm{Tau}=0.456, \mathrm{p}<0.000^{* * *}$ ). This correlation implies that Japanese EFL learners perceive learning English and learning foreign languages other than English to be similar. Therefore, against Funabashi (2000a) and Terasawa (2000), the learners actually tend to identify the academic and communicative goal settings quite similarly.

The second finding concerns how learners' attitudinal difference among English varieties and their proficiency relate to each other. The past research shows that
proficiency and attitude toward learning and the language are associated with each other. For example, Chihara and Oller (1978) examined adult learners and found that their keenness to master English motivated the learners sufficiently to reach a high level of proficiency in the long run. In addition, the resultative hypothesis (Hermann 1980) explains that successful experience in language learning creates positive attitudes toward the TL and its culture as the learning proceeds. Since it was pointed out that Japanese EFL learners have a strong enthusiasm for learning English, they would eventually experience successful communication using their proficiency achieved. This successful experience would then yield positive attitudes to the English used in the communication. That is, the learner's attitudinal bias may be highly related to their proficiency. However, no significant correlation was found between Attitudinal Bias and the confidence and self-evaluation factors in this attitudinal relation study. Since research has shown that self-evaluation is considered to provide reliable measures of proficiency (Le Blanc and Gisele 1985, Blanche 1988, Oscarson 1989), it is reasonable to replace 'the selfevaluation of the proficiency' with 'the real proficiency'. Consequently, as far as school-aged learners who have undertaken English formal education under the 1989 Course of Study are concerned, it is reasonable to deduce that for learners at this stage attitudinal bias is associated with how the learners understand the English language, not with their proficiency.

This second finding of no relationship between the attitudinal difference and proficiency suggests that the course object regarding learners' attitude should be independently considered in curriculum planning. According to the 1989 Course of Study (Monbusho 1989a), developing learners' proficiency and less biased attitudes toward various languages and cultures are both primary purposes of learning language, and these should not be neglected. Although it would be more practical if one device would work to achieve both course objectives, it does not seem to be possible. Since how learners perceive different English varieties does not relate to (nor affect) their recognition of learning and language skills, gaining high proficiency will not contribute to reducing the learners' attitudinal difference toward English varieties. Therefore, English courses should be planned to achieve the course objectives independently from both proficiency and attitudinal perspectives.

The third finding is the efficacy of teaching English as a global lingua franca. The
current formal EFL education does not seem to contribute to achieving the attitudinal course objective. Indeed, in ESL learning environments, it is natural to learn a specific variety, for example, learning American English in the US, where non-English speaking background people are assimilating themselves into mainstream culture in the multilingual society. As a result, they may have a strong solidarity with the US variety. On the contrary, in Japan as an EFL country where English is learned as a global lingua franca, English education should be free from the English variety preference (Chapters 2 and 3), particularly in the attitudinal sense. However, the results show how learners' perception of English and English learning is negatively associated with attitudes toward English varieties in the attitudinal relation study. For example, the stronger the learners want to achieve the goals (skills and an academic grade), the wider the range of attitudes they have; the more they like English class, the greater the difference within their range of attitudes. Causality, however, is not established in either case. Furthermore, the high interests in both English and foreign languages are associated with a wider range of attitudinal difference. In other words, there is no difference whether the language is English or another foreign language. Moreover, a significant difference was found in the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties (Section 4.7). These results together show that, ironically, the more enthusiastic learners do not have a wide understanding of different English varieties. The learners have a stronger attachment to English as a language spoken in Inner Circle societies, especially America.

This third finding, the poor efficacy of the attitudinal objective, appears to go against the desired direction of the current formal EFL education. When Obuchi's government raised the issue of English as the second official language in Japan (21-seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000), one of the major objections was that the Japanese people should not imitate the UK or US, a symbol of imperialism, by learning English (RC Mainichi Shinbun 2000). Unfortunately, like the advocates of the objection to the future language planning concern, the reality contrasts with the intentions behind learning English as a global lingua franca.

The fourth finding is that Japanese EFL learners have a strong desire to master English. The attitudinal relation study found that Japanese EFL learners who want to have a fluent command of English are not very particular about how they feel about speakers of different English varieties. Considering that teaching English as a global
lingua franca is not effectively implemented the formal education, the result should be interpreted as Japanese EFL learners having a very strong devotion to obtaining a proficiency of English. For those who want to achieve high proficiency in English, their first priority is mastering any variety of English and the linguistic differences are considered less significant.

The fifth finding is the effective EFL learning styles. Among the six learning opportunities examined in the survey, the learners are exposed to English more through listening to music, studying for English class, and taking STEP. This seems to be reasonable considering Japan's linguistic context: world-wide popular music is easily accessible in Japan; school-aged students are under pressure to learn English at school or at cram school; and STEP is one of the most established English proficiency tests in Japan. In particular, music and reading are important opportunities for learners to familiarize themselves with English. A significant correlation was found only between attitudinal bias and music and reading opportunities. Although no causality between the factors can be shown through this simple correlation approach, it is still possible to make use of such opportunities that are closely related to attitudes to minimize the attitudinal differences. Learners who are more exposed to English through music or readings tend to expose themselves to the same variety time after time (they listen to music by similar artists and read books by the same author). Consequently, they are assumed to gain a preference for the English variety that they are familiar with.

Considering the impact of listening to music and reading, these two learning opportunities should be made use of from a teaching implementation perspective. For example, while the opportunities to listen to English music voluntarily at their leisure cannot be controlled, this result raises the possibility of using music as a way of teaching English in Japanese classrooms. As far as reading is concerned, although it may not be as strong an influence on attitudes as music because of its low frequency of use, and although it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss changing Japanese society or constraining Japanese language use, there is still something that might be done to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the reading results. Since the publications that Japanese school aged EFL learners encounter are too few and inadequate, the situation could be improved by publishing reading material in which the learners would be interested, which is written in plain enough English for the school aged learners, and
which embraces different English varieties.
Compared to these activities (that is, the opportunity to use music in classrooms and the incorporation of appropriate reading material into school), the opportunity to use other factors is not as great. The learners hardly read English books, watch or listen to English television or radio programs, or watch movies in English. Possible reasons for this are follows: 1) foreign sub-cultures are not so important for the majority of Japanese because parallel subcultures already exist in Japanese culture; 2) information from all over the world is accessible in Japanese, translated from various languages; and 3) the media which Japanese school-aged EFL learners are familiar with do not match their proficiency.

The attitudinal studies not only revealed the possible factors that could influence the different attitudes toward the English varieties, but also uncovered the internal linkage among the various types of attitudes. The final finding, which concerns how the attitudes toward English varieties are structured, is shown in the following Figure 13. In this figure, the solid arrows indicate significant relationships between the categories; the more solid the line the more significant the relationship. Although the causal direction cannot be identified yet, following Le Mahieu (1984), it is sound to judge that there is a mutual causal-effect relationship among these factors. Accordingly, it follows that the relations are bi-directional, that is, each category could cause and give effect to the others. As Figure 13 clearly illustrates, the individual category is not equally independent of the others, but some categories (Internal Target, Attitude to Countries, and External Expectations) show a close relationship and can be formed into a group. Moreover, their attitudes toward countries (Attitude to Countries) and expectations from people around them (External Expectations) are not associated with each other. It seems that attitudes toward countries and the expectations from people close to the stundets determine which variety they should target, or that these two categories are a subset of Internal Target.


Figure 13 Relationships among the four attitudinal categories.

### 5.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter considered which English varieties Japanese EFL learners have actually become familiar with from both linguistic and attitudinal perspectives, providing detailed structure of the attitudes toward English varieties. From the linguistic perspective, accent, spellings, vocabulary, grammar, and stylistics were investigated in each study. The accent study focused on six varieties (the American, Australian, British, Japanese, Philippine, and Singaporean accents) while the rest of the linguistics study employed the British and American varieties only. This may be: 1) because not every variety uses distinctive spelling or expression; or 2 ) because there are several expressions within the one variety. As a result, a strong picture of the issue of English varieties in Japanese EFL education has been revealed. Concerning the learners' accent recognition, it was shown that the learners apply two criteria, Japanese-ness and Target-ness when identifying the nationalities of spoken samples. In particular, Japanese-ness could be due to Japanese being the learners' first language or Japanese language uniqueness regardless of the learners' first languages. Considering the indistinct interpretation of the factor (Japanese-ness), examining several more varieties, such as Scottish, Irish, the Philippines, Indian, some Caribbean countries, and some African countries would provide a more detailed picture. Moreover, the six accents were roughly perceived as falling into Mother Tongue, Inner Circle, and Outer Circle English groups. English learning in Japan is dominated by Inner Circle varieties, particularly the US variety, and Outer Circle
varieties are neglected in the classrooms. In addition, with regard to the spelling and stylistic choices, the US variety was dominant over British in EFL learning. Finally, however, although the learners also tended to choose US options concerning the vocabulary and grammatical choices, they were more likely to choose the neutral options. Therefore, the conclusion is drawn that, linguistically, Japanese EFL learners are more likely to have learned the American variety, even though their English is not absolutely American English, containing as it does more general English use, particularly in vocabulary and grammar. These findings support the general observation that English learning in Japan is dominated by the US variety and that the Outer Circle varieties are neglected in the classrooms.

From the psychological perspective, the attitudes toward American English, British English, Australian English and Singaporean English were measured and examined. As a result, the most positive attitude was found to be toward the British variety, followed by the American, Australian, and finally the Singaporean variety. Furthermore, it was revealed that Japanese EFL learners do not consider English as a global lingua franca, a result which opposes the ideal objectives of EFL education in Japan. For a more detailed picture and conclusive proof that Japanese EFL learners have more positive attitudes toward Inner Circle varieties than to Outer Circle varieties, several more varieties, such as Scottish, Irish, the Philippines, and Indian, together with those from some Caribbean African countries would need to be examined.

These linguistic and attitudinal findings have revealed that the learners' linguistic preference and attitudinal preference among the English varieties do not coincide. The learners tend to show a more emphatic favor toward the UK variety than to the US variety in their sentiment, whereas they tended to choose the US variety over the UK variety linguistically. Generally, an attitudinally favorable target language/dialect is learned in a natural setting; besides, the target has to be available around the learners. For example, Japanese country teenagers who are attracted by city life may speak Tokyo dialect, which is frequently available through mass media; they do not speak as the people in Okinawa do, no matter how they like the life in Okinawa, simply because they do not receive frequent exposure. Similar to the dominance of the Tokyo dialect caused by the exposure in a Japanese remote area, it is reasonable to infer that the American English is far more available in their learning environment; and this American dominance causes the
inconsistency between the British and American English for these respondents who have received English education at secondary school under the 1989 Course of Study.

Not only were the dominant English varieties among the Japanese EFL learners revealed, so too was a detailed structure of the attitudes toward English varieties and its related factors. From the structural perspective, among the four attitudinal sub-categories, the learners' attitudes toward English varieties are closely related to their attitudes toward countries, the expectations of those around them, and their own recognition of the advantage of learning a particular variety. In particular, their own recognition is strongly associated with their attitudes toward countries and the expectations of those around them. It is assumed that their own recognition is composed based on both their attitudes toward countries and the expectations of those around them. Consequently, these interrelationships will give insight into how the attitudinal course objective is developed and how the attitudes are measured and evaluated.

In addition to the attitudinal structure as a whole, the potential factors that may influence the attitudes toward English varieties were also revealed. Learners' attitudinal differences were related to their goal setting and interests in English and other foreign languages, but not to their language skills. Therefore, the course objectives regarding the attitudes and the proficiency should be independently considered because the proficiency objective will not contribute to achieving the attitudinal objective. Moreover, the learners frequently listen to music and study English for previewing and reviewing a class, and for English proficiency tests such as STEP, but they rarely have opportunities for reading, TV, radio or movies. Among these factors, listening to music and reading books are significantly related to attitudinal difference. Therefore, effective use of music and reading should be thoroughly considered in order to achieve the attitudinal objective.

## Chapter 6

## Discussion: Evaluating the Language Planning

### 6.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have explored the issue of English varieties in Japan's EFL education from several different angles: from the sociolinguistic perspective in Chapter 2, from the policy perspective in Chapter 3, from the policy implementation perspective in Chapter 4, and from the language planning effect perspective in Chapter 5. The findings, with regard to the target English varieties in language planning (before involving the learners), can be broadly summarized by the following two statements. Firstly, considering Japan's sociolinguistic circumstances and considering the dual-significance of English as a language of the United States and as a global lingua franca, it is argued that the learning target varieties should be the US variety for the production purpose and multiple English varieties for the perception purpose. Secondly, it follows that all varieties are important and need to be presented to learners in the English courses.

In order to discuss the efficacy of language planning, considering the learning process in terms of English varieties, it is useful to understand Honna (1999), according to which the major English variety observed is American English while Japanese English is to be targeted in Japan's EFL education. Honna's model shows that, although it is unrealistic, as a result of being presented the US variety as a learning target the average Japanese EFL learner was traditionally expected to acquire English as the American people do, as follows:


## Chart 6 Honna's actual English varieties taught through English language learning process in Japan (Honna 1999: 124).

In contrast, the realistic learning outcome that Honna proposes is the Japanese style of English, with which he states that the learners should be confident, as follows:


## Chart 7 Honna's ideal English varieties to be learned through English language learning process in Japan (Honna 1999: 133).

As above mentioned, Honna's two models emphasize the expected output, which is the variety of English the Japanese learners of English are expected to acquire as a result of their studies.

However, this thesis modified Honna's models in order to discuss the learning process, considering the English varieties in terms of efficacy of language planning as seen in Chart 8 and Chart 9. In addition to adding 'Learning Target in the Policy' and 'Target Varieties to be Presented', note that 'Program' in Honna's models, which is the variety the learners are actually exposed to, that is American English, is replaced in Chart 8 with the expected variety to be presented in the classroom. These English varieties, relative to the different language education planning, are illustrated on the basis of Honna (1999)'s learning process model, as follows:

| Input | Learning Target in the Policy | Target Varieties to be Presented |  | Expected <br> Output |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Japanese Learners of English | Productive Target: <br> American English <br> Perceptive Target: <br> Many English varieties | Productive Target: <br> American English Perceptive Target: Many English vanieties | $\rightarrow$ | Japanese <br> Speakers of <br> Japanese <br> Enalish |

Chart 8 The ideal policy implementation process in terms of English varieties.

In Chart 8, Japanese English is an English variety that is sufficient for international communication ('internationally communicative English' as defined in Honna's model) and is a reasonable and realistic outcome for Japanese learners of English in the sense that Japanese English is neutral toward other English varieties (Honna 1999: 141-144). In order for the Japanese learners to acquire a good command of English for international communication, it is not sufficient to present American English as the learning target. In addition to American English, the learners need to be able to cope with other English varieties, which account for the majority of communication in English as a global lingua franca, at least at the receptive level. Consequently, it is necessary to include other English varieties as the learning models to achieve an effective liaison throughout the language planning.

Despite accommodating English varieties other than American English, however, Japan's English-related language policy and planning is not successfully teaching English as an international lingua franca. While from the policy point of view (Chapter 3) the learning target varieties should be the US variety for the production purpose and various varieties for the perception purpose, the variety presented to the students is most likely to be the US variety (Chapter 4). As a result, the English variety that the learners actually acquire is neither American English as the Americans speak nor Japanese English, but an inadequate English for international communication, particularly with speakers of the Outer Circle English varieties (Chapter 5). The actual state of these English varieties relative to the different stage of the language education planning can be illustrated as follows:

| Input | Learning Target in the Policy | Target Varieties being Presented | Expected Output |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Japanese Learners of English | Productive Target: <br> American English <br> Perceptive Target: <br> Many English varieties | American English (cf. American English plus many other English varieties) | $\rightarrow-\begin{aligned} & \text { Japanese Speakers } \\ & \text { of American English } \\ & \begin{array}{l} \text { cf. } \\ \text { instead } \\ \text { Japanese English) } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ |

Chart 9 The actual policy implementation process in terms of English varieties.

When comparing the ideal policy implementation process (Chart 8) to the actual policy implementation process (Chart 9), two main differences are shown, which suggest that Japan's English-related language planning can be improved. The first difference
between Chart 8 and Chart 9 is the discrepancy between the learning target varieties in the policy and the target varieties actually being presented to the learners, i.e. American English (Chart 8) versus many English varieties (Chart 9). The second difference between Chart 8 and Chart 9 lies in the varieties that the learners have acquired as a result of learning, that is, Japanese speakers of Japanese English (Chart 8) versus American English (Chart 9). Since the target variety presented (or 'Program' in Honna's models), which is American English, accords with the undesired learning outcome, which is also American English, it is likely that the consistency of the presented varieties throughout each language planning process is the key to effective language education planning if the relationship is confirmed.

In order to actualize language education planning, which is for learners to become reasonably familiar with other varieties as well as with the US variety, the present chapter will explore solutions and suggestions that could help to fully realize the principles in the language policy. Since it was found that the learners preferred different varieties from the linguistic perspective than from the attitudinal perspective (Chapter 5), the solutions and suggestions relating to these two perspectives will be pursued separately in Sections 6.1 and 6.2, respectively. From the linguistic perspective, as the linguistic forms are likely to be acquired through exposure, it is desirable that the major educational plans should operate through the learners' direct exposure to English. Consequently, the four plans, or measures (the textbooks and teaching materials, the scholarship programs, the JTEs, and the ALTs) that were analyzed in Chapter 4 will be discussed for their effectiveness. Any necessary revisions to these four plans will also be discussed. From the attitudinal perspective, although the four plans do not seem to influence learners directly, these plans are still important factors that provide insights and suggestions about how to improve effective policy implementation. In particular, the Japanese teachers of English and the assistant language teachers are treated jointly under the teachers factor. In addition, the curriculum factor will be discussed based on the findings with respect to the internal attitudinal relationship.

### 6.1 The Linguistic Perspective

This section evaluates the on-going language planning measures and seeks possible
revisions to them from a linguistic perspective. All four language planning measures, which include textbooks and teaching materials, JTEs, scholarship, and ALTs (as outlined in Chapter 4), work effectively to teach English as the language of the US, but not English as a global lingua franca. Over all, the target varieties in the language planning and the varieties actually learned agree with each other: both show a US preference. The agreement between the offered and learned varieties showing a US preference indicates that the language planning measures used to realize the language policy are positively effective in assisting the learners to acquire the targeted English variety in the comprehensive language policy. However, as far as the other varieties are concerned, there are significant differences in how different English varieties are perceived; that is, significant familiarity with Inner Circle English versus limited acquaintance with the Outer Circle varieties. That the familiarity level differs among the varieties shows that the language planning measures are not effectively working to assist learners to acquire English as a global lingua franca, which is the aim of the comprehensive language policy and the foreign language education policy. Consequently, it is important to discuss how the four plans/measures should/can be modified in order to achieve the primary goal of learning English as a global lingua franca.

The four language planning measures need to be examined independently because they operate to achieve teaching American English at different levels. Among these four measures, the textbooks and teaching materials measure is shown in Section 6.1.1 to work most significantly and directly on learners' linguistic acquisition in terms of the English varieties. The JTEs measure and the scholarship program measure are examined in Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3 and found to be less effective than the textbook measure, but they are considered to have a multifaceted influence on the outcomes of learning English varieties. The effect of the ALTs measure is investigated in Section 6.1.4 and is found to be the weakest among the four measures, but it is still thought to have a possible effect. Therefore, this section evaluates each of the four measures and outlines suggestions for possible revisions to the EFL education system in Japan.

### 6.1.1 Textbooks and Teaching Materials

Among the four language-planning measures examined in Chapter 4, the textbooks and teaching materials measure is considered to be a major factor affecting learners'
linguistic acquisition. Textbooks and teaching materials are a major factor because they are the primary source where learners can encounter English in an EFL learning environment. The characteristics of Japanese EFL leamers' behaviors of contacting English in daily life were revealed through the survey ${ }^{132}$. To some degree, approximately three out of every four learners study English outside of school (Table 72); and two out of every five learners listen to music sung in English (Table 73); but learners are rarely exposed to English on TV, radio (Table 74), or through printed matter (Table 75).

| Levels | N/A | 0 | 1 | $2-3$ | $4+$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| JH | 8 | 13 | 24 | 108 | 58 |
| SH | 9 | 32 | 48 | 38 | 109 |
| UNI | 4 | 91 | 21 | 15 | 17 |
| ENG | 0 | 13 | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| Total | 21 | 136 | 93 | 161 | 184 |

Table 72 The distribution of learners by education level and by the frequency of English studying opportunities other than the classroom per week.

| Levels | N/A | 0 | 1 | $2-3$ | $4+$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| JH | 13 | 81 | 30 | 37 | 50 |
| SH | 10 | 95 | 36 | 40 | 55 |
| UNI | 3 | 52 | 16 | 30 | 47 |
| ENG | 0 | 7 | 4 | 18 | 16 |
| Total | 26 | 228 | 82 | 107 | 152 |

Table 73 The distribution of learners by education level and by the frequency of listening to music opportunities per week.

| Levels | N/A | 0 | 1 | $2-3$ | $4+$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| JH | 9 | 121 | 40 | 23 | 18 |
| SH | 9 | 149 | 37 | 20 | 21 |
| UNI | 5 | 103 | 16 | 13 | 11 |
| ENG | 1 | 19 | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| Total | 23 | 373 | 93 | 56 | 50 |

Table 74 The distribution of learners by education level and by the frequency of watching TV/istening to the radio opportunities per week.

[^80]| Levels | N/A | 0 | 1 | $2-3$ | $4+$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| JH | 11 | 182 | 8 | 5 | 5 |
| SH | 10 | 198 | 24 | 2 | 2 |
| UNI | 5 | 133 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| ENG | 1 | 37 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 26 | 513 | 40 | 8 | 8 |

Table 75 The distribution of learners by education level and by the frequency of reading opportunities per week.

In circumstances where the exposure to the target language is limited, ${ }^{133}$ a formal learning opportunity plays a very important role. Since the learners' reading opportunities are largely confined to textbooks in formal EFL learning, textbooks including audio materials are the major form of exposure to the target language. Furthermore, considering the fact that Japan is an Expanding Circle country, where English is not available in their daily life, compared to Inner/Outer Circle countries (see Figure 5), it is very likely that the students absorb what the textbooks say without relating their contents to how English language is used in the real world. Therefore, the English and the contents of the textbooks are perceived to be the supreme target to most learners.

Because textbooks have a major impact on learners, it is useful to revise the government-authorized textbooks so that they reflect how English is used in the world. Current textbooks are more likely to provide the US variety while some effort to acknowledge the significance of English as a global lingua franca can be observed; consequently, the learners tend to receive negative feedback on the English varieties other than the US variety. Since it is natural to think that what is written in the textbooks is what the students feel they are expected to learn, the students are molded to learn the US English variety as the textbooks indicate. Furthermore, these textbooks are authorized by Monbusho, which indicates that the government approves their US preference and, thus, gives lower preference to the other English varieties. Thus, even though the textbook explicitly exhibits the significance of English as a global lingua franca in the contents of

[^81]the stories, the learners are likely to receive a message that the US variety is more highly valued than the other varieties.

Revising textbooks and teaching materials can, in fact, be effective for developing the learners' English as a global lingua franca because the variety presented in the textbooks and the variety learned by students can be correlated with each other. Agreement between the English variety offered and English variety learned was found in accents, spelling, and vocabulary, although the agreement in grammar and stylistics was less clear. With regard to accents, multinational background characters are likely to be dubbed over by US English speaking voices in schools' audio teaching materials; and phonetic descriptions based on US English are consistently provided in the textbooks (Section 4.2). Accordingly, it is natural to understand the results of the accent recognition test, which clearly show that Japanese EFL learners are familiar with Inner Circle varieties, especially the US variety, and much less familiar with second language varieties (Section 5.1). In addition, the results of the spelling choice test also show that the learners are more likely to produce US word spellings over UK alternatives (Section 5.2). Consistent with this result, only US spellings are provided systematically in textbooks. For example, the spelling of the word 'colour' used in a poem was footnoted with the US standard alternative spelling 'color' in one of the extreme cases observed in the textbook analysis (Section 4.2). Because providing the UK alternatives for US spellings was not found elsewhere in the textbook analysis, alteration to the US spelling both in the main text and the footnote implies the author/editor/publisher's clear intention to teach the US spelling, even correcting the original spelling in the literary works. Moreover, the vocabulary choice provides another example of the US English dominance. Even considering the potential for influence from loanwords discussed above, more learners chose the vocabulary oriented to the US English (Section 5.3) which is consistent with the many US English-oriented vocabularies presented in the textbooks (Section 4.2). Therefore, as the English variety used in the textbooks can be associated with the actual variety learned in many aspects, it is concluded that textbooks are a factor that greatly affects the English variety acquired by Japanese EFL learners.

In addition to the dominance of the US English spellings, etc., over the UK
alternatives, the scant supply of vocabulary is another key factor that may affect teaching English as a global lingua franca. For one thing, building vocabulary is important because a minimum amount of vocabulary has to be learned to maintain a basic communicative competence in a target language. The learners with a broader vocabulary can enrich their communication by knowing that different English varieties may use more than one way of expressing or understanding an idea or concept, and that the same word can convey a number of different meanings. Moreover, building vocabulary is meaningful because encountering the alternative vocabulary used in the different English varieties would assist the learners to become aware of the global lingua franca use of English. When the learners come across unfamiliar vocabulary, they may perceive it as unintelligible, which would then cause communication breakdown, or as wrong, which would then be manifested in a negative attitude toward the speaker(s). However, the vocabulary survey revealed that the learners' vocabulary did not even cover the survival lexicon (Section 5.3.5). Despite the importance to the learners of having a wide vocabulary, the textbooks, which should contain many vocabulary terms, are not being used to their fullest potential. Since the learners rarely have opportunities to be exposed to English, other than language learning settings in an EFL environment like Japan, the textbooks and the teaching materials, which are the main sources of the formal EFL learning in Japan, are considered to be major methods, or vehicles, to provide access to the different varieties of English. Therefore, increasing the amount of the vocabulary introduced in the textbooks can play an important role in teaching English as a global lingua franca.

Considering the strong association between the presented and learned varieties and the vocabulary shortage in the textbooks mentioned above, it is reasonable to conclude that textbooks and teaching materials together are a major factor that directly influences and shapes the learners' acquired language, following the foreign language education policy. Consequently, the textbooks and teaching materials could be modified in order to strengthen the understanding of the differences due to the English varieties from the accent, spellings, and vocabulary point of view. Focusing on accents, for example, one solution is audio listening materials. The recording voices of some characters do not reflect the established characters; for example, a character of a Brazilian ESL/EFL boy is dubbed by an American voice (Asano et al. 1999a). Kawamata $(1998,1999)$ also points
out the characters who have multicultural backgrounds in the textbooks are mostly dubbed over by US English speaking voices; and the Japanese EFL learners are in fact familiar with the US accent more than any other variety, except for the Japanese accent (Section 5.1). These facts taken together indicate that the US preference in audio materials encourages the learners to become familiar with the US accent, but not with others. Although the audio materials could be a good opportunity to encounter the various pronunciation possibilities naturally encountered in the real world, the textbook only concentrates on the practicality of using one standard in every aspect. Thus, the characters' voices in listening materials should not be altered. That is, if a character is set as a Brazilian ESL speaker, the dialogue should be recorded in a Brazilian Portuguese accented voice, not dubbed with an American English speaker. Through introducing authentic accented speech, the learners can be expected to become gradually familiar with the different sounds of English varieties. This treatment should improve learners' reception through exposure to different English varieties, but does not necessarily have to affect their speech production.

Another example focusing on accents is the pronunciation models; while the US orientation is found, the alternative models are not presented in the textbooks (see Section 4.2). If the textbook authors were intending to inspire learners about the English variety issue, the possible pronunciation could be displayed as ' $/ \partial(\rho: \theta$ ' using parentheses or '/ə: $\theta$ / or $/ \partial r \cdot \boldsymbol{\theta}$ ' in a parallel way either in the footnotes or in the endnotes; however, in current textbooks only the US pronunciation is displayed. Therefore, it is necessary to present the alternative pronunciation as additional information. Again, similar to the authentic accented speech in audio materials, the use of parallel display would contribute to the learners' understanding of pronunciation, but they would not be expected to produce the various English varieties in production exercises.

From the spelling point of view, the textbooks can also be modified to strengthen teaching to students of an understanding of the spelling differences that are due to the English varieties. The learners' US orientation found in spelling choices (Section 5.2), and the systematic appearance of US spellings in textbooks shows that the textbooks channel the learners to target the US English variety. Accordingly, in order to prevent the monopoly of the US English, multiple spellings can be presented in footnotes when different options exist. Although the dominance of US English may be acceptable,
considering the practicality of teaching/learning one standard variety, which is also targeted in the comprehensive language policy in Japan, replacing the spellings of the original works of literature in the main text goes too far and shows disrespect for the literature. Instead, providing the US spelling 'color' in a footnote when the alternative spelling 'colour' is used in the text provides a good opportunity to inform the learners about different varieties; replacing the word colour in the body text demonstrates disrespect for the literature. Therefore, although adhering to the US spellings as a target variety in the comprehensive language policy is understandable in terms of its practicality, providing the counterpart spellings should be encouraged in order to promote an understanding of spelling conventions in other English varieties.

For similar reasons to those discussed above in regard to spellings, alternate vocabulary can be introduced, using either endnotes or footnotes, to strengthen the understanding of the differences due to the English varieties. Particularly in the case where the US option is uniquely used in the US and the alternative is used more widely, both options have to be provided and there needs to be some explanation as to how both options are used. For example, in general, 'fall' is predominantly used in the US whereas 'autumn' is generally accepted among other English varieties; however, 'fall' was more preferred by the learners compared to 'autumn' (Section 5.3) and 'fall' is seen in the participating learners' textbooks while 'autumn' is not (Section 4.2). Accordingly, in order to teach English as a global lingua franca, it is not ideal to present the US vocabulary only, unless an American character utters it. 'Autumn' also should be introduced to the learners. In this way, learners would be exposed to a wide range of vocabulary and can appreciate the significance of English as a global lingua franca when they encounter the difference English varieties in real life.

In addition to introducing the alternatives to the US options in the areas of accent, spelling, and vocabulary, increasing the overall vocabulary introduced in the textbooks is also considered to be helpful to teach English as a global lingua franca. The survey revealed that the Japanese EFL learners have poor vocabulary even at the survival level (Section 5.3); the Japanese's lack of English communicative competence has been pointed out for a long time (Funabashi 2000a: 211, Terasawa 2000: 224). As mentioned earlier, the learners need to encounter the full range of vocabulary to become aware of the linguistic differences that are due to the different English varieties. In other words, what
is not taught is important as well as what is taught. Not including some vocabulary in teaching can deprive the chances for the learners to notice the issue of English varieties. Thus, instead of limiting the vocabulary, textbooks should include more vocabulary, especially if the vocabulary is used for basic communication. In essence, the more daily-used vocabulary the learners acquire the more intelligible their communication will be in English as a global lingua franca.

Revising the textbooks at the accent, spelling, and vocabulary levels, as suggested above, is not as difficult as might be expected. Particularly in Japan, as the textbooks have to be approved by the Monbusho for use in formal education, it is possible to reflect the governmental goals, objectives, and overall intention in the authorized textbooks. Consequently, the government can direct the publishers to approach English from a more global lingua franca perspective. Indeed, considering the fact that several publishers are involved in the authorized textbook business, it is not too much to expect that the publication companies provide information about English varieties. Currently, the local boards of education decide which textbooks are to be adopted by the districts. According to the publishers, ${ }^{134}$ most of the senior JTEs who are appointed to the textbook selection committees are a bit too conservative to adopt a completely innovative textbook, but still want to try something a little new. Consequently, the publishers tend to prefer making small changes on the previous edition on the basis that including a small portion on a trendy topic or teaching style will attract the teachers, improving the odds that the textbooks will be adopted.

Even though it is most likely that the publishers will be reluctant to revise the textbooks, the textbook authorization system by Monbusho can be used to apply pressure on the publishers. Because textbooks must conform to the government-issued course guidelines and also because authorization is given only after Monbusho's examination, it is easily possible for the government to use its textbook policy to bring about reform. The proposed changes -- appointing an authentic accented voice for a character, paralleldisplaying phonetic symbols/spelling, and providing alternative vocabulary in footnotes -- as mentioned earlier in this section, can be easily implemented as minor revisions, although more major changes could be made if publishers so desired. Furthermore, since

[^82]these changes are mostly for perception purposes and to promote an understanding of differences among English varieties, by exposing learners to these differences, the Japanese education authorities and publishers can explain to teachers that they do not have to change their teaching styles significantly, so that teachers would be more likely to support the changes. Therefore, the top-down enforcement by Monbusho can make it easier for the publishers to urge the local boards of education to revise the textbooks to achieve the objective of teaching English as a global lingua franca.

In summary then, three points were suggested for reforming the textbooks to develop the students' understanding of English as a global lingua franca from a linguistic point of view. These suggestions were: 1) using the voices that carry the authentic variety of English accents for audio materials; 2) paralleling any alternative spellings in footnotes; and 3) paralleling alternative vocabulary or selecting the words in general use.

### 6.1.2 Scholarship Programs

Scholarship programs are another factor that contributes to the understanding about English varieties. Having examined the study abroad scholarship programs at the national level, it was discovered that the overwhelming inclination toward the US was reinforced (Section 4.3) and the learners tend to have acquired the US English (Sections 5.1-5.5). The correlation between the US dominance and the scholarship programs shows that the scholarship programs are also effective at developing recognition of English varieties in terms of the linguistic features.

The influences/consequences of the scholarship programs are considered to be potentially enormous. Since the Fulbright scholarship program had maintained an independent category featuring teaching English as a foreign language until the mid1970s, the ex-participants were originally expected to play an important part in EFL education (Kondo 1992: 100, 124-5) ${ }^{135}$. Moreover, the program alumni were even more limited and valuable, particularly at the early postwar period, when the opportunities to go overseas were restricted other than through the GARIOA or Fulbright scholarships. In addition, the program alumni who studied subjects other than TEFL have also had an

[^83]indirect influence on EFL education through their powerful voices in Japanese society following their business success.

Although the scholarship programs could have a significant role in teaching English varieties, they work less directly than textbooks. Unless the scholarship program participants pursue careers as classroom EFL teachers, there is no opportunity for learners to be exposed directly to the US English through the teachers. In fact, as far as the Fulbright program is concerned, only a handful of people have engaged themselves with EFL teaching in their professional duties (Japan GARIOA \& Fulbright Alumni Board of Directors 1999). However, the ex-participants who have specialized in EFL teaching methods or education systems can return with the English varieties they acquired (which is the US variety) into Japanese EFL teaching at a higher level than classroom teaching. Hence, the learners can receive an influence indirectly through the EFL curriculums/systems the scholarship participants have developed.

Considering the nature and influence of the current scholarship programs, the focus of scholarship programs should include more non Inner Circle countries to introduce the learners to a range of English varieties. Since US English is dominant in Japan, partly because Japan has more returnees from the US than from other English speaking countries, sending students or researchers to various English countries, other than the US or the Inner Circle countries, should be encouraged. Although this suggestion may sound questionable where the leading research countries are also Inner Circle countries, not all of those who study abroad seriously pursue academic careers. In fact, some set out overseas to experience living in another culture or to learn English where it is spoken. For those who have such flexible motivation, going to the countries other than Inner Circle countries may be compatible with their interests. If such a number of undecided potential students spend time in various countries, they would appreciate the multinational, multicultural, and multilingual understanding, during and after the study abroad period. Moreover, their experience in countries other than Inner Circle English speaking countries would benefit not only the small number of those elite students or researchers, but also the people around them. This understanding of various countries other than Inner Circle countries would be extended from the personal level to the national level in the
long run ${ }^{136}$. Therefore, promoting those who study abroad toward Asian or African countries as well as to Inner Circle countries has significant merit in that it increases the number of people who understand different nations and cultures and the number of people who appreciate English as a global language.

It is meaningful to pursue how the scholarship program could be modified to include non-Inner Circle countries, which would then encourage other students and researchers to study there. One way to increase the number of the students and researchers is through providing scholarships that entitle the receiver to study in certain countries, similar to the way the Fulbright program, for example, sends students to the US. However, it is costly to draw up a separate budget for each destination. Another way, which could be more practical, is publicity. Although this still requires financial support, it is much less expensive than establishing separate scholarships. More information about study abroad in Asian and African English speaking countries should be widely accessible because it is likely that people are more attracted to go to the Inner Circle countries where the detailed information is already available.

In order to make the information about the study abroad available, the information should not rely too much on private companies or on foreign governments. For example, a private business bargains for more stable and more profitable deals; and hence its personal study abroad packages are most likely to be organized with Inner Circle countries. Moreover, relying on foreign organizations to promote their own institutions is also risky because it might result in a poor balance of publicity. In fact, some host countries have made efforts to promote their countries to students by providing related information in Japan. For example, the Japan-US education committee, the British Council, the Education Department in the Australian Embassy or Consulate General are well known among the bureaus from English speaking countries as well as non-English speaking countries such as Goethe Institut from Germany (Ministry of Education 1993: Part I Ch. 4 Sec.5). However, only the countries that are economically powerful or that are culturally and educationally established can advertise the value and benefits of studying in their countries. Young and small English speaking countries, where Outer

[^84]Circle English varieties are more likely to be spoken, cannot access large enough budgets to promote themselves to students or researchers and so may not be able to successfully advertise the advantages of studying there. Consequently, neutral and Japanese-centered information needs to be available for those who plan to go overseas to study.

It is important to provide relevant information through the database or the information center established by the Japanese government. Considering anticipated problems, such as expenses or personnel, it might be realistic to establish a virtual bureau featuring overseas study abroad on a web site. With a concerted effort by Japanese organizations overseas, such as Gaimusho (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Japanese Embassies and Consulates Generals overseas, the Japan Foundation, or CLAIR, the information would be detailed, including the available universities or institutes, strong research topics, security information, and so on. Accordingly, such detailed and diverse information should attract particularly those who are interested in study abroad without a firm motivation to select non-Inner Circle countries, which may be less popular studyabroad destinations. Furthermore, providing the information from the Japanese perspective would contribute not only to the students' or learners' personal merit, but also to Japanese public merit. Because developing a population that is familiar with the different countries improves a nation's assets, it would also be worthwhile doing so as a diplomatic investment in the long term. Therefore, it is important for the Japanese government to create an interface/window to provide information regarding study abroad in various countries.

### 6.1.3 Japanese Teachers of English ${ }^{137}$

Japanese teachers of English are also an effective means to influence learners' understanding of English varieties. Overall, the research presented in this study shows that learners tend to have acquired the US English (Sections 5.1-5.5), and the Japanese teachers of English are trained more in the US (Section 4.1.1). Thus, the US dominance

[^85]both in the characters of the learners' English and in the JTE training show that JTEs are also effective at influencing the learners' recognition of English varieties in terms of the linguistic features.

The JTEs can play an effective role in teaching English varieties, but their major role may not be as a model speaker/user. A closer examination of the accent recognition test results reveals how the JTEs influence the learners. The learners can distinguish English spoken with a Japanese accent more accurately than speech spoken with other accents; the factor that the subjects used to perform this distinction was called Japaneseness (Section 5.1). This phenomenon of the Japanese-ness factor is possibly a result of the learners becoming accustomed to hearing the sound of Japanese accented English, having learned English from JTEs who speak English with a Japanese accent. It is true that the recognition of the accents becomes more accurate as the education level rises. However, even the junior high school students, who had studied English formally for more than 2-3 years, could detect the Japanese accent at a higher rate (Section 5.1). Accordingly, the higher accuracy with which learners recognize the Japanese accent indicates that the unique sound system of Japanese, or the familiar sound system due to their first language, has already become established as early as when the learners finished their first three-year formal EFL learning. Therefore, the JTEs' role as a speech role model is weak.

Rather than as a model speaker/user, JTEs contribute to teaching English varieties by playing a role as a course organizer and as a learning supporter. It was found that frequent listening to the various English accents would improve the learners' perception of English accents (Section 5.1). Since JTEs not only directly teach English, showing the model usage in the classroom, but also organize the entire course, the JTEs are responsible for planning what to offer and how the learners will be exposed to various English accents, or different linguistic forms. Moreover, since the JTEs are involved in teaching the learners face-to-face, JTEs can determine what the students can learn and can reorganize the course planning accordingly. Therefore, JTEs who understand learning English as a global lingua franca can play the role of learning organizers by offering and emphasizing the various English varieties as a learning target.

Because the JTEs' influence the learners' English as a course organizer rather than as a linguistic model, it is desirable to make the most of the JTE training so that JTEs will be acquainted with the idea and importance of learning English as a global lingua franca. The JTEs can then include these ideas into the course planning. Indeed, the English that each JTE acquires and produces varies; some have personally studied in the UK while others might have learned from an American English teacher. However, the idiosyncratic differences among JTEs should not cause a serious problem because each learner is involved with several teachers throughout their formal EFL education period. Moreover, it is reasonable to expect that the JTE training is the key to teaching English varieties because the training professionally disciplines JTEs as an education policy practitioner. For example, it is clear that the training should include an independent course unit for better understanding of different nations and cultures in the world and to appreciate English as a global language. As examined in Section 4.1.1, the JTEs' domestic training programs do not intensely take the issue of English as a global lingua franca into consideration.

Another suggestion is that the countries where JTEs are sent for training should be expanded to include Asian and African English speaking countries in addition to the current Inner Circle ones. Actually, training programs are far from being ideal from the perspective of sending trainees to diverse countries. Under the overseas training programs, the JTEs are currently sent to the US, UK, Australia, and New Zealand only (particularly to the US and UK), and not to other English speaking countries such as Singapore or South Africa. In these training programs, then, little can be observed aside from the Inner Circle dominance phenomenon (Section 4.1.2). Unfortunately, the Inner Circle tendency in the JTE training does not seem to be about to change in the future. According to the interview with Monbusho, the following two points were made with regard to supervising the overseas training (Monbusho 2000a). First, it is desirable to establish the stable connection with a host institute so that we can maintain the size of the training, which will contribute to make it easier to draw up a budget. Second, historically and currently, many institutes that offer TEFL/TESOL type courses exist in the US and UK. Furthermore, not all countries provide stable and worthy training opportunities, and programs have to be provided in a safe environment for trainees to concentrate on their study. Taking these points together, the government intends to just maintain the training
programs rather than to expand them ${ }^{138}$. Although it is crucial for the organizer at least to maintain and secure the programs, neglecting the possibility to improve the programs can not be justified; it is still advisable to offer the training programs in English speaking countries other than the Inner Circle ones. In fact, there are many such potential tertiary level institutions other than those in Inner Circle countries. For example, in African universities the education medium language is mostly English and teaching English courses are offered. African countries are worthy of consideration because it is not only that most of those countries have English as an official language, but also that various indigenous languages are spoken in the local communities. Another possibility is Asian countries such as Singapore or Hong Kong, where the trainees can appreciate the multilingual/multicultural environments and the rich TEFL/TESOL programs some universities offer there. Asian institutions are worthy of consideration because Asian countries are geographically close, which makes them practical from the perspective of administrating the programs. Therefore, it is useful to include institutions in some Asian or African countries where English is used as an official language on the basis that the participating JTEs can appreciate both the language training and the multilingual/multicultural environment.

### 6.1.4 Assistant Language Teachers

The fourth language planning factor is ALTs; but this factor does not seem to be as effective as the other three factors, judging from the comparison between the varieties offered through ALTs and the variety learned by the students. The four invitation programs for native English speakers have been in operation for over 30 years, and the participants have been invited from the US, later from the US and the UK, then from the Inner Circle countries, and currently from some Outer Circle countries, in addition to the Inner Circle countries (Section 4.1.2). However, regardless of where ALTs have been invited from, the research shows that the learners are more likely to have acquired the US English (Sections 5.1-5.5). Thus, it seems that assistant language teachers are not as effective at influencing the English variety learned as the other three factors are.

[^86]The fact that the target English varieties through ALTs programs do not have an impact on the learners' acquired English does not mean ALTs programs are potentially useless for ensuring that English as a global lingua franca takes a firm hold among Japanese EFL learners. Rather, it should be interpreted that the effect of ALTs programs is dissipated by the short length of time the programs have been in operation and/or by the small number of ALTs. Concerning the length of time the programs have been in operation, the JET Programme started inviting ALTs (other than from the UK and US), from Australia and NZ in 1987, from Canada and Ireland in 1988, from South Africa in 1997, and from Israel, Singapore, and Jamaica in 2000 (Section 4.1.2). It has only been a short time since the English varieties have been extended, whereas the period of time during which the UK and US varieties were targeted lasted for 27 years in total. In addition, as for the numbers of JET ALTs, less than one percent of the whole ALT population, which is more than 5000 ALTs per year, comes from Outer Circle countries ${ }^{139}$. Since an ALT is normally allocated to a school or a regional area that contains several schools, employing only a small number of ALTs from Outer Circle counties does not have a sufficiently strong influence to instill a notion of English as a global lingua franca in learners. Moreover, even though the learners are blessed by such opportunities, as the ALTs have basically one to three-year contracts, the opportunity may not last long enough for the learners to get much exposure from the ALT.

Taking the short length of time in operation, and the limited number of the participants, which have diluted the effect of ALTs programs, into consideration, the potential effect of ALTs program still cannot be ruled out. Indeed, the 1997 change in the ALT program has only provided modest effects at this stage due to its short period of operation and to the limited numbers of ALTs being recruited from non-Inner Circle areas. In general, there is always a transition period and it takes time when reforming any ongoing system or when introducing any new systems. Since education is not a short term project (although it may be from a student's point of view) but a long term one from the policy point of view, the ALT program has the potential to influence not only learners, but also JTEs, and this influence on JTEs would have further effects on future learners. In

[^87]this sense, the ALT program has multiple means of influencing on language learners. Therefore, it is still desirable to consider the possible revision of the current ALT programs.

In order to take full advantage of the effect of the ALTs factor, the program should expand the number of participating countries, increase number of participants from the Outer Circle countries, and allow enough time for the program's effectiveness to be demonstrated. The first suggestion is to widen the ALTs program to other Outer Circle countries. As of the year 2000, the ALTs for English language have been invited from ten countries (CLAIR 2001, and Section 4.1.2). Among the 45 countries where English has achieved special status, such as being a national language or an official language (Crystal 1987/1994: 357), only nine countries ${ }^{140}$ have participated in this program, the majority of which are Inner Circle countries. These statistics are still very slanted in favor of Inner Circle countries from the English as a global lingua franca point of view, although the latest ALTs programs show the most radical change ever ${ }^{141}$; the ALTs program is yet to achieve the EFL education objectives in terms of English varieties. Of course exactly the same number of participants cannot be invited from each country, considering that the population size or the bilateral diplomatic relationship varies from country to country. However, an effort to invite ALTs from as many countries as possible is to be expected to reflect the English as global lingua franca point of view on the ALTs program, although some difficulties can be anticipated in an administrative sense.

The second suggestion is to increase the number of participants from the Outer Circle countries. For most of the EFL learners, ALTs are the closest native English speakers with whom the learners can naturally communicate in the target language. Because the learners have more opportunities to meet the American ALTs, and hence to be exposed to the US variety, the fact that the majority of ALTs are from the US is likely to cause the bias toward the US English variety. Just as it is undesirable to have audio materials dubbed over in the voice of US English speakers (Section 6.1.1), a more diverse

[^88]ALT program could play an important role in influencing learners' acquired variety. Accordingly, it would be more useful if a larger number of ALTs were invited from Outer Circle countries so that the learners could encounter these different varieties more frequently.

Finally, the third suggestion is to maintain the program for enough time until its influence actually appears. Indeed, it is difficult to expect that the number of ALTs for every country would increase because each country has a different population size. Since it generally takes time and effort until the program has established the employment process (Duque 1987), the vast gap in operating period between the US and the non-Inner Circle countries may cause different degrees of influence. In fact, the ALTs program has nearly 30 years in its history, during which time the target countries have shifted from the US, to the US and UK, to the Inner Circle countries, and expanded to the Outer Circle countries only in 1997. For example, the American ALTs, which started with just four ALTs in 1969 (under the Fulbright program ${ }^{142}$ ), has grown to include more than 2000 ALTs since 1994 (Section 4.1.2 for details). On the other hand, a total of only 40 ALTs has been invited from all Outer Circle countries in 2000. ${ }^{143}$ Accordingly, there is insufficient time to compare the effect of just several years for the Outer Circle varieties against that of nearly 30 years for the US variety. Therefore, it is also important to support the program for a long enough time to get the newly introduced program well under way.

### 6.2 The Attitudinal Perspective

As well as the linguistic issue, attitude is another important issue to consider in teaching English as a global lingua franca. The 1989 Course Guidelines broadly redefined the prospective people with which Japanese EFL learners are expected to need to communicate with in English (see Section 2.2.2.2). Consequently, attitude, which has been recognized as a key target in the formal EFL course objective, has become even more meaningful from the view of English varieties. The reality of how the English

[^89]varieties are perceived attitudinally among the Japanese EFL learners is, however, far from ideal. The learners' attitudes differ significantly depending on the English variety: the most positive attitude is toward the UK variety, followed by the US, Australian, and finally by the Singaporean variety (Section 5.6). This significant attitudinal gap across the English varieties indicates that the EFL course objective, which is to minimize the attitudinal differences (Monbusho 1989a, 1999a), has not been efficiently achieved. Consequently, it is important to understand the learners' attitudes and to consider plans to achieve the course objectives concerning the attitudes toward English varieties.

Understanding learners' attitudes is crucial not only from the policy-development point of view but also from the classroom teaching point of view. Since the 1989 Course Guidelines introduced the attitudinal component in the course objectives for all subjects, academic school reports in many schools have included an attitudinal component. Because evaluating attitudes is not as clear-cut as evaluating learners' skills and knowledge, for which you can observe an outcome in test scores, it is even trickier for teachers to evaluate attitudes. Nevertheless, understanding learners' attitudes helps teachers to manage the course planning. Keeping up with the learners' changing attitudes helps teachers to update their teaching plan, which needs to be revised anyway in accordance with the course objectives, students' progress, the materials available, and so on. Ideally, a reliable and quick way of measuring attitudes is required, not only because the learners' attitudes are not visible, but also because, in real life, the time that teachers can actually devote to teaching or planning the course is limited.

Despite the obvious importance of attitudes in EFL education in Japan, to compare the varieties taught and varieties learned in terms of attitudes it is not as simple as examining the linguistic efficacy of the current language planning measures. Indeed, similar to the linguistic examination, the target variety of the language planning measures and the variety to which the learners show a positive attitude, conform with each other, and reveal an Inner Circle dominance. Consequently, it may be hypothesized that the repeated exposure to a specific English variety would enforce the higher value of that variety and promote that variety as a learning target, and hence encourage the learners to have positive attitudes toward it. However, based on the linguistic examination, a closer look at each Inner Circle variety contradicts the above-mentioned view. A UK orientation in the learners' attitudes was revealed (Section 5.6), while the learners are
exposed more to the US variety through the foreign language education plan (Sections 4.1-4.3). Although this difference in dominant varieties between what is taught and what is acquired may indicate that all four language-planning measures discussed in chapter 4 are not effective, the results from the further attitudinal study (Section 5.7) imply that the measures are still effective. For example, learners who are frequently exposed to English through reading show less attitudinal variances toward different varieties; that is, textbooks are working to teach English as a global lingua franca. Thus, it is unclear whether the language planning measures are working effectively just from comparing the varieties taught and varieties learned.

This section evaluates the on-going language planning measures and seeks possible revisions from the attitudinal point of view based on the attitudinal difference and relational studies (Sections 5.6 and 5.7). The language planning measures discussed are textbooks and teaching materials, scholarship, JTEs, and ALTs, as outlined in chapter 4. In addition, the curriculum factor is added. These measures, or factors, are considered to have the potential to contribute to teaching English as a global lingua franca in Japan.

### 6.2.1 Textbooks and Teaching Materials

Textbooks and teaching materials can be effective in teaching English as a global lingua franca (Section 6.1.1). They can also have an influence on what can be developed in terms of learners' attitudes toward English varieties. This influence comes in two ways: the reading materials and the use of music. Firstly, reading English texts (not specifically textbooks) is important because it seems to maneuver the learners' attitudes toward English varieties. It was revealed that the more time learners spent reading stories written in English, the less variation they have in their attitudes toward different English varieties (Section 5.7). This correlation suggests that manipulating the reading content in textbooks can possibly contribute to developing the learners' attitudes toward English varieties. Secondly, English songs seem to be another avenue in addition to revising the textbooks. More than $66 \%$ of the learners have more regular and frequent opportunities (more than once a week) to be exposed to English, outside formal EFL learning, through listening to music (Section 5.7). Moreover, the frequency of exposure is associated with the attitudes toward English varieties (Section 5.7). These findings imply the possibility that music may usefully affect the learners' attitudes toward English varieties. Therefore,
it is important to pursue the possible revision of textbooks from reading and music points of view.

The reading material in the textbooks can be improved in order to minimize the gap among the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties. Firstly, in Section 4.2 it was pointed out that textbooks do not provide the ideal contents to the learners as far as English varieties are concerned. That is, the characters in the textbooks are mostly speakers from the US or UK, and there are fewer ESL/EFL speakers who appear in the stories. Secondly, the learners' attitudes toward the English varieties were significantly different depending on the nationalities: the most positive attitude was shown to the UK, followed by the US, Australian, and the Singaporean varieties (Section 5.6). Accordingly, the neglect of ESL/EFL speakers in the textbooks and the poorer attitudes toward the Outer Circle varieties such as Singaporean English suggest that frequently casting American/British characters and/or introducing the American/British topics undervalues learning English as a global lingua franca. Even though Japanese people consider learning English as it is the prevalent language spoken in the UK or US, it is not ideal to introduce only Inner Circle themes (for example, people and culture as well as the English varieties) in the textbooks. Therefore, it would be preferable to include many English varieties, speakers, and cultures other than from the Inner Circles', so as to stimulate in learners a global view toward learning the English language.

In addition to developing the reading materials, introducing more music material in classrooms (accordingly into textbooks) could minimize the learners' attitudinal difference among the English varieties. Although opportunities to listen to music privately at home, as seen in Table 73, is not the concern in this thesis, because it relates to the sociolinguistic domain, comparing Table 73-Table 75 shows that, relative to other media, music is a common avenue through which learners are exposed to English. Moreover, there is a strong correlation between listening to English music and attitudinal difference; it was found that the learners with more opportunities to listen to music showed a wider range of attitudes toward different English varieties (Section 5.6). Although this finding suggests a negative effect of music use in EFL learning, music could still be effective in minimizing attitudinal difference among the English varieties. Whether the èffect turns out to be negative or positive depends on how the learners are exposed to English music. Furthermore, the learners' stronger preference for Inner Circle
varieties accords with the fact that the types of music that are presented in the textbooks, or that learners listen to privately, are more likely to be American or British (Section 4.2). This feature suggests that the learners prefer the varieties that they are more familiar with, which tends to be the American or British varieties (Section 4.6). Therefore, it can be concluded that music presents a useful opportunity for counterbalancing learners' attitudes towards different English varieties; that is, English songs from various English speaking cultures should be presented to the students in order to reduce the attitudinal difference across English varieties.

The effect of music use on the learners' attitudes is important in actual classroom teaching. For example, the English teaching lessons using music might be effective to cultivate learners' attitudinal openness towards different English varieties. On this issue, Boarder (1994) reports on the effect of music use in language learning on learners' emotion, showing that arousing various types of emotions other than negative learning pressure improves learners' memory. Other research shows that music use further promotes pedagogical diversity and contributes to effective learning, especially in regard to pronunciation, fluency, listening comprehension, memorization of vocabulary and grammatical structures and cultural awareness (Tumanov 1986, Diamond and Minicz 1994). What is appealing about music use is that it can be adopted in the classrooms without a big change in instructors' or program coordinators' style ${ }^{144}$. Not only could the English lessons using music be given for a whole period of class time, but they could also be effective if taught even for a short time (Kakita 1993: 308, Boarder 1994) ${ }^{145}$. Furthermore, in the case of commercial songs, as there are many opportunities to listen to them, even outside of the classroom, Boarder (1994) points out the advantages of frequent exposure for reminding learners about what they have consciously and/or subconsciously learned. ${ }^{146}$ Thus, this music-based method can contribute to effective language learning in multiple ways, simply by using it repeatedly, even for just short periods of time.

In light of the effect of teaching with music, as seen above, introducing music material in the classroom can be employed to minimize the gap shown in learners'

[^90]attitudes toward different English varieties. In order to acknowledge the fact that English is widely used, English songs from other English speaking areas should be included in textbooks, not only the American/British pop songs that appear in the traditionally published textbooks (e.g. Beatles' songs). Moreover, some songs were developed especially for language learning purposes, such as Caroline Graham's Jazz chants (Graham 1995, 1999). Since some of her works are based on old Japanese tales, it might be useful and important to create original material from the multicultural perspectives, such as Singaporean or Philippine cultures. Although the methodology of using music is not new and has been practiced in many classrooms, having these multicultural English songs available in the textbooks would stimulate both learners' and teachers' attitudes. As discussed above, therefore, textbooks can contribute to developing the learners' attitudes toward English varieties by reconsidering the contents of the reading materials and using English songs from different English varieties.

### 6.2.2 Scholarship Programs

Scholarship programs are another factor that may affect learners' attitudinal differences between the English varieties. While more scholarships are available for studying in the US than anywhere else, this study has shown that learners do not have the most positive attitude toward US English, but instead toward UK English. This inconsistency indicates that revising the scholarship programs is not going to be (significantly) effective at achieving the attitudinal objective. However, scholarship programs can possibly influence (regardless of national support or private funding) the learners' understanding about the English varieties, considering the US situation. In general, the scholarship programs tend to focus on specific countries, and this focus will encourage the learners to target that specific variety in their language learning. In fact, aside from the program participants, scholarship programs themselves do not treat all countries equally; many programs have sent the students or scholars to the US (Josei Zaidan Shiryo Senta 2000). Because more Japanese study abroad on US endowed scholarships, it is natural for the participants to value highly the destination country (the US) compared to other English speaking countries. In addition to the participants themselves, even those who are not interested in participating in these programs will become aware of the different values placed on different English varieties and these
different valuations may then be reinforced. Therefore, as discussed in Section 6.1.2, it is necessary for scholarship programs to include as many destinations as possible. For example, it is advisable to establish an information center which provides diversified scholarship/study abroad information, so that the impression that the Japanese people have toward different countries is more in line with the policy objectives.

### 6.2.3 Teachers

Teachers are also an important factor that could contribute to reducing the learners' attitudinal difference among the English varieties, although both JTEs' training destination countries and ALTs' nationalities do not correspond with the countries that the learners have the most positive attitudes toward. Focusing on the top two English varieties, the learners' attitudes are significantly more positive toward UK English than US English (Section 5.6). In contrast, JTEs are nearly equally trained in the US and the UK; and the ALTs have been invited from six Inner Circle countries, although the majority of the ALTs were from the US during the 1998 Course Guidelines period. Consequently, this inconsistency between the learners' attitudinal outcome and the English varieties that the teachers carry indicates that neither the JTEs nor the ALTs may be effective at reducing the gap across the attitudes learners have toward the English varieties. However, the resultative hypothesis, which proposes that successful experiences in language learning create positive attitudes toward the TL linguaculture as the learning proceeds (Hermann 1980, Strong 1984), suggests that the teachers can still contribute to developing the learners' attitudes. Following the hypothesis, therefore, in order for learners to have more positive attitudes toward various English-mediated linguacultures, regardless of Inner Circle and Outer Circle varieties, it is important for teachers to include the learning opportunities such that the learners can feel fulfilled through contact with many linguacultures.

In planning language courses to include learning activities such that the learners can experience feelings of success, it is necessary to invite more ALTs with a greater range of English varieties. The role of the ALTs has shifted from the top-down influence on the teacher trainers and on the JTEs, to the bottom-up influence directly on the learners (Section 4.1.2). This qualitative change has contributed to the learners having more opportunities to come into contact with the target linguacultures. However, the great
majority of the communication partners are ALTs from the Inner Circle countries (more than a half of which are from the US), while the ALTs from so called Outer Circle countries, which joined only in 1997, account for less than one percent, as of 2000. Since ALTs, as communication partners, can provide the more natural and irreplaceable communication opportunities for the learners to contact with various English varieties, it is meaningful and important to invite more ALTs from the non-Inner Circle countries so that the learners can have culturally richer experiences.

In addition to diversifying the ALTs' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, teachers should ensure that language tasks include as many linguacultures as possible, so that the learners have open attitudes toward different English varieties. Indeed the textbooks contain some cultural information for Outer Circle or even non-English speaking countries, but multicultural topics are relatively few. Moreover, although it is reported that several schools also administer special exchange programs through Internet video conference or sister city/school programs (NHK 2001), these programs most likely concern the US and Inner Circle English varieties, rather than Outer Circle varieties such as Asian and African varieties. In addition, since ALTs are mostly invited from Inner Circle countries, the ALTs from the Outer Circle cultures are few. Consequently, it is expected that the activities planned by and involved with ALTs are more likely to be Inner Circle English oriented. Therefore, the Outer Circle varieties, including Asian and African varieties, should be better represented in the tasks and activities teachers assign to learners.

In planning and practicing language courses in terms of culturally rich experiences, both JTEs and ALTs should bear in mind the quality of the activities. The tasks given to the learners have to be moderately difficult, but still be achievable for the majority of the learners because an inferiority complex would develop if the tasks were too difficult. However, the tasks have also to be challenging so that the learners do not get bored with learning/meeting new aspects of the target linguaculture. Since the learners have to communicate in English in the mock situations, because Japan is an EFL country where English is not commonly used in society, the experience is expected to be already challenging enough for them. Attaining the right level of difficulty for each activity would help the learners to experience a feeling of success though the activities, which would further develop in them a positive feeling toward different English varieties.

Another point that teachers can consider to create opportunities for learners to experience feelings of success is arranging the course to include cultural exploration activities following Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT) (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999). Since planning the course and deciding the techniques to be used in the classroom are based on 'approach ${ }^{147}$, understanding available language teaching methods and choosing the appropriate ones are crucial. ILT is a language teaching method that has been advocated in response to the criticisms made against the communicative language teaching methods ${ }^{148}$. Because of some of the characteristics of ILT, it would be beneficial in Japanese EFL education for JTEs to plan the course focusing on the learners' attitudinal development, considering the criticism of imposing English colonialism through English teaching, and to consider methods of evaluation of the learning activities.

In planning a course focusing on the learners' attitudinal development, referring to ILT is beneficial for JTEs from the viewpoint of Japanese speakers of English. The advocators of ILT point out that understanding communication from a non-native speakers' point of view is missing in many existing communication-oriented language teaching (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999: 113). That is, what ILT aims to achieve is the intercultural communication among the people who carry various cultural backgrounds, while maintaining their mother-cultures using English as a lingua franca (see papers in Crozet and Liddicoat 1999). Because Japanese EFL speakers learn English to understand and communicate with non-native speakers (the language learners) and with native speakers as intercultural communication, which differs from the communication that is the norm in the major English speaking countries, ILT is an ideal approach for the EFL

[^91]learners, and hence for the Japanese EFL speakers.
Since EFL learners studying English as a global language following ILT are expected to communicate and negotiate in English as well as maintaining their native culture, adopting ILT into Japanese EFL education resolves the criticism of EFL education as assisting English imperialism. Traditionally, EFL education in Japan has taken typical approaches where the target linguaculture used by native speakers is the norm. Against this traditional approach, making EFL education compulsory leads to the learners being indoctrinated with English imperialism and that the Japanese should not think and behave like Inner Circle English speakers (Mainichi Shinbun 2000) ${ }^{149}$. Earlier research (Sections 5.6 and 5.7) pointed out some of the deficiencies learners have in understanding English as a global lingua franca; whereas the learners are very eager to achieve high level of proficiency regardless of the English varieties, they have prejudices against some English speaking linguacultures. This means that the Japanese EFL learners tend to perceive English as merely a language spoken in some foreign countries and not as a global lingua franca. It also means that they are more likely to expect to have native English speakers as communication partners and not speakers from any of the many Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries. However, the ILT approach would not encourage Japanese EFL learners assimilate themselves into some native speakers' linguaculture. In other words, learning English for a Japanese learner through this approach not only aims at their becoming a fluent English speaker, but also for them to be fluent English-speaking Japanese. Therefore, teaching English following ILT contributes to appeasing the criticism that English imperialism can be introduced through language education, and to reconciling the current situation, in which English varieties are perceived differently, with the ideal of understanding English as a global lingua franca.

In order to teach English to Japanese learners following ILT, it is necessary to determine what English learning means to Japanese people in general (or at least the EFL

[^92]learners who have received Japanese mainstream education) and to design the course appropriately. Although the rationale behind learning English for Japanese people is rather philosophical or theoretical from the perspective of suggesting concrete teaching plans, it contributes to EFL education at its foundation. Discussions at various levels are needed, and such issues to be discussed include the following: political ideology, diplomatic relationship, educational administration, educational practice, citizens' general opinion, learners' needs, and so on. Despite the difficulty of reaching agreement on all of those issues, it is essential to scrutinize various ideas or concepts relating to EFL learning for Japan. Once the rational behind English learning for the Japanese is understood, the components of Japanese linguaculture and of the target linguaculture in EFL courses can be elucidated. By comparing and scrutinizing the learning contents in detail it is possible to identify the aspects of mother culture that can be maintained, and those aspects of the target culture that have to be modified in order to have an effective intercultural communication. This thorough examination of the maintained and modified aspects would clarify the necessary course design and identify teaching techniques, such as the appropriate classroom instruction, material development, and so on.

Concretely pinning down the details of the course design and of teaching contributes to evaluation in referring to ILT ${ }^{150}$. Since ILT attaches great importance to a creative process of learning (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999: 123), this emphasis on the learning process also enables us to understand the nature of evaluating learning activities. In ILT, the learning process involves three dimensions: learning about cultures, comparing cultures, and intercultural exploration (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999). As far as the cultural aspect is concerned, formal EFL education in Japan has mainly involved the first dimension, which focuses on learning about cultural knowledge, although the cultural comparison and the exploration dimensions are practiced to some degree. The problem with evaluation is that, while skills and knowledge are reasonably easy to evaluate as long as memory is concerned, the third dimension (exploration) is harder. For example, the first dimension is straightforward: if you remember knowledge A, then knowledge A is learned. Comparisons can also be evaluated simply such as: A is the

[^93]more likely behavior in Culture A while B is more likely to be preferred in culture B; or A is common in both cultures A and B.

On the contrary, evaluating the exploration dimension is not simple and could be very controversial. There are no objective evaluation criteria because each learner establish their own space between the Japanese culture and the target culture. Moreover, since grappling with the target cultures involves the whole person (Liddicoat et al. 1997: 29), changes are expected not only in the learner's knowledge, but also in the whole person and behavior. Accordingly, a question is raised about how far EFL teachers can and should evaluate the learners' achievement in the exploration dimension, in other words, whether an EFL course as a school subject should cover not only the knowledge and skill but also personal belief. Evaluation is valued mainly for the transcript or entrance examination purposes in Japanese formal EFL education. Consequently, in addition to the difficulties inherent in the nature of evaluation, evaluating the whole person could be controversial because it could influence the learners' future learning or working opportunities.

Despite the problems of evaluating the learners' achievements following ILT, evaluation cannot be ignored because it is very meaningful both from the teachers' and the learners' perspectives. Educational evaluation is essential in terms of the following two points (Kakita 1993: 256). First, the current course curriculum, teaching methodology, teaching materials, and teaching aids are to be examined, and this evaluation would help revising each of them. Second, the learners' current strong and weak points are to be clarified, and this evaluation would help in redirecting the learners' learning in a better direction. Since evaluation improves the teachers' functions (such as course planning, teaching and designing teaching material) and assists the learners' learning function, the appropriate evaluation of the cultural learning aspect as a part of the entire EFL learning would bring about more effective outcomes when implementing the ILT approach.

In order to make the most of evaluation from the learners' point of view, it may well be better to concentrate on the learners' self-evaluation rather than on the teachers' formal evaluation. Although the teachers' evaluation might be a form of appraisal for some learners, in terms of the resultative hypothesis the learners' self-satisfaction arising directly from the experience should be more significant. For example, even though no
grading is going to be reported on a student's academic transcript in Kokusai-rikai-kyoiku, the learners' attitudes toward learning activities are becoming more positive, according to Umemoto (2001) ${ }^{151}$. Understanding the different styles of assessment would prevent the learners from being discouraged by grading in a traditional school report or by the scores of the term exams. They should enjoy knowing the new linguaculture, knowing the similarities and difference between them, and exploring their expanded new self more than anything else. Through this three dimensional learning process, learners themselves will know about their learning and achievement by interlocutors' reaction, peer performance, and so on. It may be enough evaluation that the learners need to struggle to find their own comfortable 'third place (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999)' through intercultural exploration (by making mistakes and by experiencing successful communication), making evaluation using a simple criterion unnecessary from the teachers' point of view.

In addition to the arguments in favor of ILT as an ideal language teaching method for English learning for Japanese EFL learners, ILT is suitable for the Japanese sociolinguistic context, keeping in mind the expected outcome of EFL education in Japan. ILT is an appropriate approach, especially in multicultural societies such as Australia, where this approach was invented and is considered to be suitable (Crozet and Liddicoat 1999: 117). This is not only because Japan accommodates several linguistic and ethnic groups (Section 2.1), but also because the government plans to increase the number of immigrants coming into Japan in anticipation of the aging of Japanese society and the possibility of a shrinking workforce (The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 2000: Ch. 1 IV 2 (4)). ILT is a highly suitable approach that is well worth considering in Japanese EFL education. Moreover, Liddicoat et al. (1997) have considered the complexity of language learning in Australian tertiary education in explaining and developing the ILT approach ${ }^{152}$. The situation in Japanese EFL is complex

[^94]as well; each student has a different expectation, and each teacher and school may have different goal settings regardless of the level of the school education, such as secondary or tertiary. Although there is one difference in the linguistic context between the two countries, which is whether English is dominant in society or not, EFL learning in Japan should be concerned with the global environment more than the domestic environment. In Japan, English as the target language is merely a foreign language and Japanese is predominantly spoken. It is a more proper objective to learn English as a global language to communicate with the rest of the world, where Japanese cannot be mediated as a lingua franca. Even though Japan is expected to become a more multicultural society in the future, English learning might not be significant because Japanese is the most dominant language and culture. The intercultural aspect does not have to be developed in English (Kramsch 1993); it can be developed through Japanese in the Japanese dominant multicultural society ${ }^{153}$. Therefore, looking at the world, it is still appropriate to adopt ILT for Japan's EFL learning because Japan is domestically and globally a multicultural society.

In summary, this section argued that teachers could contribute to developing the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties by creating opportunities for the learners to feel successful in communicating with speakers of many English varieties. For example, since ALTs provide the near-real opportunities for learners to contact the target language and culture, the imbalance in the ALTs' numbers according to their nationalities should be corrected; particularly, the number of ALTs from Outer Circle countries should be increased. More importantly, another suggestion is that JTEs should include in the curriculum activities, so that the learners can experience positive feelings toward the speakers of many English varieties. It was also argued that applying ILT could enlighten the Japanese EFL learners' understanding of English as a global lingua franca from the viewpoint of Japanese learners of English. Despite of the advantage of ILT, however, fully relying on ILT does not solve all the problems; in actual practice more than one approach can be used for different purposes. ILT should be examined as one of many approaches that can augment Japan's current EFL education, especially as it is an

[^95]approach that can cast new insights into English language learning.

### 6.2.4 Integrative Curriculum

Finally, our concern about achieving the multicultural aspect of EFL educational objectives shifts from the factors that are directly related to the EFL course per se to the factors that have influence throughout the whole curriculum (not only the EFL course). Integrating the foreign language and multicultural themes into courses other than English is considered to be another effective solution in terms of developing the learners' attitudes toward different English varieties. The teaching content of the formal EFL course is not the only factor that influences the learners' attitudinal aspect, as seen in the attitudinal relation study (Section 5.7). The results of the attitudinal relation study exhibited a strong association between the English varieties toward which the learners have positive attitudes and the ones that they feel expected to learn from teachers, textbook editing policy, exam standards, or from their parents. This strong relation indicates that attitudes are not only the concern of the learners' themselves; learners are also accommodating the opinions of those around them. In addition, the attitudinal relation study revealed a close relationship between the learners' attitudes toward the countries where the English varieties are spoken (Attitudes to Country) and the English varieties that the learners feel an expectation to master (External Expectation). This strong relationship reveals that the attitudes toward English varieties are affected not only by the EFL course per se, but also by educational activities other than English and by the environment around the learners. In other words, the knowledge and experience gained through subjects other than English also play an important role. Therefore, it is suggested that developing and integrating the whole school curriculum to strengthen and develop the learners' views toward many English varieties is another effective factor as far as the learners' attitudes are concerned.

In order to make the most of the whole curriculum, there are two possible ways to realize the above objective: one is by building across the subjects systematically and the other is through a newly introduced thematic subject. The first solution involves weaving a global thematic thread into the existing curriculum and expanding the opportunities to become exposed to other English varieties or other linguacultures. For example,
language and otherwise, has been introduced in some elementary schools.
predetermining a theme such as multiculture or African culture across several subjects will be an effective educational design. Since learners' attitudes to countries and the external expectations placed on them are both related to the attitudes toward varieties (Section 5.7), the English subject should not be the only subject used to contribute to enlightening the attitudinal aspect. Other subjects, even those taught in Japanese, can also contribute to familiarizing students with various linguacultures. In particular, established subjects such as geography, history, music, and so on, could be used to influence the whole attitude toward different English varieties or linguacultures.

Another solution that employs the whole curriculum is to cultivate the learners' attitudes through one thematic subject. Beginning in 2002, a multi-cultural subject (Kokusai-rikai-kyoiku) was introduced (Monbusho 1998b) as one of the integrative subjects (Soogoo-kamoku). According to Fukumoto (2001) ${ }^{154}$, Ito announced that $50 \%$ of the primary schools have chosen a/the multicultural theme in the integrative subject and are offering opportunities for the pupils to contact different linguacultures, which are available in local areas or through exchange programs. This subject would help in designing the learning activities that bring about contact with various linguacultures, while allowing flexibility over what the specific themes are. Thus, new subjects, such as multicultures that offer opportunities for the learners to encounter different linguacultures should be exploited more.

### 6.3 Summary

Based on the findings in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, this chapter has explored possible suggestions and implications to encourage understanding of the English varieties. As a result of observing both linguistic and attitudinal effects of the EFL education policy, the policy-related implementation schemes, and the actual English varieties learned by the students, factors such as textbooks and teaching materials, scholarship programs, teachers (JTEs and ALTs), and the curriculum were found to be effective. However, not all factors were working equally well to achieve the course objectives regarding the English variety

Textbooks and teaching materials were the strongest factor. This factor has a direct effect on the learners and is the most influential factor among the four EFL policy related
factors. From the linguistic point of view, the varieties in the current textbooks and audio materials are unbalanced in many linguistic aspects, including accent, spelling, vocabulary, and so on. Textbooks and audio materials are Inner Circle-oriented and most likely reflect the US variety. It was suggested that different English varieties should be presented in various aspects including accent, spelling, vocabulary, etc. From the attitudinal point of view, the textbooks and teaching materials factor also works well to achieve a better understanding of English varieties, particularly by considering the quality of reading materials and the use of music. Since the opportunities for Japanese EFL learners to be exposed to English through reading is mainly through formal EFL course related materials, which are most likely to be textbooks, developing the contents of the stories in the textbooks to include more English-variety-related or multicultural topics was suggested. Another suggestion was making the most of the English songs from various English speaking cultures in the textbooks and audio materials. The music-based teaching is supported with theory by classroom practitioners; moreover, repeated use of the method remains effective even if only used for short periods of time.

Compared to the textbooks and teaching material factor, scholarship programs are not only less strongly, but also less directly, effective. From the linguistic point of view, Inner Circle English speaking countries have been mainly involved in scholarship programs, which are supposed to affect the learners' acquisition. Although the difficulties in administering the programs were recognized, it was suggested that the programs should be expanded to include some African or Asian EFL countries where English is used in tertiary education. Moreover, scholarship programs should be also reconsidered in the similar way as the linguistic point of view. In order to expand the interest of study abroad opportunities in various countries, it was proposed that an information center be established for those who were considering study abroad from a Japanese perspective (not dependent upon the existing information bureau instituted by foreign governments). Consequently, the potential Japanese students would appreciate the information regarding the possible scholarship/study abroad programs in a wide variety of countries. In the long term, the returnees' feedback would further contribute to adjusting the skewed impression that Japanese people generally have toward other

[^96]cultures.
In addition to scholarship programs, JTEs are another factor, although it appears to be less strongly and indirectly effective relative to the textbooks and teaching material factor. From the linguistic point of view, only Inner Circle English speaking countries have been involved in the overseas training programs for JTEs. Since this emphasis on the Inner Circle countries affects the learners' acquisition, it was suggested that the programs should be expanded to include some African and/or Asian EFL countries in which English is used in tertiary education, although the difficulties in maintaining the programs were recognized.

Among all the factors, the effect of ALTs was not clearly observable from the linguistic point of view, despite the fact that this factor currently indicates the most ideal direction. Since ALTs' insignificant effect is assumed to be due to the limited actual operating time, and by the limited number of participants involved, it was concluded that the ALT programs should be continued in the longer term with more participants and with more Outer Circle countries involved.

From the attitudinal point of view, teachers (including both JTEs and ALTs) can also play an important role to develop the learners' attitudes toward English varieties. Following the resultative hypothesis, a successful experience in language learning creates positive attitudes toward the target linguaculture as the learning proceeds. Consequently, in the course, teachers (more likely to be JTEs) should design such activities for which the learners can experience successful feelings toward their TL. In addition, the nationalities of ALTs should be diversified so that the learners have many opportunities to encounter the different English varieties, and not just the US or UK mainstream varieties. For teachers to plan and organize the EFL course, it was suggested that the ILT should be functionally incorporated over the whole EFL education because ILT contributes to reelucidating the problem of the learners' skewed attitudes toward different English varieties by articulating the cultural aspect in language learning. Furthermore, in terms of attitudes, teachers need to consider the issue of evaluation for reviewing the ongoing teaching and learning process. Because attitudes involve a more complicated mechanism compared to skills or knowledge, a simple (in terms of time and the clarity) method of evaluating the learners' attitudes toward English varieties had to be devised. It was found that asking learners their personal target variety for future communication (that is,
the factor of Internal Target as discussed in Section 5.7) is a simple but reliable way of judging attitudes toward English varieties.

The final factor from the attitudinal point of view concerns the integrative curriculum, which is external to the existing EFL course curriculum. The integrative curriculum has two possible ways to function. One possibility is setting a theme across the subjects, and the other possibility is designing a whole thematic course featuring the cultural understanding issues as a subject. Because the English classroom is not the only learning situation that influences the learners' attitudes, the curriculum planners/teachers can devise teaching plans bearing in mind these cross-subject relationships.

As summarized so far, the four factors, which are textbooks and teaching materials, scholarship programs, teachers (JTEs and ALTs), and the integrative curriculum, can be improved to better recognize, from both linguistic and attitudinal aspects, the English as a global lingua franca point of view in Japan's EFL education. Some implications are practical whereas others are theoretical; and some suggestions are straightforward to realize whereas others will require much effort. Regardless of the differences among the suggestions and implications, attention should be paid to each of these factors.

## Chapter 7

## Conclusion

During the past few decades, in particular, nativization of English in various areas outside the Inner Circle countries, such as Singapore and India, has resulted in the emergence and establishment of many geopolitical English varieties. These geopolitical English varieties have led to a change in the way the English language is viewed, that is, English is now recognized as not only a language of countries such as the UK or US, but also as a global lingua franca among speakers with different linguistic backgrounds. This linguistic evolution and the changing view of English are not unrelated to English teaching in Japan. Although English language education planning has been revised periodically, the revisions have not accurately addressed the paradigm shift which views English as a global lingua franca as well as a language of some countries. In order to modify English education in response to the change regarding the English varieties, it is necessary to analyze carefully the various stages of Japan's language education planning and to propose adequate remedies where deficiencies are found. Consequently, this thesis has discussed the question of English varieties in Japanese English language teaching and learning from the language policy and from the language planning points of view.

In analyzing the problem of English varieties in Japan's English education, this thesis considered the language education planning from four perspectives: the sociolinguistic context that upholds the language planning; the philosophy underlying the policy; the implementation of the policy; and the outcome of the policy's implementation. From the sociolinguistic perspective, in addition to the traditional view which sees English as the language of the US, the new view, which sees English as a global lingua franca, has been widely accepted. Although the policy stage projects the view of English
as a global lingua franca most significantly among the language planning stages, this view is barely reflected on the following policy implementation stage (i.e. actual teaching), which focuses on American English. Moreover, the English that the learners have acquired as the outcome of the language planning is far from English as a global lingua franca. Its characteristics lean toward American English rather than British English and the learners tend to overvalue the Inner Circle varieties and undervalue the Outer Circle varieties. Through examining each stage of the language planning, this thesis concluded that unscientific language planning, that is the lack of plans for teaching English as a global lingua franca, has caused students to learn a different English from what they were intended to learn in the policy.

In order to facilitate the efficacy, with which the intended English varieties are taught, this thesis considered the three main implementation plans, which are teachers, textbooks and learning materials, and study-abroad scholarships. The suggested improvements included better teacher recruitment and training, altering the presentation of the English varieties in the textbooks and audio materials, and a wider distribution of information about studying abroad. These suggestions would improve the English education in that the learners would be exposed to many English varieties as well as cultivating in learners the attitudes necessary to accept the different English varieties.

Although this thesis sought ways to improve formal English language education internally, it is also important to point out solutions that work externally to the Japanese educational context. The first suggestion relates to the domestic societal control. This suggestion is based on the findings of the accent recognition test, which revealed that the target is recognized and reinforced by the learners not by being presented explicitly but by being presented implicitly. In school education, without stating that American English is the learning target, the fact that the character voices in audio materials are more likely to be dubbed over with the speakers of American English or that the majority of the ALTs come from the US leads the learners to understand that the US variety is worth learning. Consequently, a similar interpretation is also plausible in the sociolinguistic context. Considering the fact that the Japanese are exposed to American English through songs, movies, or broadcasts on TV and radio, the US variety is likely to be recognized as the audio target even outside school. This thesis suggested that formal education could be revised to feature less-mainstream English varieties, such as Australian or Singaporean

English, as with the English learning program on NHK. Further, broadcasting Englishspeaking media based in Singapore or Hong Kong could also be effective.

In addition to the domestic societal treatment, tackling the problem from the nonJapanese English speakers' side is also important. For successful communication employing any English variety (whether they are mainstream or non-mainstream varieties), speakers need to compromise when linguistic differences can cause communicative interference because each of the existing varieties is not neutral. The reality is, however, that the advantage that mainstream English speakers have is inevitable in terms of learning effort. It is the responsibility of each individual speaker (including native English speakers or those who have other language backgrounds) to make the effort required for successful communication by avoiding culturally specific expressions as much as possible. ${ }^{155}$ Consequently, another way to tackle the problem, externally to the Japanese context, although it may be radical at this stage, is for native English speakers to make an effort to learn international English and for them to get used to the non-native speakers' English.

One such approach has been taken by Kubota (2001), who, for the first time (to this writer's knowledge) ${ }^{156}$, highlighted to mainstream speakers the characteristics of lessmainstream (in an international context) speakers' speech varieties. Kubota's study reported on a pilot study into raising the awareness of ESL/EFL varieties in ENL speakers. As a result of undertaking eight sessions ( 55 minutes per session) on World Englishes, 17 American high school students in North Carolina showed a positive change in some areas. These areas included a better understanding of the difficulties of second language acquisition and better perception of the speech samples by six ESL/EFL English speakers. However, other areas such as perceived quality of speech samples and desire to communicate did not show a significant statistical improvement. Although the outcome is not fully satisfying, projects such as Kubota's demonstrate that native English speakers can also work towards improving global communication through employing English as a lingua franca.

The suggested revisions to the existing language plans made in this thesis are sound

[^97]and plausible, based on the careful analysis of the actual planning. Some of these suggested revisions are actually taking shape in the continuously developing language education planning process. However, these suggestions are not a panacea that will generate a perfect end product; they are merely suggestions to adjust and improve the current situation. Considering the nature of language, with its significant metamorphosing in society, language planning requires not one dose of treatment but constant prescriptions that are based on close scrutiny of the on-going plans. It is important to examine constantly the adequacy of the on-going plans and to prescribe any alternative first aid plans required for the proper policy implementation. In addition to the short-term planning, long-term planning, which involves foreseeing the future form and significance of the target language to the learners, is necessary.

For the further revision of Japan's language education planning, the findings in this thesis also motivate two future research topics, both of which are grounded in the accent recognition study. The first research topic is identifying whether the Japanese-ness (one of the accent recognition criteria, see Section 5.1) is due to the unique phonetic and phonological system of the Japanese language or due to the learners' familiarity with the Japanese-accented English. In order to identify the main cause, a similar study should be given to EFL speakers of non-Japanese speaking background, such as Korean or Indonesian EFL learners. For example, if the Japanese-ness criterion was found among Korean EFL learners, this would reveal that the Japanese-ness is due to the uniqueness of the language. If so, the language learning environment, such as the amount of exposure to different English varieties, is not controllable, which implies that there is little benefit to modifying the plans. Alternatively, if the Korean EFL learners can differentiate Korean accented English speech, rather than Japanese-accented speech, from other accented speech, then Japanese-ness can be named as the mother tongue criterion. If so, the mother tongue criterion is interpreted as being the result of the accumulated amount of exposure, and the amount of exposure to different English varieties would then be an effective method to control the outcome for the learners.

The second future research topic is to confirm whether the learners are differentiating between the Inner Circle varieties and the Outer Circle varieties. The
accent recognition study in this thesis revealed a gap between the US, UK, and Australian English varieties on the one hand, and the Philippine and Singaporean English varieties on the other. However, it is difficult to assess whether this grouping is due to the Inner/Outer Circle variety distinction when only US, UK, Australian, Philippine, Singaporean, and Japanese accented English speakers are included in the study. Consequently, performing a similar experiment with more English varieties, such as New Zealand, Scottish, Indian, or Caribbean English, will reveal whether the learners are differentiating the Inner Circle varieties from the Outer Circle varieties. This result would strengthen the plausibility of the exposure effect, and suggest modifications to the way the English varieties are presented by teachers and in textbooks.

In the end, as one who once benefited from formal English education, as one who once engaged in teaching English, and as one who is concerned about Japan's future English teaching, I profoundly hope to see meaningful and effective revisions and reforms to Japan's language education planning.

## Appendix 1

As Section 3．2．2．1 discusses，the objectives provided in the Course of Study documents are quoted below（translation and underlining are my own）．The 1958 course objective has the culture－related phrase，＇the daily life，manners and customs，ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the citizens who use the foreign language （English）daily，＇as follows：

## 第7節

第1 目標
1 外国語の音声に慣れさせ，聞く能力および話す能力の基䂾を養う。 2 外国語の基本的な語法に慣れさせ，読む能力および書く能力の基硠を堆う。
3 外国語を通して，その外国語を日常使用している国民の日常生活，風俗習慣， ものの見方などについて基路的な理解をさせる。（Monbusho 1959a）

1．To have students become familiar with the sound system of a foreign language and develop the basic ability of listening and speaking in the language；
2．To have students become familiar with the basic usage of a foreign language， and develop the basic ability of reading and writing in the language；
3．To develop the students＇basic understanding about the daily life，manners and customs，ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the citizens who use the foreign language（English）daily．（Translation and underlining my own）

The 1969 course objective contains the culture－related phrase，＇the life，ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries＇as follows：

第9節
第1 目標
外国語を理解し表現する能力の基碳を培い，言語に対する意識を深めると共に，国際理解の基礎をつちから。 このため，
1 外国語の音声および基本的な語法に慣れさせ，聞く能力および話す能力の基礎を養う。
2 外国語の文字および基本的な語法に慣れさせ，読む能力および書く能力の基礎を養う。
3 外国語を通して，外国の人々の生活やものの見方などについて基礶的な理解 を得させる。（Monbusho 1969）

To develop the students＇basic ability to understand and use a foreign language， to deepen their awareness of language，and to cultivate a basis for international understanding．In order to achieve the above，
1．To have students become familiar with the sound system and the basic usage of a foreign language，and develop the basic ability of listening to and speaking in the language；
2．To have students become familiar with the writing system and the basic usage
of a foreign language，and develop the basic ability of reading and writing in the language；
3．To develop the students＇basic understanding about the life，ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries， through the foreign language．（Translation and underlining my own）

The 1977 course objective includes the culture－related phrase：＇the life，ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries，＇as follows：

第9節 外国語
第1 目標
外国語を理解し，外国語で表現する基硴的な能力を義うとともに，言語に対す る関心を深め，外国の人々の生活やものの見方などについて基砹的な理解を得さ せる。（Monbusho 1977a）

To develop the students＇basic ability to understand and use a foreign language， to deepen their interest in language，and to cultivate a basis for intemational understanding，and to develop the students＇basic understanding about the life， ways of perspectives，and so on，which belong to the people in foreign countries， through the foreign language．（Translation and underlining my own）

The 1989 course objective contains the culture－related phrases：＇languages and cultures＇ and＇international understanding，＇as follows：

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第9節 外国語
第1 目標
外国語を理解し，外国語で表現する基葆的な能力を養い，外国語で積極的にコ ミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を育てるとともに，言語や文化に対する関心を深め，国際理解の基碄を培う。（Monbusho 1989a）
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To develop the students＇basic ability to understand and use a foreign language， to foster a positive attitude toward communication in the language，to deepen their interest in language and culture，and to cultivate a basis for international understanding．（Translation and underlining my own）

The 1998 course objective includes the culture－related phrase，＇languages and cultures，＇ as follows：

## 第9節 外国語

第1 目標
外国語を通じて，言語や文化に対する理解を深め，積極的にコミュニケーショ ンを図ろうとする態度の育成を図り，聴くことや話すことなどの実践的なコミュ ニケーション能力の基礎を養ら。（Monbusho 1998a）

To deepen the students＇understanding in language and culture，to foster a positive attitude toward communication in the language，and to develop their basic ability of practical communication such as listening and speaking，through a foreign language．（Translation and underlining my own）

## Appendix 2

The eight suggestions were described in Frontier Within．Plan（1）proposed responding to the global environment and suggested changing the social system to support the plan as follows（plan numbers and underlining in the quotations my own）：

すでに国際化の進行とともに，英語が国際的汎用語化してきたが，インターネット・グ ローバリゼーションはその流れを加速した。英語が事実上世界の共通言語である以上，日本国内でもそれに慣れる他はない。（1）第二公用語にはしないまでも第二の実用語の地位を与えて，日常的に併用すべきである。国会や政府機関の刊行物や発表は，日本語とともに英語でも行らのを当然のたしなみとすべきである。インターネットによってそれを世界に流し，英語によるやりとりを行う。そうしたニーズに対処できる社会とは，双方向の留学生が増大し，外国人留学生の日本永住や帰化が制度的に容易となり，優れた外国人を多く日本に迎え，国内多様性が形成された社会であろう。日本が国際活動の流れから外れてし まうジャパン・パッシングを嘆く事態を避けるには，日本社会を国際化し多様化しつつ，少子•高齢化の中でも創造的で活気に満ちたものとすることである。それが 21 世紀の日本 の長期的な国益ではないだろうか。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Ch．6，IV，3）

English has become the international lingua franca，a process accelerated by the Internet and globalization．So long as English is effectively the language of international discourse，there is no alternative to familiarizing ourselves with it within Japan．（1）Even if we stop short of making it an official second language， we should give it the status of a second working language and use it routinely alongside Japanese．Publications and announcements of the National Diet and government organs should be published in English as well as Japanese as a matter of course．Transmitting them to the world via the Internet will be done in English．A society that can respond to such needs is one that has developed diversity，increasing the number of foreign students in Japan and Japanese students overseas，systematically facilitating permanent residence or naturalization of foreigners who have studied in Japan，and actively welcoming large numbers of able foreigners．To avoid being left out of the current of international activities and lamenting that the rest of the world is bypassing Japan，we must internationalize and diversify Japanese society while making it creative and vibrant despite a falling birthrate and an aging population．Surely， doing so is in the long－term national interest of twenty－first－century Japan．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000： Chapter 6，IV，3）

For plans（1），（2），（3），（4），（5），（6），and（8），the report suggests as follows：
それには，（3）社会人になるまでに日本人全員が実用英語を使いこなせるように するといった具体的な到達目標を設定する必要がある。その上で，（4）学年にとら われない修得レベル別のクラス編成，（5）英語教員の力量の客観的な評価や研修の充実，（6）外国人教員の思い切った拡充，8英語授業の外国語学校への委託などを考えるべきである。それとともに，（1）国，地方自治体などの公的機関の刊行物や

ホームページなどは和英両語での作成を義務付けることを考えるべきだ。
（2）長期的には英語を第二公用語とすることも視野に入ってくるが，国民的論議 を必要とする。まずは，英語を国民の実用語とするために全力を尽くさなければ ならない。

これは単なる外国語教育問題ではない。日本の戦略課題としてとらえるべき問題である。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Ch．1，IV，1）

To achieve this，it is necessary first（3）to set the concrete objective of all citizens acquiring a working knowledge of English by the time they take their place in society as adults．We should think about（4）organizing English classes according to students＇actual level of competence rather than their grade in school．（5） improving training and objective assessment of English teachers．（6）greatly increasing the number of foreign teachers of English，and（8）contracting language schools to handle English classes．We should also think about（1） requiring the central government，local governments，and other public institutions to produce their publications，and home pages，in both Japanese and English．
（2）In the long term，it may be possible to make English an official second language，but national debate will be needed．First，though，every effort should be made to equip the population with a working knowledge of English．

This is not simply a matter of foreign－language education．It should be regarded as a strategic imperative．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1）

Regarding tertiary education，plans（6）and（7）in the report make the following suggestions：
．．．高等教育では，世界標準で仕事ができる人材を輩出するために，大学などの教育機関自体の国際競争力を向上させることである。そのためには，機関の設置 や運営をできるだけ自由にし，教育•研究の場の国際化を含め，競争的な環境を できるだけ取り入れていくことである。例えば，大学•学部などの設置規制の撤廃，教育•研究活動についての業績評価，（7）授業や研究言語としての英語の使用， （6）外国人教員の積極的採用などが考えられる。．．．（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Ch．1，IV，1）
．．．In regard to higher education，in order to cultivate human resources capable of world－class work it is essential that universities and other institutions of higher education improve their international competitiveness．The establishment and administration of institutions should be made as free as possible and a competitive environment，including making educational and research facilities multinational，should be introduced as far as possible．Possible measures include abolition of controls on the establishment of universities，faculties，and so on； assessment of educational and research performance；（7）the use of English as a language of teaching and research；and（6）the active recruitment of foreign faculty members．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，IV，1）

## Appendix 3

## アンケート問題用紙

Australian National University<br>Linguistics Dept，Faculty of Arts井上順子

このアンケートは，現在，私が取り組んでいる研究の一環の調査 として行うものです。今回の調査で集められた結果は，コンピュー ターファイルに入力された後，集計されます。特にあなた個人の回答結果が学校の先生や友達に知られたり，この研究以外の目的に使 われることは一切ありません。また，このアンケートは，学校での授業や成績とも関係はありません。辞書を参照したり，周りの人に相談することなく，あなた自身が知っていること，感じていること を，そのまま，答えてください。

## アンケートの回答上の注意点

1 回答は，回答用紙に書き込んでください。鉛筆でも，ボールペンでも構い ません。

2 回答用紙は，裏•表両面あります。すべての質問項目に，回答し忘れるこ とのないよう，注意して答えてください。ただし，［2］ 3 ］ 4 4］については，分からない問題は空欄のままにしておいてください。

3 辞書を参照したり，周りの人に相談せず，あなた自身の判断で回答してく ださい。
［0］次のそれぞれの文について，あなたにもっとも適切な番号を回答用紙の（ ）内に書き入れ てください。
（1）私は，英語以外の外国語に興味•関心があり，将来学んでみたい（学んでいる）。

（2）私は，英語という言葉に興味•関心がある。

（3）私は，英語で自由に会話できるようになりたい。

（4）私は，英語を自由に読んだり書いたりできるようになりたい。

（5）私は，英語の試験（入試や定期試験）や授業で，いい成績をおさめたい。

（6）英語を勉強するのが好きである。

（7）あなたは，英語で会話することに自信がある。

（8）あなたは，英語で読み書きすることに自信がある。

（9）英語検定を受験したことがある。

（10あなた自身で，あなたの英語で会話する能力について成績をつけてください。

（11）あなた自身で，あなたの英語で読み書きする能力について成績をつけてください。

［1］テープの指示にしたがい，それぞれの会話文を聴き，それぞれの会話が，どの地域出身の人によって話されているか，下の 6 つの選択肢からあなたが適切だと思うものを ひとつだけ選び，回答用紙の国名を○で囲んでください。

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フィリピン, オーストラリア, イギリス, シンガポール, アメリカ合衆国, 日本
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［2］それぞれの［］の組合せの中で，あなたが適切だと思う方を選び，○で囲んでください。
［例］［ aper）papir］（紙）
（1）［ favourite，favorite］（好きな）
（2）［ realize，realise］（分かる）
（3）［ licence，license］（免許）
（4）［ center，centre］（中央）
（5）［ behavior，behaviour］（行動）
（6）apologise，apologize］（謝る）
（7）［ theatre，theater］（映画館）
（8）［ color，colour］（色）
（9）［ programme，program］（プログラム）
（10］specialise，specialize］（専門にする）
（11）mom，mum］（お母さん）
（12）［ meter，metre ］（メートル）
（13［ memorise，memorize］（記憶する）
［3］次の日本文の意味に合うように，（ ）内に適切な単語を書き入れ，英文を完成させま しょう。分からない場合は，空欄のままにしておいてください。
［例］「空に白い雲が浮かんでいる。」 $\rightarrow$ White clouds are floating in the（ sky ） ．
（1）「私はツァイさんから中国語を垍いました。」
I（ ）Chinese from Ms．Tsay．
（2）「僕の時計は，君のとはちょっと違うよ。」
My watch is a little different（）yours．
（3）「（マクドナルドで，）バリューセットください，持ち帰りで。」
Can I please have a value meal to（ ）．
（4）「プレーステーション買うのにね，長い列に並んで待たなきやならなかったん だよ。」

I had to wait in a long（ ）to buy a playstation．
（5）「（旅行先の空港等で）小さな車を借りたいのですが…」
I＇d like to（ ）a small car．
（6）「ここは，春は暖かく，秋は涼しいんですよ。」
It is warm in spring，but cool in（ ）around here．
（7）「ねぇ，お母さん
Well，（ $\quad 1$ ）．Has the（ $\quad 2$ ）come today yet？
（8）「おじいちゃんからの小包，待ってるんだけど…。」
I am expecting a（ from Grandpa．
（9）「この1000円札を100円玉10枚に両替していただけませんか。」
Could you exchange a 1000－yen（ ）for ten 100－yen coins？
（10）「あてはまる欄に 印をつけてください。」
（ ）the box if it applies to you．
（11）「たけし，ちょっと缶切り見つけてちょうだい。」
Takeshi，will you look for the（ ）opener for me please？
（12）「今夜，電話します。」
I will（ ）you tonight．
（13）「あのガソリンスタンドに寄っていこう！」
Let＇s stop at that（ ）station！
（14）「まだ予約してないんですけど。」
I have not（）yet．
（15）「2週間後にまたお会いしましょう。」
We will see you in（ ）．
（16）「お宅まで，送りましょうか？」
Do you need a（ ）home ？
（17）「うちの子たちは，一日中，庭で遊んでるわよ。」
Our children are playing in the（ ）all day．
（18）「この試合だけは，絶対勝たなければ！」
We have to win this（ ）．
（19）「30分前にここにやってきたんだよ。」
We came here（
）hour ago．
［4］次のものをあなたは英語では何と呼びますか？（ ）内に適切な単語を書き入れてくだ さい。分からない場合は，空楝のままにしておいてください。

［5］次の日付を表すのに適切な数字を（ ）内に書き入れ，英文を完成させましょう。
［例］今年の元日に，日光の東照宮に行きました。 $\rightarrow$ I went to Toshogu shrine on（01）（01）／1999．
（1）今日は何日ですか。
It is ()$/() / 1999$.
（2）あなたの誕生日はいつですか。
My birthday is ()$/() /()$ ．
（3）今年のクリスマスはいつでしょう。 Christmas day is（ ）／（ ）／1999．
［6］下の枠内の国や地域を，（1）～（11）のそれぞれの場合に応じて並べ替えてください。なお，回答は，最もあてはまる地域に②を，次にあてはまる地域2つに 2 をつけてください。

フィリピン，オーストラリア，イギリス，シンガポール，アメリカ合衆国，南アフ

（1）あなたが，将来旅行してみたい国，地域
（2）あなたが，好きな国，地域
（3）あなたが，友人になりたい人々の出身国，地域
（4）今後日本が最も仲良くすべきだとあなたが考える国，地域
（5）日本で放送されている英語によるTV・ラジオ番組の制作数の多い国，地域
（6）日本にとって最も大切な国，地域
（7）1年間の交換留学することになりました。あなたが留学したいと思う国，地域
（8）英会話学校に通うつもりです。あなたが授業に参加したいと思う先生の出身国，地域
（9）あなたが身につけたいと思う種類の英語が標準に話されている国，地域
（10あなた宛のエアメールを受け取り，うれしいと感じる差出人の住んでいる国，地域 （11）学校に来ている留学生があなたの家庭にホームステイすることになりました。あな たが望さ留学生の出身国，地域
（112書店で自習用に，英語の教科書やテープ教材を買らつもりです。あなたが買いたい と思う教材の作成者の出身国，地域
（13）「あなたはXX䜅りがありますね」と言われて，あなたがられしいと感じる国，地域 （144あなたが生まれ変われるとします。（日本以外で，今度生まれてきたい国，地域
［7］一口に「標準英語」といっても，世界中では様々な種類の英語が使用されています。次の（1）～（7）の各文ついて，あなたが最もあてはまると思らものを下の枠内の選択肢よ りひとつだけ選び，回答用紙の国名を○で囲んでください。

フィリピン英語，オーストラリア英語，イギリス英語，シンガポール英語， アメリカ英語，南アフリカ英語，日本人英語，分からない
 （1）家の人はあなたに，どのような種類の英語を身につけて欲しいと考えていると思 いますか
（2）英検に合格するにはどのような種類の英語を身につけると有利だと思います か
（3）暗誦大会やスピーチェケストで，どのような種類の英語を話すと審査員によい印象を与える と思いますか
（4）入試ではどのような種類の英語を身につけると有利だと思いますか
（5）教科書で使われている英語はどのような種類の英語だと思いますか
（6）英語の先生が話している英語はどのような種類の英語だと思いますか
（7）ALT の先生が話している英語はどのような種類の英語だと思いますか
［8］次の（8）～（16）のそれぞれの目的に応じて，あなたが最も役に立つと思うものを下の枠内 の選択肢よりひとつだけ選び，回答用紙の国名を○で囲んでください。
フィリピン英語，オーストラリア英語，イギリス英語，シンガポール英語， アメリカ英語，南アフリカ英語，日本人英語

（8）あなたが，海外旅行に出かけるとき
（9）あなたが，海外から来た友達とおしやべりをするとき
（10）あなたが，英語のラジオの放送を聴くとき
（11）あなたが，英語のテレビを見るとき
（12）あなたが，カラオケに行って，上手に英語の歌を歌うとき
（13）あなたが，好きな洋楽の歌詞の意味を知りたいとき
（14）あなたが，吹き替えされていない映画を見るとき
（15）あなたが，手紙や電子メールをやり取りするとき
（16）あなたが，英語で書かれた本を読むとき
［9］次の様々な国で標準的に使われている英語についての文を読んで，あなたはどう思い ますか。あなた自身にもつともあてはまるものを選び，その番号を回答用紙に記入し てください。
［例］私•僕は，宇多田ヒカルは歌がうまいと思う。


A）アメリカで標準に使われている英語について：
（1）アメリカ英語は格式があると思う。

（2）身につけるなら，やはり，アメリカ英語だと思う。

（3アメリカ英語を身につけると，世界中の様々な人と出会ったり，話したり するのに役立つと思う。

（4）アメリカ英語を身につけると，将来いい職業に就くのに役立つと思う。

（5）アメリカ英語を身につけると，テストでいい点数や成績が取れると思う。

（7）日本人でアメリカ英語を話せる人は，頭がよさそうだと思う。

（8）日本人でアメリカ英語を話せる人は，誠実そうだと思う。

（9）日本人でアメリカ英語を話せる人は，社交的で親しみやすいと思う。

（11）日本人でアメリカ英語を話せる人は，好かれやすいと思う。

（12）日本人でアメリカ英語を話せる人は，出世，成功するように思う。


B）シンガポールで標準に使われている英語について：


③ シンガポール英語を身につけると，世界中の様々な人と出会ったり，話した りするのに役立つと思う。

（4）シンガポール英語を身につけると，将来いい職業に就くのに役立つと思う。

（5）シンガポール英語を身につけると，テストでいい点数や成績が取れると思う。

（6）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，かっこいいと思う。

（7）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，頭がよさそうだと思う。

（8）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，誠実そうだと思う。

（9）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，社交的で親しみやすいと思う。

（10）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，信頼できるように思う。

（11）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，好かれやすいと思う。

（12）日本人でシンガポール英語を話せる人は，出世，成功するように思う。


C）オーストラリアで標準に使われている英語について：
（1）オーストラリア英語は格式があると思う。

（2）身につけるなら，やはり，オーストラリア英語だと思う。

（3）オーストラリア英語を身につけると，世界中の様々な人と出会ったり，話し たりするのに役立つと思う。

（4）オーストラリア英語を身につけると，将来いい職業に就くのに役立つと思う。

（5）オーストラリア英語を身につけると，テストでいい点数や成績が取れると思 う。

（6）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，かっこいいと思う。

（7）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，頭がよさそうだと思う。

（8）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，識実そうだと思う。


⑨）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，社交的で親しみやすいと思う。

（10）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，信頼できるように思う。

（11）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，好かれやすいと思う。

（12）日本人でオーストラリア英語を話せる人は，出世，成功するように思う。


D）イギリスで標準に使われている英語について：
（1）イギリス英語は格式があると思う。

（2）身につけるなら，やはり，イギリス英語だと思う。

（3）イギリス英語を身につけると，世界中の様々な人と出会ったり，話したりす るのに役立つと思う。

（4）イギリス英語を身につけると，将来いい職業に就くのに役立つと思う。

（5）イギリス英語を身につけると，テストでいい点数や成績が取れると思う。

（6）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，かっこいいと思う。

（7）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，頭がよさそうだと思ら。

（8）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，誠実そうだと思う。

（9）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，社交的で親しみやすいと思う。

（11）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，信頼できるように思う。

（11）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，好かれやすいと思う。

（12）日本人でイギリス英語を話せる人は，出世，成功するように思う。

［10］私は通じれぼ，特にどの種類の英語であるかはこだわる必要はないと思う。

［11］あなたの海外での経験や英語での体験について 教えてください。特に，（1）（5）（6）には主要なものを2つまで，（3）～（7）にはあなた自身にあてはまる番号を答えてください。 （1）これまで，海外に住んだことや旅行したことがありますか。それは，どこです か。どれくらいの期間ですか。あなたが，いくつのときですか。
［例］［場所：中国 ］［期間：24 ヶ月］［年齢：6－8 才］
［場所：
］［期間：ヶ月］［年齢：
才］
（2）あなたには，普段，日本語以外の言葉を使う家族や友人がいますか。それは誰 ですか。何語ですか。さらに，「話す」「書く」とどちらをよく使いますか。
［例］［家族 親類•友人・その他（ ）］［䚻語：ポルトガル 語］［読み書き・会話］
［家族•親類•友人・その他（
）］［言語 ：
語］［読み書き・会話］
（3）あなたは，学校の授業以外で，家庭や塾等で英語を学習する機会がありますか。 1週間あたり，どれくらい学習しますか。

（4）あなたは，定期的に見たり，聴いたりする英語放送のTV・ラジオ番組がありま すか。 1 週間あたり，どれくらい視聴しますか。

（5）あなたは，定期的に見たり，読んだりする英語の雑誌や書籍がありますか。 1 ヶ月あたり，どれくらい読みますか。また，それらの主なものの題名は何です か？

（6）あなたは，よく英語の歌を聴きますか。 1 週間あたり，どれくらい聴きますか。


週1回 週2－3回 週4－5回 ほぼ毎日 0回（全く聴かない）
［歌手名：
］［歌手名 ：
］
⑦あなたは，よく吹き替えされていない英語の映画をみますか。1ヶ月あたり，どれく らい見ますか。

（8）世界中の国々のうちで，英語が公式に使用されている国を知っている限りすべてあげ てください。

## Appendix 4

## Questionnaire

Australian National University<br>Linguistics Dept., Faculty of Arts<br>Junko Inoue

This survey is given as a part of my current study in Linguistics and Education for the doctoral degree. Your responses to this questionnaire will be entered into a computer file, on which statistical tests will be performed. The results are not open to the public and none of your answers will be revealed to your friends, school teachers, or parents. Furthermore, this test has no bearing on your academic record. Please answer each question by yourself without using any dictionaries or consulting others.

## Caution in answering the questions and filling the answer sheet

1 All the responses should be written on the separate answer sheet. You may use a pencil or ink as long as the answers are readable.

2 The answer sheet has two sides. Please be careful to answer every question. For [2], [3], and [4], you may leave the bracket blank only if you do not know the appropriate answers.

3 Please make your own judgement about each question when answering. You should not refer to dictionaries or ask anyone about your judgement.
[0] For each sentence below, choose the numbers you think apply to you most.
(1) I am interested in a foreign language other than English and want to learn it.

(2) am interested in English language.

(3)I would like to speak English fluently.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(4)I would like to read and write English without hesitation.

(5)I would like to achieve a good score in English exams.

(6)I like studying English.

(7)I have confidence in listening to and speaking English.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(8)I have confidence in reading and writing in English.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(9)I have taken STEP (Standardized Test of English Proficiency).

(10)Self evaluate your listening and speaking skills.

(11)Self evaluate your reading and writing skills.

[1] Following the instructions on the audio tape, please listen to the seven audio passages carefully. Please guess the nationality of the speaker judging from her accent. You may choose the countries from the following six choices:

The Philippines Australia The UK Singapore The USA Japan
［ 2］Which do you prefer most as the word that corresponds to the following translation in parentheses？
［例］［ Raper，papir ］（紙）

| （1）［ favourite，favorite］（好きな） | （8）［ color，colour］（色） |
| :---: | :---: |
| （2）［ realize，realise］（分かる） | （9）［programme，program］（プログラム） |
| （3）［ licence，license］（免許） | （10［ specialise，specialize］（専門にする） |
| （4）［ center，centre］（中央） | （11）［mom，mum ］（お母さん） |
| （5）［ behavior，behaviour ］（行動） | （12）［ meter，metre ］（メートル） |
| （6）［ apologise，apologize ］（謝る） | （13）［ memorise，memorize ］（記憶する） |
| （7］theatre，theater ］（映画館） |  |

［3］Please fill in the spaces between the parentheses and complete each sentence to match the following translation．You may leave the space blank if you cannot think of any appropriate answers．
［例］「空に白い雲が浮かんでいる。」 $\rightarrow$ White clouds are floating in the（ sky）．
（1）「私はツァイさんから中国語を垍いました。」
I（ ）Chinese from Ms．Tsay．
（2）「僕の時計は，君のとはちよっと違うよ。」
My watch is a little different（ ）yours．
（3）「（マクドナルドで，）バリューセットください，持ち帰りで。」 Can I please have a value meal to（ ）．
（4）「プレーステーション買うのにね，長い列に並んで待たなきゃならなかったん だよ。」

I had to wait in a long（ ）to buy a playstation．
（5）「（旅行先の空港等で）小さな車を借りたいのですが…。」 I＇d like to（ ）a small car．
（6）「ここは，春は暖かく，秋は涼しいんですよ。」 It is warm in spring，but cool in（ ）around here．
（7）「ねぇ，お母さん 1 ，今日 郵便配達の人 $\underline{2}_{2}$ 来た？」
Well，（ $\quad 1$ ）．Has the（ $\quad 2_{2}$ ）come today yet？
（8）「おじいちゃんからの小包，待ってるんだけど…。」 I am expecting a（ ）from Grandpa．
（9）「この1000円札を100円玉10枚に両替していただけませんか。」 Could you exchange a 1000－yen（ ）for ten 100－yen coins？
（10）「あてはまる欄に」印をつけてください。」
（ ）the box if it applies to you．
（11）「たけし，ちょっと甶切り見つけてちょうだい。」
Takeshi，will you look for the（
）opener for me please？
（12）「今夜，電話します。」

I will（）you tonight．
（13）「あのガソリンスタンドに寄っていこう！」
Let＇s stop at that（ ）station！
（44）「まだ予約してないんですけど。」
I have not（）yet．
（15）「2週問後にまたお会いしましょう。」
We will see you in（ ）。
（16）「お宅まで，送りましょうか？」
Do you need a（）home？
（17）「らちの子たちは，一日中，庭で遊んでるわよ。」
Our children are playing in the（ ）all day．
（18）「この試合だけは，絶対勝たなければ！」 We have to win this（ ）
（19）「30分前にここにやってきたんだよ。」
We came here（ ）hours ago．
［4］Please fill in the spaces between the parentheses with English words that match to each picture． You may leave the space blank if you cannot think of the appropriate answers．

［5］Please fill in the spaces between the parentheses and complete the sentences with numbers that correspond to the given dates．
［egg．］今年の元日に，日光の東照宮に行きました。 $\rightarrow$ I went to Toshogu shrine on（01）／（01）／1999．
（1）今日は何日ですか。
It is $(\quad) /(\quad) / 1999$ today．
（2）あなたの誕生日はいつですか。
（3）今年のクリスマスはいつでしょう。
My birthday is（ $) /(\quad) /(\quad)$ ．
Christmas day is $(\quad) /(\quad) / 1999$ ．
［6］Please put © for your first choice of country and $\Delta$ for two of your second choices of countries that apply to you from the following six choices．

The Philippines Australia The UK Singapore The USA South Africa
［e．g．］The largest country：
largest［ The Philippines
（1）Countries you want to visit．
（2）Favorite countries．
（3）Nationality of which you would like to become friends with．
（4）Country you believe that Japan should get along with．
（5）Country where English TV programs are made．
（6）Country you believe is important for Japan．
（7）Country you would like to go to for study abroad．
（8）Nationality you prefer for your English instructor．
（9）Country where the English variety you would like to learn is spoken．
（10）Country you would be happy if you received an airmail letter from．
（11）Nationality of a student you would be happy to host at your home．
（12）Countries you would choose where English learning materials are published．
（13）Dialect／variety you would be happy to be identified as speaking．
（14）Country you would like to born next if you had another chance．
[7] Which variety of English do you want to be able to command on each of the following occasions? Please choose one variety from the following.

Philippines English Australian English British English Singaporean English American English South African English Japanese English Don't know
[e.g.] When youtwould like to know about Australian literature:

(1) The variety your family/parents want you to learn
(2) The variety more advantageous to pass STEP (English qualification test)
(3) The variety that is evaluated highly by judges at speech contests
(4) The variety more advantageous to pass entrance exams
(5) The variety your English textbook tries to teach you
(6) The variety your Japanese teachers of English try to teach you
(7) The variety your Assistant Language Teachers try to teach you
[8] There are several standard Englishes existing in the world. Which variety of English do you want to be able to command on each of the following occasions? Please choose one variety from the following.

## Philippines English Australian English British English Singaporean English American English South African English Japanese English

[e.g.] The standard variety which you believe you often hear

(8) The variety more advantageous when you go abroad
(9) The variety more advantageous when you talk to someone from overseas in English
(10) The variety more advantageous when you listen to English-radios
(11) The variety more advantageous when you watch English-TV
(12) The variety more advantageous when you want to sing karaoke songs well
(13) The variety more advantageous when you want to know the meaning of English songs
(14) The variety more advantageous when you watch English movies
(15) The variety more advantageous when you correspond with your penpals
(16) The variety more advantageous when you read English books
[9] To what extent do you agree with these sentences describing the state about the following English varieties: US, Singapore, UK , and Australian Englishes?
[e.g.] I believe that Hikaru Utada is a good singer.


## A) American (US) English

(1) I believe US English has high status / is prestigious.

(2) I believe US English is worth leaming.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Strongly <br> Agree | Rather <br> Agree | Agree | Don't <br> Know | Disagree | Rather <br> Disagree | Strongly <br> Disagree |

(3) If I master US English, I believe it would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the world.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Strongly <br> Agree | Rather <br> Agree | Agree | Don't <br> Know | Disagree | Rather <br> Disagree | Strongly <br> Disagree |

(4) If I master US English, it will be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.

(5) If I master US English, it will be useful for my academic achievement.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(6)When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he sounds cool.

(7)When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he is intelligent.

(8) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he is honest.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagre |

(9) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he is friendly.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't <br> Agree | Agree |  | Know |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

(10) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he is reliable.

(11) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel her/his generally likable.

(12) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking US English, I feel s/he is successful.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagre |

## B) Singaporean (SG) English

(1) I believe SG English has high status / is prestigious.

(3) If I master SG English, I believe it would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the word.

(4) If I master SG English, it will be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.

(5) If I master SG English, it will be useful for my academic achievement.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disare |

(6) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he sounds cool.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(7) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is intelligent.

(8) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is honest.

(9) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is frendly.

(10) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is reliable.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(11) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is generally likable.

(12) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking SG English, I feel s/he is successful.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rathe | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagre |

## C) British (UK) English

(1) I believe UK English has high status / is prestigious

(2) I believe UK English is worth leaming.

| Strongly <br> Agree | Rather Agree | Agree | Don't Know | Disagree | Rather Disagree | Strongly Disagre |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

(3) If I master UK English, I believe it would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the world.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagre |

(4) If I master UK English, it will be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.

|  | -2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6------7 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagre |

(5) If I master UK English, it will be useful for my academic achievement.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(6) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he sounds cool.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Strongly <br> Agree | Rather <br> Agree | Agree | Don't <br> Know | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| Disagree | Disagree |  |  |  |  |  |

(7) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is intelligent.

(8) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is honest.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(9) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is friendly.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't <br> Know | Disagree | Rather <br> Agree | Agree |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

(10) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is reliable.

(11) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is generally likable.

(12) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking UK English, I feel s/he is successful.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

## D) Australian (AU) English

(1) I believe AU English has high status / is prestigious.

(2) I believe AU English is worth leaming.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagr |

(3) If I master AU English, I believe it would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the world.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rath | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagr |

(4) If I master AU English, it will be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.

|  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disagree |

(5) If I master AU English, it will be useful for my academic achievement.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rather | Strongly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Dis |

(6) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he sounds cool.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't <br> Agree | Agree |  | Disagree |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

(7) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is intelligent.

(8) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is honest.

(9) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is friendly.

(10) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is reliable.

(11) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is generally likable.

(12) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking AU English, I feel s/he is successful.

| Strongly | Rather | Agree | Don't | Disagree | Rath | y |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | Agree |  | Know |  | Disagree | Disag |

［10］I believe that it is not necessary to learn a specific English variety so long as I can express myself in English．

［11］Please answer the following questions based on your own experiences．You may provide up to two answers for（1）（5）（6）and choose numbers for（3）～（7）．
（1）Have you ever been abroad？Where was it？How long were you there？At what age？

| ［place ： | ］［period of time ： | ヶ月］［age ： | 才］ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ［place ： | ］［period of time ： | ヶ月］［age ： | 才］ |

（2）Do you have someone who you regularly communicate with in a language other than English？Who are they？In which language？How？
［family，uncle／aunt，cousins，friends，other（ ）］［language ：語］ ［Reading／Writing，Conversation］
（3）Do you regularly study English other than at school？How often do you do so？

（4）Do you regularly watch English TV programs or listen to English radio programs？How often do you do so？

（5）Do you regularly read English books？How often do you do so？

（6）Do you often listen to English songs？How often do you do so？

（7）Do you often watch English movies？How often do you do so？

（8）Write down countries where English is used officially；write as many as you can think of．
［Name ：
］［Nation：］
［Name：］［Nation：］

Thank you for your cooperation in this study（ ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{o}^{\wedge}$ ）／${ }^{\sim}$

## Appendix 5

## Q9 Variety Attitudinal Scale

(0) Total:
(US) $\alpha=.7205, \mathrm{~N}=587, \mathrm{Min}=4.0, \mathrm{Max}=28$, Mean=13.436, $\mathrm{STD}=3.464$
(SG) $\alpha=.7701, \mathrm{~N}=586$, $\mathrm{Min}=7.3$, $\operatorname{Max}=28$, Mean=16.477, $\mathrm{STD}=3.319$
(AU) $\alpha=.8028, \mathrm{~N}=584, \mathrm{Min}=4.3$, $\mathrm{Max}=28$, Mean=14.836, $\mathrm{STD}=3.593$
(UK) $\alpha=.7978, \mathrm{~N}=585$, Min=4.0, $\mathrm{Max}=28$, Mean=11.837, $\mathrm{STD}=3.795$
(1) Prestige/Formality:
(1) I believe XX English has high status / is prestigious.
(US) $\mathrm{N}=587, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=3.796, STD=1.370
(SG) $\mathrm{N}=586, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=4.224, STD=1.046
(AU) $\mathrm{N}=584, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=3.836, $\mathrm{STD}=1.136$
(UK) $\mathrm{N}=585, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=2.318, $\mathrm{STD}=1.246$
(2) Benefit:
(2) I believe $X X$ English is worth leaming.
(3) If I master XX English, I believe it would be beneficial for communication with people from all over the world.
(4) If I master XX English, it will be an advantage to get a good job or to get promoted.
(5) If I master XX English, it will be useful for my academic achievement.
(US) $\mathrm{N}=587, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=2.547, STD=0.925
(SG) N=586, Min=1, Max=7, Mean=4.092, STD=1.019
(AU) N=584, Min=1, Max=7, Mean=3.457, STD=1.061
(UK) $\mathrm{N}=585, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7, \mathrm{Mean}=2.726, \mathrm{STD}=1.036$
(3) Admiration/Approval:
(6) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel $s / h e$ sounds cool.
(7) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel s/he is intelligent.
(12) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel s/he is successful.
(US) $\mathrm{N}=587, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean $=2.968, \mathrm{STD}=1.245$
(SG) $\mathrm{N}=586, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=3.838, STD=1.148
(AU) $\mathrm{N}=584$, Min=1, Max=7, Mean=3.502, STD=1.169
(UK) $\mathrm{N}=585, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=2.877, STD=1.273
(4) Favor:
(8) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel s/he is honest.
(9) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel she is friendly.
(10) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel s/he is reliable.
(11) When I see or hear a Japanese speaking XX English, I feel s/he is generally likable.
(US) $\mathrm{N}=587, \operatorname{Min}=1 \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=4.126, $\mathrm{STD}=1.173$
(SG) $\mathrm{N}=586, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=4.323, $\mathrm{STD}=1.092$
(AU) $\mathrm{N}=584, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=4.042, STD=1.168
(UK) $\mathrm{N}=585, \mathrm{Min}=1, \mathrm{Max}=7$, Mean=3.916, $\mathrm{STD}=1.257$

| Category | Variety | N | Min. | Max | Mean | STD |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| (0) Total | US | 587 | 4.0 | 28 | 13.436 | 3.464 |
|  | UK | 585 | 4.0 | 28 | 11.837 | 3.795 |
|  | AU | 584 | 4.3 | 28 | 14.836 | 3.593 |
|  | SG | 586 | 7.3 | 28 | 16.477 | 3.319 |
| (1) Prestige/Formality: | US | 587 | 1 | 7 | 3.796 | 1.370 |
|  | UK | 585 | 1 | 7 | 2.318 | 1.136 |
|  | AU | 585 | 1 | 7 | 3.836 | 1.136 |
|  | SG | 586 | 1 | 7 | 4.224 | 1.046 |
| (2) Benefit: | US | 587 | 1 | 7 | 2.547 | 0.925 |
|  | UK | 585 | 1 | 7 | 2.726 | 1.036 |
|  | AU | 584 | 1 | 7 | 3.457 | 1.061 |
|  | SG | 586 | 1 | 7 | 4.092 | 1.019 |
| (3) Admiration/Approval: | US | 587 | 1 | 7 | 2.968 | 1.254 |
|  | UK | 585 | 1 | 7 | 2.877 | 1.273 |
|  | AU | 584 | 1 | 7 | 3.502 | 1.169 |
|  | SG | 586 | 1 | 7 | 3.838 | 1.148 |
| (4) Favor: | US | 587 | 1 | 7 | 4.126 | 1.173 |
|  | UK | 585 | 1 | 7 | 3.916 | 1.257 |
|  | AU | 584 | 1 | 7 | 4.042 | 1.168 |
|  | SG | 586 | 1 | 7 | 4.232 | 1.092 |

Table 76 Attitudinal scales by varieties.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The detailed story will be presented later in Chapter 3.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2} 5,272,095$ foreigners entered Japan in 2000, whereas 3,504,470 came in 1990.
    ${ }^{3}$ The Ainu people are culturally and ethnically a minority group, which is indigenous to Japan. The law concerning promoting Ainu culture and spreading and informing knowledge on Ainu, which is titled as Ainu-bunka no shinkoo narabini Ainu no dentoo too ni kansuru chishiki no fukyuu oyobi keihatsu ni kansuru hooritsu, was enforced in 1997 (cf. Hokkaido old-aborigines protection law,

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ The first mission visited Japan in March 1946, the second in August 1950. A report was submitted on each occasion.
    ${ }^{5}$ National-Language Institute refers to Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuu-jo.

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ There are two ways of interpreting English＇s influence on Japanese：1）Japanese has been weakened by an invasion of English and 2）Japanese has expanded by absorbing English（cf．Tsuda 1996， 21 －seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 6，IV，3）．
    ${ }^{7}$ These facts indicate that Japanese is the de facto official language in Japan．Japanese is also the de jure official language in the sense that the Law Court Law declares that Japanese is the only language that can be used in the law courts，although it is not defined as such in the Constitution．
    ${ }^{8}$ In addition to these 14 languages，Japanese sign language，known as Shuwa or Temane，is used in deaf communities．
    ${ }^{9}$ Excluding Japanese，the remaining thirteen languages are also known as Ryukyu dialects（Chew

[^4]:    1983: 355-357, Nakamoto 1985: 101).
    ${ }^{10}$ Hokkaido Old Aborigines Protection Law (Hokkaido Kyuu-dojin Hogo-ho) was in force from 1899 to 1997.
    ${ }^{11}$ The law concerning Promoting Ainu Culture and Spreading and Informing Knowledge on Ainu (Ainu-bunka no shinkoo narabi ni Ainu no dentoo too ni kansuru chishiki no fukyuu oyobi keihatsu ni kansuru Hooritsu) was enforced in 1997.

[^5]:    ${ }^{12}$ Except for the recent postwar immigration, e.g. occurring through marriage, or those who are stationed in Japan, the majority of the Korean population in today's Japan is a legacy of Japanese colonialism. Although the Korean population in 1910 numbered about 2500, it is estimated that, through war-related forced migration, voluntary laborers, and military draftees, about $2,000,000$ Koreans resided in Japan at the end of WWII (Lee 1983: 291, 1993: 830).
    ${ }^{13}$ North Korea and South Korea maintain separate educational systems in Japan.
    ${ }^{14}$ According to the answers to an inquiry from the United Nations Human Rights Committee (Gaimusho 2000), Korean students are allowed to enroll in Japanese mainstream schools. Upon completing school, the Korean students are eligible to apply for tertiary education. In September 1999,

[^6]:    ${ }^{18}$ A closer look reveals that, in Japan, Japanese is used as a lingua franca more than English. Sanada (1996) investigated the language choice of the non-Japanese speaking residents of 20 nationalities who contacted the Earthquake Information Center for Aliens at the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995. Among those 415 foreigners, 253 people ( $61 \%$ ) asked for the information in their mother tongues, 126 people ( $36.4 \%$ ) in Japanese as a second language, and 36 people ( $8.7 \%$ ) in English as a second language. Those who choose Japanese as a lingua franca were 3.5 times as numerous as those who chose English as a lingua franca (Sanada 1996: 98-99, Long 1997: Sec. 2).
    ${ }^{19}$ NHK is a special foundation established based on Broadcasting Law (\#132). It is recognized as the national public broadcasting system in Japan, which operates on revenue from reception fees paid

[^7]:    by TV owners (Goto 1983, 1985).
    ${ }^{20}$ In addition to the fact that English is diversified by various factors for those who live in an English speaking society, the differences in English varieties have another complicating aspect for ESL/EFL learners. The outcome of the language learning process changes due to first language interference, and Interlanguage is the type of language produced by L2 and FL learners who are in the process of language learning (Selinker 1972, Richards et al. 1992: 186). Since the nature of Interlanguage is metamorphosing between L 1 and TL as the learning progresses, the Interlanguage of any languages/ varieties is unstable. It is impossible to institutionalize any linguistic system common to educated Japanese speakers of English unless a stable variety is established. Therefore, the varieties that are considered to be unstable Interlanguages also may not be suitable as a learning target for EFL speakers, although such languages should not be ignored or underestimated as long as speakers find them useful for communication.
    ${ }^{21}$ Crystal also mentions 'World Standard Spoken English (WSSE)' (1997: 136-137). Although Crystal (1995: 111) uses 'World Standard English (as a term)' to refer to the world-wide standard variety of English, this concept is not original (cf. Ogden 1930, Ogden and Graham 1968, Quirk 1982).

[^8]:    ${ }^{22}$ Cf. Chew (1999) and Brutt-Griffler (2002) for counter arguments.
    ${ }^{23}$ The original paragraph of Tanaka (1978: 289) is:

[^9]:    国家語のイデオロギーとは，手段としての言語の共通，共有による国民的平等という理念によって，現実の言語的不平等をおおいかくし，こうして生まれた単一独占言語 を神聖化することによって，単に言語的な多様性を許さないだけでなく，やがては文化の多様性にも敵対するものである。経験的に，いかなる国家語も単一であろうとす る限り，この軌道から外れたことはないように思われる。
    ${ }^{24}$ This article was brought to my attention by Tom McArthur，a keynote speaker at the conference， Who＇s Centric Now：The Present State of Post－Colonial Englishes，held at the Australian National University（cf．McArthur 2001）．

[^10]:    ${ }^{25}$ C. K. Ogden proposed BASIC English (British American Scientific International Commercial): simple English for international communication, in the 1920s. In BASIC English, the vocabulary was limited to no more than 850 words. This created some problems, such as complicated grammar.

[^11]:    26 'Geopolitical' is also used in McArthur (1998).

[^12]:    ${ }^{27}$ As mentioned in Section 1.1, English as a global lingua franca is used in this thesis as a theoretical construct, not as a particular codified variety of English.

[^13]:    ${ }^{28}$ A standardized language or variety is used by educated people and is taught at school in the territories. It is also used in broadcasting.
    ${ }^{29}$ Singh and Singh (1999: 76) point out that 'the government expects Australia's ELT businesses to promote this country's preferred cultural imaginings and to secure trade and investment for it' referring to the speech of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, in 1999.

[^14]:    ${ }^{30}$ Until the late 18 th century, English was not recognized as a prominent foreign language. When the first English speaker conferred with Tokugawa Ieyasu, who later became the first Tokugawa Shogun, communication took place through a Portuguese interpreter (Sakurai, 1970:2-3. cited in Ike 1995: 3). Moreover, when Japan adopted a closed-door foreign-affairs policy for more than 200 years, beginning from the early 17 th century, the major foreign languages studied in Japan were Dutch and Chinese. Furthermore, Dutch and Chinese were only studied by a limited number of merchants and academics.
    ${ }^{31}$ Following the requests by foreign governments that Japan open its ports, the Japanese government (Tokugawa Shogunate) ordered the Japanese official interpreters of Dutch to learn English and Russian in 1809 and the 14 interpreters of Dutch to learn English (c. 1850) (Ike 1995:34). The Shogunate's instruction shows that at that time the Shogunate recognized the growing significance of European languages other than Dutch. Furthermore, although learning a foreign language in those days was only an intellectual's or a government official's concern, because travel abroad for Japanese people had been prohibited since 1635 , there were some people who went overseas despite the government's intention. One of these people was the fisherman, Nakahama Manjiro (1827-1898), also known as John Manjiro. Nakahama was shipwrecked and rescued by a US whaling ship. He then spent about ten years in the US learning English and the American way of life. Soon after his return from the US, Nakahama, who was one of the few Japanese who had high proficiency in English, contributed to both the Tokugawa Shogunate and the succeeding Meiji government as an English interpreter. Nakahama also became a professor at Kaiseijo, a former body of Tokyo University (Matsuhara 2001). The fact that Nakahama, who broke the law and was a man of

[^15]:    low position in those days, was invited to a central academic institute because he knew the English language, shows that the government had recognized the significant role of English by this time.

[^16]:    ${ }^{32}$ In the table, NZ for New Zealand and Korea for South Korea. Countries highlighted in light show Inner Circle countries, and those in dark show Outer Circle countries. The numbers on the right side of each country show the number of people who declared they went abroad to the country. The numbers in the bottom row indicate the total number of the Japanese who declared they were travelling to study abroad on departure.

[^17]:    ${ }^{33}$ The numbers for Germany before 1990 refer to the sum of those traveling from both East and West Germany.
    ${ }^{34}$ In 2000, while more foreign scholars come from the US than from any other country, the number of foreign scholars visiting from China and Korea have increased 262 percent and 258 percent respectively, since 1995.

[^18]:    ${ }^{35}$ Countries highlighted in light show Inner Circle countries, and those in dark show the Outer Circle countries. The numbers on the right side of each country show the number of people who held the visiting scholar visa upon arrival from that country. Due to the amendment of the Visa criteria in 1989, the statistics onward are not strictly comparable with earlier data. However, the ratio of the nationalities in the same year is still worth examining.

[^19]:    ${ }^{36}$ The Inner Circle countries include the US, Canada, UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland. The Outer Circle countries here refer to the selected countries where an official status is given to English in the Asia region. They include Hong Kong, the Philippines, India, and Singapore. These countries were chosen if they showed up more than once in the top 20 destinations in Table 1 or Table 3. The term, English Speaking Countries, refers to these ten countries of the Inner and Other Circles.

[^20]:    ${ }^{37}$ An email magazine is an electronic periodical distributed through the medium of email．The titles and short descriptions of each magazine are listed on the providers＇web sites，and the contents vary from cooking to politics．Those who want to subscribe to a listed magazine register their email addresses，to which the issues are to be transmitted．It is normal that subscribers receive issues on their computers at home or on mobile／I－mode phones when they are out．Email magazines have become a popular medium in Japan．According to the survey that was done by Vagabond Inc．，113，981 magazines are published and there are currently $61,947,708$ registered readers．Mag Mag is the most popular among the twelve major email magazine distributors，holding 42 percent of the total readership（Venture Now Daily Venture News 2001）．
    ${ }^{38}$ It is not apparent whether the order of the four varieties reflects the producer＇s intention．From the Japanese language point of view，the order may indicate the greater popularity of the US and UK

[^21]:    ${ }^{42}$ One magazine，which compares American English to British English，falls into both types．

[^22]:    ${ }^{43}$ The number， 1,734 ，was calculated based on the monthly statistics for September， 2001. $150,410,318$ subscribers were registered and 86,734 issues were published（Mag Mag 2001b）．In these numbers，note that one reader may be subscribing to more than one magazine and one magazine may publish more than one issue，or might not be published at all in the period．

[^23]:    ${ }^{44} \mathrm{Cf}$. gaikokugo kyouiku seisaku (foreign language education policy).
    ${ }^{45}$ The national language policy has domestic and foreign dimensions in its target. In the domestic dimension, the policy targets mostly the citizens who speak Japanese as a first language and its main issues are standardization of the Japanese language and revising the kanji characters. Because the national language policy is largely implemented through language teaching, this policy parallels Japanese language education policy in many ways.

    In the foreign dimension, on the other hand, the policy targets non-Japanese-native speakers for promoting Japanese language. Particularly in the prewar period, a policy was implemented to assimilate the domestic minority groups and those who were under overseas colonization. Although the Japanese still suffer a guilty conscience from the idea of promoting Japanese language overseas after Japanese was forced on some Asian countries in the prewar period (Suzuki 1985), for the past few decades, Japanese language learning has become more and more popular as Japan's economic success has grown. Consequently, the policy now responds to foreign consumers' demand and promotes the language to generate publicity for Japan and its culture.

[^24]:    ${ }^{46}$ The national guideline documents, referred to as the Course of Study in the rest of this thesis, have been published in Japanese under the title as 'Gakushuu Shidoo Yooryo' throughout the postWWII period. These documents were named after the American educational term, Course of Study (Kakita 1993: 66). Kakita quotes the definition of the term from the Dictionary of Education (Carter V. Good ed. McGraw-Hill, 1959) as 'a guide prepared by administrators, supervisors, and teachers of a particular school or school system as an aid to teaching a given subject or area of study for a given grade or other instruction group'. In addition, some versions of the national guidelines that are published bilingually in Japanese and English (cf. Monbusho 1952a, 1952b, 1952c) and also in English (cf. Monbusho 1983a, 1983b, 1983c), designate each document as a 'Course of Study'. Furthermore, English written literatures on Japanese education often use 'Course of Study'. Therefore, this thesis uses the 'Course of Study' to refer to 'Gakushuu Shidoo Yooryo'.

[^25]:    ${ }^{47}$ The Constitution is the supreme foundation of all of the constitutions, laws, ordinances, and prescripts in Japan. In the Constitution there is no statement explicitly concerned with the language issue, except for the fact that the freedom of speech is guaranteed and the fact that the Constitution is written in Japanese. As far as education is concerned, there is an article that pronounces the rights and duties of education:

    Chapter III. Rights and duties of the People, Article 26.
    All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law. (2) All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free. (Nihonkoku kenpoo 1946)
    The 'law' mentioned in the above article refers to the Fundamental Law of Education.
    ${ }^{48}$ The Fundamental Law of Education designates the fundamental objectives and mission of education in order to establish a democratic and peaceful nation, as called for in Japan's postwar Constitution. This law was put into effect in 1947 and became the basis of all subsequent educational laws and ordinances. The articles are statements of fundamental educational tenets, specifically the aims and principles of education, compulsory education, coeducation, school education, community education, political education, religious education, and school administration. The 11th article provides for the enactment of further laws to carry out these ideals (Kyooiku kihon hoo 1947). However, the only description regarding language refers to the Japanese language: the Fundamental Law of Education states that one of the objectives of primary school education is to cultivate the skills to comprehend and use Japanese language for daily life.
    ${ }^{49}$ The School Education Law of 1947 is the basic law, which together with Fundamental Law of Education provide the framework and organization for the Japanese school. The present law applies to the entire school system; it sets forth rules and guidelines for the organization, purpose, curriculum, and duration of study, for schools at each level (Gakkoo kyooiku hoo 1947).
    ${ }^{50}$ The Enforcement Ordinance for School Education Law is concerned with school management-related issues rather than with educational issues (Gakkoo kyooiku hoo shikoo rei 1953).
    ${ }^{51}$ The Enforcement Regulations for School Education Law provide detailed and concrete regulations which are necessary to implement the objectives of the education-related laws. The statute states that further regulations are provided in the Course of Study announced by the Monbusho Ministers (Gakkoo kyooiku hoo shikoo kisoku 1947: Article25 for the elementary school curriculum, Arcticle54(2) for the junior high school curriculum, and Article57(2) for the senior high school curriculum).

[^26]:    ${ }^{52}$ Kyooiku Katei Shingi-kai

[^27]:    ${ }^{53}$ The 2000 EFL advisory commission refers to the Monbusho Minister's Commission on Improving the English Teaching Methods etc. (Eigo shidoo-hoohoo too no kaizen no suishin ni kansuru kondankai). This advisory commission was convened by the then Monbusho Minister, Nakasone Hirohumi, to improve English teaching; the commission was active from January 2000 to December 2000.

    54 'English conversation' as a course theme.
    55 The 2002 EFL advisory commission refers to the Education Minister's Commission on Reforming English Education (Eigo Kyooiku Kaikaku ni kansuru Kondankai). This advisory commission was convened by the then Monbusho Minister, Toyama Atsuko, to reform the English education system; the commission was active from January 2002 to May 2002.

[^28]:    ${ }^{56}$ The report was published in Japanese, and was then translated into English, Korean, and Chinese.

[^29]:    ${ }^{57}$ Although the title was changed to Course of Study: Interpretation for foreign language, this thesis refers to the book as 'the 1998 Handbooks' because its contents are basically unalterred.
    ${ }^{58}$ White papers on education have been published annually since 1988 under the title of Wagakuni no Bunkyoo Shisaku. Prior to 1988 (that is, in 1953, 1959, 1962, 1964, 1970, 1975, and 1980), the white papers were published under different titles.

[^30]:    ${ }^{59}$ The statistics does not include the seven universities with graduate school curriculums (four nationally and three privately founded).

[^31]:    ${ }^{60}$ According to Monbusho (2000d), as of 1999 there were 4,243,762 junior high schools students 4,211,826 high school students, and 2,701,104 university students.

[^32]:    ${ }^{61}$ All compulsory subjects can be taught as elective subjects if necessary（Monbusho 1989：Ch． 1 Sec．4）．Foreign Language（English）is the only subject that has elective status only．Thus，the other elective subjects tend to be courses that extended compulsory subjects．

[^33]:    ${ }^{62}$ In a standard curriculum plan, classes are to be given 35 weeks per year and, at the secondary school level, each class unit is fifty minutes long (Monbusho 1998a, 1998b, 1999b).
    ${ }^{63}$ These nine compulsory subjects are Japanese, Social Studies, Mathematics, Science, Music, Arts, Physical Education, Technology and Home Economics. Moral Education (Dootoku) and Special Activity (Tokkatsu) are also compulsory subjects.
    ${ }^{64}$ These numbers are standard class hours for Japanese and Social Studies, as the compulsory subjects. Students are allowed to study these subjects further in elective courses.

[^34]:    ${ }^{65}$ Following the 1958 Course of Study, schools and teachers were legally required to design their curriculums in accordance with the rules laid down in the Course of Study.
    ${ }^{66}$ Monbusho decided that education should be more relaxed in the 1977 revision of the Course of Study.

[^35]:    ${ }^{67}$ Prior to and including the 1989 revised Course of Study, which was enforced until March 2002, no foreign languages were taught in public elementary schools, except for Roman alphabetical letters in the Japanese subject.

[^36]:    ${ }^{68}$ According to some major newspaper articles, the subjects to be taught in English are Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, PE, Arts, and so on (Sawa 2001, Yomiuri Shinbun 2001).

[^37]:    発音については，現代にイギリスまたはアメリカの標準的な発音によるものとす る。まず，「現代」については，19世紀とか 20 世紀などと特別に限定している ものではなくて，現代に通用するという意味であり，この点からあまり古い発音

[^38]:    ${ }^{70}$ According to Frontier Within，
    日本の現状を考えると，これらの基本能力のどれも不十分である。英語にいたっ ては，日本は1998年のTOEFL（英語能力試験）でアジアで最下位の成績だった。コミ ュニケーション能力の欠如は日本人自身が痛切に感じているところである。日本の よさや日本の真実を世界に伝えたいと念じながら，それが思らに任せない気持ちを多くの日本人が持っている。（21－seiki Nihon no koosoo kondankai 2000：Chapter 1，II）
    Today＇s Japanese are lacking in these basic skills．Their English－language abilities as measured by their TOEFL scores in 1998 were the lowest in Asia．The Japanese themselves are painfully aware of the inadequacy of their communication skills．Though they would like to convey their country＇s good points and its real situation to the rest of the world，many of them feel unable to do so adequately．（The Prime Minister＇s Commission on Japan＇s Goals in the 21st Century 2000：Chapter 1，II）

[^39]:    ${ }^{71}$ According to Funabashi's plan, the official language law is to be proclaimed in 2010 after a ten-year preparation (2001-2010). The law aims to achieve bilingual proficiency for $10 \%$ of the whole Japanese population and $20 \%$ of national public officials in the first ten years, and $30 \%$ and $50 \%$, respectively, in the first 20 years.
    ${ }^{72}$ Achieving 430 points at TOEFL is not an unachievable goal. An English-Japanese Immersion program, where Japanese and Social Studies are taught in Japanese and other subjects in English, has been operating in Kato Gakuen in Numazu, Shizuoka prefecture since 1992. The eighth-year students in the program (who correspond to second-year students in a junior high school) scored 450 on

[^40]:    ${ }^{74}$ The pre-first grade of STEP corresponds approximately to a score of 542 at TOEFL or 751 at TOEIC (Zaidan Hoojin Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyookai 2002b).

[^41]:    ${ }^{75}$ Anai (1991) is an unpublished work in which the author answers questions from students concerning English and English learning.

[^42]:    ${ }^{76}$ Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) is the name for the instructors specially for the Japan Exchange Teaching Programme that started in 1987. They used to be called Assistant English Teachers (AETs) before the term ALTs was used. However in this thesis, ALTs is used for those who were invited to Japan to contribute to formal English teaching. Thus, ALTs also includes the native speakers of English who are engaged in English teaching through some local boards of education or private schools as well as the earlier governmental programs.

[^43]:    ${ }^{77}$ This pronunciation is popular in the US variety.
    ${ }^{78}$ This pronunciation is popular in the UK variety.

[^44]:    ${ }^{79}$ Their aims are: 1) to raise from the bottom up the skills of the majority of the local teachers by training senior or promising teachers; 2) to equalize the levels of teachers from different regions; 3) to support the local boards of education financially; and 4) to avoid the difficulty of negotiating with overseas institutions when planning overseas training (Monbusho 2000a).

[^45]:    ${ }^{80}$ Table 9 is based on information provided by Monbusho (Monbusho 2000a).

[^46]:    ${ }^{81}$ Table 10 is based on information provided by Monbusho (Monbusho 2000a).

[^47]:    ${ }^{82}$ This thesis uses two different spellings of programme and program. Programme is used in Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET Programme) because it is a part of the program title, while program is used in other cases.

[^48]:    ${ }^{83}$ Chart 1 is based on the information provided by Monbusho (2000a), Wada (1987: 30), and the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR 1999: 3 , 2001: 3).

[^49]:    ${ }^{84}$ Table 11 is based on the statistics provided in Wada (1987:30).

[^50]:    ${ }^{85}$ The UK requested to establish this program in 1978, and the budget was allocated in the following year. However, 20 ALTs were engaged in this program in 1978.

[^51]:    ${ }^{86}$ This part of Table 12 was created based on the statistics provided in Wada (1987:30).
    ${ }^{87}$ This part of Table 12 was created based on the statistics provided in (Monbusho 2000a).
    ${ }^{88}$ The numbers in the parenthesis in Table 12 show the numbers allocated in the national budget. The information was obtained through Monbusho (2000a).

[^52]:    ${ }^{89}$ Teacher consultants refers to Shidoo-shuji.
    ${ }^{90}$ MEF participants' allocation depended on the local bodies' decisions, and some prefectures only hosted one or two of them (Takanashi and Takahashi 1990: 279).

[^53]:    ${ }^{91}$ The entire project of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme includes not only ALT, the language teaching component, but also Coordinator for International Relations (CIR) and Sports Exchange Advisor (SEA).

[^54]:    ${ }^{93}$ ALTs under JET include several foreign language teaching assistants including English, Chinese, Korean, French, German, and so on.

[^55]:    ${ }^{94}$ Note that English-speaking ALTs are not regularly recruited from Israel. The two Israeli English-speaking ALTs in 2000 were invited based upon specific request.

[^56]:    ${ }^{95}$ Chart 2 is extracted from Table 13.

[^57]:    ${ }^{96}$ Having been approved by Monbusho, seven companies at the junior high school level and 22 at the senior high school level currently publish their English textbooks in the market across the nation. Among the available textbooks, each local body or school (such as senior high schools and private schools) adopts one series.
    ${ }^{97}$ The textbooks examined were 'New Horizon1', 'New Horizon 2', and 'New Horizon 3', at junior high school level, and 'New Horizon English Course I', New Horizon English Course II', 'New Horizon English Writing', 'Hello there! Oral Communication A', 'Hello there! Oral Communication B', and 'Hello there! Oral Communication C' at high school level.
    ${ }^{98}$ At Junior high school level, Tokyo Shoseki has a 37\% share, which is the largest among the seven publishers. Tokyo Shoseki also has the largest share for Oral Communication A, at $26.9 \%$, and for Oral Communication B, at 17.1\%, at high school level. For English Course I, Tokyo Shoseki is the third largest publisher with a share of $11.3 \%$ for English I. Although Tokyo Shoseki's share for other

[^58]:    ${ }^{99}$ In the story, the characters debate why they should study English and their debate offers a chance for learners to consider the role of English as a global language. As the debate in the story does not also give readers a specific interpretation of the target language, it provides an opportunity to let the readers value English for themselves.

[^59]:    ${ }^{100}$ Among the nine scholarships funded by Monbusho, seven categories target high school students who are interested in science, and two categories are for university graduates: one for Asian countries and the other for an unstated country (Association of International Education Japan 2002). Thus, scholarships to English speaking countries are not available strictly under Monbusho funding.
    ${ }^{101}$ Historically, Japan has sent several missions overseas in order to absorb their advanced cultures based on the national policy: to China, India, and Korea in the medieval times, to Holland, Germany, France, and UK in modern times.

[^60]:    ${ }^{102}$ Under Japanese government Course of Study, Foreign Language as a secondary school subject includes English, French, and German, but most students learn English. Recently foreign language courses other than these European originated languages have been offered at some schools, such as Korean.
    ${ }^{103}$ Not only has public opinion become more and more vocal for the teaching of English at the elementary school level, but also the government's new policy allows introducing English conversation under the course called International Understanding Study from April 2002 (Monbusho 1998b). Moreover, a guidebook for teaching English to elementary school students was distributed to the local boards of education (Monbukagakusho 2001b), and the final report to the specialist committee for English education announced the possibility of introducing English as a subject in elementary schools (Monbukagakusho 2001a).

[^61]:    104 'Pax Americana' refers to the linguistic hegemony of American English over anglophone

[^62]:    ${ }^{105}$ A copy of the original questionnaire and a copy of the English translated version appear in Appendices 3 and 4.

[^63]:    ${ }^{106}$ The audio-tape is available upon request.

[^64]:    ${ }^{107}$ The given six countries were coded as follows: JP for Japan, US for the USA, AU for Australia, UK for the UK, SG for Singapore, and PH for the Philippines.

[^65]:    ${ }^{108}$ Each combination here is presented in the order of English-type and then American-type standards.

[^66]:    ${ }^{109}$ Each pair was asked in question [2]. The numbers on the above list correspond with the question numbers (e.g. 1 was asked in the question [2](1)). In addition, the pair 12 was also asked in question [3] (7) .
    ${ }^{110}$ The first column shows the grouping of the respondents: TOTAL for all; JH for junior high

[^67]:    ${ }^{111}$ For example, most pairs (UK-US), such as learnt-learned, queue-line, autumn-fall, parcelpackage, postman-mailman, tick-check, tin-can, ring-call, petrol-gas, to book-to make a reservation,

[^68]:    fortnight-two weeks, garden-yard, match-game, different from-than-to, and half an hour-a half hour were chosen from Trudgill and Hannah (1994). Pairs, such as hire-rent, mum-mom, fortnight-two weeks, garden-yard, football-soccer, and rubber-eraser were found in Hopkins (1999). In addition, Smith (1999) includes note-bill, lift-ride, aeroplane-airplane, bell pepper-capsicum, car-automobile, and take away-to go-take out. Algeo (1989), Burden (1999), de Funiak (1967), and Katsiavriades (1997) also support some of the above-mentioned pairs.
    ${ }^{112}$ Each pair was asked in either question [3] or [4]. The pair 1 on the above list was asked in question [3](7) 1,2 in [3](4), 3 in [3](5), 4 in [3](9), 5 in [3] (10), 6 in [3](13), 7 in [3](46), 8 in [3] (66, 9 in [4] (3), and 10 in [4](4).

[^69]:    ${ }^{113}$ Each pair was asked in question [3]. Pair 11 on the above list was asked in question (7)2, 12 in (8), and 13 in (12).
    ${ }^{114}$ Algeo describes two weeks/ fortnight as follows: ‘All human beings experience sequences of 14 days, but in some cultures that period of tie is culturally relevant as a clock of time. In particular, Britons are accustomed to talking about 14-day periods and to using them as a unit of time measurement, either exact or approximate; Americans do so also, but to significantly lesser extent. Consequently, British has a term for the purpose, fortnight, and use it frequently. Americans do not use the term often, if at all. When they need to talk about 14-day periods, they are likely to call them two weeks or a couple of weeks (1989: 229).'
    ${ }^{115}$ Each pair was asked in either question [3] or [4]. The pair 14 on the above list was asked in question [3](6), 15 as in [3] (17), 16 in [3](5), 17 in [3](11), 18 in [3](15), and 19 in [4](2).

[^70]:    ${ }^{116}$ The first column shows the grouping of the respondents: TOTAL for all; JH for junior high school students; SH for senior high school students; UNI for university students.

[^71]:    ${ }^{117}$ In the original questionnaire, the spellings were randomly arranged. For details, see Appendix 3 for an original version and Appendix 4 for an English translation.
    ${ }^{118}$ as in question [3](2)
    ${ }^{119}$ as in question [3](3)
    ${ }^{120}$ as in question [3](1)
    ${ }^{121}$ as in question [3] 19 )

[^72]:    ${ }^{122}$ The first column shows the grouping of the respondents: TOTAL for all; JH for junior high

[^73]:    ${ }^{123}$ In Japanese, a date is written in the order of year, month, and day. As this order does not parallel either the UK or US discipline, the Japanese language influence is not a concern.

[^74]:    ${ }^{124}$ The first column shows the grouping of the respondents: TOTAL for all; JH for junior high school students; SH for senior high school students; UNI for university students.

[^75]:    ${ }^{125}$ Each pair was asked in question [9]. The numbers on the above list correspond with the

[^76]:    ${ }^{126}$ Critical values for Nemenyi test are 0.211 at $\mathrm{p} \leqq 0.05 ; 0.254$ at $\mathrm{p} \leqq 0.01 ; 0.304$ at $\mathrm{p} \leqq 0.001$ level.

[^77]:    ${ }^{127}$ Each pair was asked in either question [0], [10], or [11]. The item $\mathrm{H} 4-1$ on the above list was asked in question [10], $\mathrm{H} 4-2-\mathrm{H} 4-9$ in each of question [0](1)-8), $\mathrm{H} 4-10$ in [0](10), $\mathrm{H} 4-11$ in [0](11), $\mathrm{H} 4-12$ in [0](9), $\mathrm{H} 4-13$ in [11](3), $\mathrm{H} 4-14$ in [11](4), $\mathrm{H} 4-15$ in [11](5), $\mathrm{H} 4-16$ in [11](6), and $\mathrm{H} 4-17$ in [11] 7 .
    ${ }^{128}$ STEP stands for Standardized Test of English Proficiency, which is the most established test in Japan.

[^78]:    ${ }^{129}$ Each item on the above list was asked in question [6]. Items $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-1-\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-4$ were asked in each of questions (1)-(4) in the questionnaire, $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-5$ in (7), $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-6$ in (10, $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-7$ in (11), and $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{a}-8$ in (14).

[^79]:    ${ }^{130}$ Each item on the above list was asked in question [7]. The last numbers of the items on the above list correspond with the question numbers (e.g. H5b-1 was asked in question (1)).
    ${ }^{131}$ Each item on the above list was asked in question [8]. Each item of $\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-1-\mathrm{H} 5 \mathrm{c}-9$ corresponds

[^80]:    ${ }^{132}$ The survey was administered together with the linguistic and attitudinal questionnaires introduced in Chapter 5.

[^81]:    ${ }^{133}$ This is explained by the fact that Japanese young people are self-sufficient with Japanese reading materials. They can appreciate the modern and classic subculture in Japanese language whether they are translated from various foreign languages or originally written in Japanese. Accordingly, if we are to make the most of the learners' reading opportunities, we have to allow the commercial publishers, or educational enterprises, to distribute more such materials so that Japanese young people can enjoy reading. However, this prospect will not be pursued at this time because

[^82]:    ${ }^{134}$ Personal communication with a textbook editor in September, 1994.

[^83]:    ${ }^{135}$ Kondo (1992) also reports that the GHQ sent fifty university professors, most of whom studied education, English literature, and linguistics, in the first year of the GARIOA scholarship program (Kondo 1992: 73).

[^84]:    ${ }^{136}$ Sending Japanese people to various overseas countries will also inform other countries about Japan. This contributes to the mutual understanding between the destination countries and Japan, although this argument is not pursued in this thesis.

[^85]:    ${ }^{137}$ This thesis focuses on examining Japan's EFL education policy. Indeed this thesis recognizes the importance of the JTE factor, since the English variety that JTEs acquired can have a very large influence on learners. However, the English varieties that JTEs possess have been formed through their personal training and experiences as well as through teacher training. In addition, it is technically impossible to follow all the teachers with whom the survey participants have been involved during their formal EFL learning. Consequently, this thesis does not reveal the full reality of JTEs' acquired English varieties. Thus, JTEs are interpreted as a single entity whose existence reflects the EFL

[^86]:    ${ }^{138}$ The JTEs overseas training programs are very conservative compared to the ALTs program. While the JTEs (overseas training) programs send the trainees only to the US, UK, Australia, and NZ, as of 2001 the JET programme invites ALTs almost exclusively from the US, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Jamaica, and Singapore (Sections 4.1.1.2 and 4.1.2.3).

[^87]:    ${ }^{139}$ Although there are several other ALT programs at the local public organizations level or independent level for private schools, the numbers reported are from the JET Programme (1987present) only. The percentage, $0.7 \%$ (after rounding to the second decimal place), was calculated based on the statistics presented in the program brochure (CLAIR 2001).

[^88]:    ${ }^{140}$ Eight of these countries are US, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, Jamaica, and Singapore. In addition to these eight countries, participants were also invited from Israel, where special status is not given to English.
    ${ }^{141} \mathrm{JET}$ programme, the latest ALTs program, invites ALTs not only from the Anglo-Celtic English speaking countries, but also from the Outer Circle countries such as South Africa, Singapore, and Jamaica. This is considered to be radical change because no other ALTs programs in the past were open to this extent.

[^89]:    ${ }^{142}$ Indeed, the requirement of having the MA qualification in the beginning of the ALT programs might contribute to the numbers being very low, as pointed out in Section 3.2.
    ${ }^{143}$ Five ALTs were invited from South Africa for the first time. Jamaica, Singapore, and Israel joined in 2000.

[^90]:    ${ }^{144}$ In this section, because suggestions for formal EFL education are the focus, the personal opportunities for being exposed to English through listening to music will not be addressed.
    ${ }^{145}$ Kakita suggests that music should be used for up to $5 \%$ of the whole class time (1993: 308).
    ${ }^{146}$ Boarder (1994) presents a learning process in teaching English using music. This three-stage process consists of: 1) Memorial Input; 2) Conscious Reminders; and 3) Subliminal Reminders.

[^91]:    ${ }^{147}$ Here, the word 'approach' is used to refer to the two underlying conceptions toward language learning: one is a theory of language and the other is a theory of learning. For example, Grammar Translation Method, which is well known among the language teaching methods that have been used since the ancient times, is based on Structuralism in terms of language point of view, and mental discipline, consisting of little more than memorizing rules and facts, in terms of learning point of view. Accordingly, since approach has effects across the entire course as the underlying basic philosophy, it directs us to focus on designing courses and selecting the appropriate classroom techniques following Richards and Rogers (1986).
    ${ }^{148}$ The underlying approach regarding language learning has shifted in the past few decades from Structuralism to Functionalism or Interactionism. In earlier times, most of the methods advocated focused on Structuralism, such as Grammar Translation Method or Audio Lingual Method. The language teaching methods used in those days were strongly language structure based and they neglected the communication point of view: how language works or was to be used. Since the late 1970s, some methods such as Communicative Language Learning and the Natural Approach have absorbed Functionalism or Interactionism; however, this new type of language teaching methods, Communicative Language Teaching methods, has still turned out to be imperfect.

[^92]:    ${ }^{149}$ A public readers' debate regarding English use in Japan in a major newspaper reflects the English imperialism by language learning view. This debate includes objections to the future plan of expanding EFL teaching into the elementary school level, and to Japans' English as the second official language blueprint, and in the general criticism to formal EFL teaching. This criticism shows a common perception of language learning in Japan: inequality of the various existing cultures in the world. That is, language learning is recognized as an unfair political pressure in that the Japanese EFL learners have to imitate the target linguacultures and assimilate themselves into the native speakers' societies. Interestingly, however, it is rare to hear similar criticisms for other foreign languages: Korean learners or Arabic speakers should not think and behave like Koreans or Arabs.

[^93]:    ${ }^{150}$ Similar to evaluation, measurement also requires estimates. Evaluation captures the attitudes more precisely, based on both quantitative and qualitative data collected in more multi-angled and integrative ways, but it needs complicated evaluating processes. On the other hand, because measurement turns the attitudes into qualitative data it may not be as precise as evaluation.

[^94]:    ${ }^{151}$ Umemoto (2001) introduces an interview with students in the tentative multicultural program using ILT. A school girl, Kinoshita Masami, expresses that she enjoyed communicating with Hawaiian students in English for the first time in the class although she does not like English. Another school boy, Otani Takuya, tells of his enthusiasm for learning English in the class. Umemoto also presents the results of the questionnaire to the students in his elementary school (about what they think of the Kokusai-rikai-kyoiku class). The students' comments on when they enjoy are classified in five groups: 1) fun activities, 2) diverse activities, 3) challenging activities, 4) gaining practical skills, and 5) learning with friends.

    152 'The nature of language learning has become more complex, integrating new subject matter

[^95]:    reflecting the increased importance of culture and professional development in language learning' (Liddicoat et al. 1997: 20-21).
    ${ }^{153}$ In fact, the multicultural study called Kokusai-rikai-kyoiku, both with a focus on English

[^96]:    ${ }^{154}$ See Section 3.2.1.4 for details.

[^97]:    ${ }^{155}$ Liddicoat et al. (1997: 25 ) point out the necessity for cultural sensitivity among the participants (including native speakers of English) in international communication.
    ${ }^{156}$ The more orthodox approach is for EFL/ESL speakers to be taught ENL varieties (Trudgill and

