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はしがき

平素は全国語学教育学会日本語教育研究部会に多大なるご理解とご支援を賜りまして、誠にありがとうございます。今年度の研究部会活動を総括する機会を得て、会員の皆様に『JALT 日本語教育論集 16号』をお届けできることをうれしく思います。掲載した研究論文が、皆様のそれぞれの文脈における研究活動や教育活動に役立つことを期待しています。また、本誌発行にあたって、緻密な編集作業に取り組んでくださった出版担当クリストファー・ヘネシー先生、そして、投稿論文を丁寧に審査してくださった査読者の方々に敬意と感謝を申し上げます。

We appreciate your patience and continuous support for the JSL SIG. This newly published journal, "JALT Journal of Japanese Language Education, Volume 16," has become an excellent place for us to summarize our SIG activities this year, and it is our pride and joy to deliver this to you. We hope that these peer-reviewed articles will contribute to your research study and teaching practice in your context. Lastly, but by no means least, we would like to thank Christopher Hennessy for his magnificent and magical editorial work and the blind reviewers for their professional insights and knowledge. We would be far from publishing this journal without their passion and contribution.

2021年11月 | November 2021
全国語学教育学会日本語教育研究部会代表 | JALT JSL SIG Coordinator
森山 真吾 | Shingo Moriyama

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香港の民間日本語教育機関における日本語教育の「商品化」：
「つながり」を生み出すことを目指す新たな消費の観点から

**“Commodification” of Japanese Language Education
at a Private Language School in Hong Kong:
From the Perspective of New Consumption Aimed
at Creating "Connections"**

瀬尾匡輝
茨城大学
Masaki Seo
Ibaraki University

要旨

本稿では、香港の民間日本語学校の学習者、教師、学校運営者へのインタビューから、学習者が日本語学習に対してどのような魅力を感じ、教師や学校運営者はそれに対してどのように日本語教育の商品化を試みているのかを探った結果を報告する。調査を行った A 校では、学習者は教室内外でのクラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむことに意義を見出していた。そして、教師達は学習者との「つながり」を作り出し、その体験を商品として売り出そうと努力していた。だが、このようにつながりを消費する学習者に対しても、日本語能力試験に特化した授業が展開されており、新自由主義に基づく言語教育の商品化の議論で指摘されていたのと同様、試験によって客観的に評価できる言語形式の習得に焦点が当てられていることが確認された。

Abstract

This paper reports the results of interviews with learners, teachers, and administrators of a private Japanese language school in Hong Kong to figure out what aspects that learners find attractiveness in learning Japanese language and how teachers and administrators are trying to commodify Japanese language education in order to satisfy their learners. At School A, where this study was conducted, learners enjoyed interacting with their classmates and teachers in and outside the classroom and teachers were trying to create connections with their students and sell those experiences as commodities. However, even for students who consume connections with others, contents of classes were focusing on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test. As pointed out in the previous literature on the commodification of language education from a neoliberal perspective, the negative effects of commodification have been identified, in which the focus is on the acquisition of language forms that can be evaluated objectively through examinations.

1. 研究の目的

これまで経済的行為と教育を結びつけることはタブー視され、経済的観点から言語教育を議論することは長年避けられる傾向にあったのではないだろうか。だが、新自由主義的競争原理が広がる現代社会では、各教育機関は他の教育機関やプログラムと競争し、消費者である学習者を獲得するため、学習者の要求に応え、学習内容に反映させる必要に迫られている (Kelly & Jones, 2003)。もとより外国語教育を取り巻く環境はグローバル経済と密接にかかわっており、経済的観点と言語教育の関係を無視することはできなくなっている。本稿では、香港の民間日本語学校で行った調査から日本語教育の商品化の現状を考察する。

1.1 言語教育の商品化とは

新自由主義の進展により、市場原理が雇用に多大に影響するようになってきている。そのなかで、企業は利益を生み出すため、非正規雇用の契約社員の数を増やしており、人々は職を得るため、自身のスキルや知識を向上させる必要に迫られている。そして、言語コミュニケーションスキルも人的資本を増大させるスキルの一つとして捉えられ (Urciuoli, 2008)、教育機関だけではなく、出版社や試験実施団体までもが、指導マニュアルや評価ツールという形で言語教育を商品として売り出そうとしている。このような道具主義的な言語教育観は、グローバル言語となっている英語では顕著に表れており、英語が話せることで賃金を上昇させたり、職業機会を向上させたりすることができるという言説が広く蔓延している (寺沢, 2017)。そして、英語が使える人材育成を目論む財界や産業界の要請から、小学校への英語教育の導入が進められたり (江利川, 2019)、大学において英語でコミュニケーションがとれる人材の育成が目指されたり (吉田, 2012) している。そのような状況で、TOEIC や実用英語技能検定などの試験が言語をスキルとして客観的に評価できるものとみなされ、試験を重視した授業が展開されるようになってきている。だが、試験を重視した授業では、教師がテストの点数を向上させるためのテクニックの教授を一義的な目的とした実践を行ってしまうという問題が指摘されている (McNamara, 2011)。

道具主義的な言語教育観が蔓延するなか、英語を習得すれば必ずしも個人的な経済的利益が生み出されるわけではないという主張もある。寺沢 (2015) は、日本国内では、英語を必要としない仕事が大多数であり、英語の能力が直接的に雇用や昇給に影響を与えているわけではないと指摘する。また、Kubota (2011a) は、調査協力者の日本語母語話者が英語の能力を向上させ英語教師になったものの、日本の英語教育界では英語母語話者に対して非母語話者に見出される商品的な価値は低いため、彼女の収入は前職から激減してしまったと報告している。このように複雑な社会背景や権力関係が人々の雇用や昇給に影響を与えているにもかかわらず、日本の英会話学校は英語を学ぶことによって得られる単一的な成功体験を前面に打ち出して宣伝し、顧客である学習者を獲得しようとしているのである (Simpson, 2018)。

ここまで英語教育の商品化に関する新自由主義的な観点からの議論を概観してきたが、人々は必ずしも人的資本の増大のために言語を学んでいるわけではない。満足感や喜びを得るために外国語を学習する「余暇活動と消費としての外国語学習」 (Kubota, 2011b) もある。そこでは、学習者は目標言語や外国語学習そのものを楽しみのための商品として消費している。だが、このような余暇活動として言語を学ぶ学習者のための商品化では、英語という言語や文化、白人へのアコガレが消費の対象となり、ときに白人やネイティブ話者が価値のあるものとみなされて商品化されてしまう (Kubota, 2011b; Appleby, 2013)。そして、白人やネイティブ話者に商品的な価値を見出す日本の英会話学校では、英語を学ぶことで「白人男性との関係」 (Bailey, 2006, p. 105) を作り出せると誇張した宣伝をし、学習者の獲得が目指されたりしているのである。

ここまで見てきたように、英語教育においては、言語教育の商品化が盛んに議論さ

れている。だが、日本語教育に目を向けると、その研究はまだ緒に就いたばかりである。瀬尾他（2015）は余暇活動として日本語を学ぶ学習者が多い香港で働く日本語教師の池田さん（仮名）へのインタビュー調査から、商品化を通して学習者の満足度を高めることが最優先され、学習者の表面的／一時的な興味・関心に偏った教育実践が生み出されてしまうという構造を明らかにした。しかしながら、瀬尾他（2015）は教師の言動の背景にある考えや価値観の分析に留まっており、顧客である学習者や雇用主である学校経営者／運営者の視点を含めた議論がなされているとは言い難い。そこで、本研究では、香港の民間日本語学校の学習者、教師、学校運営者にインタビュー調査を行い、学習者が日本語学習に対してどのような魅力を感じているのか、そしてそれに応じて、教師や学校運営者はどのように言語教育の商品化を試みているのかを探り、より包括的に日本語教育の商品化を理解することを試みる。

なお、寺沢（2017）は、言語の商品化を①言語サービスの商品化（例 英文校閲や翻訳）、②言語教育の商品化（例 教材や教育プログラムの売買）、③言語能力の商品化（例 言語を学ぶことによる雇用や賃金への影響）の3つに区分している。本稿で扱う商品化は、②の言語教育の商品化である。本研究では、言語教育分野におけるこれまでの先行研究を参考に、商品化を「ある物や活動が経済的行為や社会的地位と結びつき、価値を持つようになること」、消費を「対価を支払い、それらを手に入れ、欲望充足やアイデンティティ構築のために費やすこと」（瀬尾他, 2015, p. 84）と定義し、議論を進める。

2. 調査の概要

2.1 調査が行われたフィールド

本研究は香港をフィールドに調査を行った。香港の約6割強の日本語学習者は、民間日本語学校や大学付属の社会人教育機関などで日本語を学んでおり（国際交流基金, 2020）、学習者は仕事帰りや週末にこれらの教育機関に通い、余暇活動として日本語を学んでいることがこれまでの調査から明らかになっている（瀬尾, 2011; 久保田他, 2014）。そのような状況で、香港の民間日本語学校は学習者をより多く獲得するために他の教育機関と競争し、日本語教育の商品化に努めていることから、本調査の対象とすることに適していると考えた。

2.2 調査協力者

調査では、香港の民間日本語学校 A 校の学習者 6 名、教師 7 名、学校運営者 1 名に対して半構造化インタビューを 2017 年 8 月下旬から 9 月上旬にかけて行った。表 1 に調査協力者のプロフィールとインタビュー時間を記す。調査にあたっては、調査協力者に対して同意書（資料 A 参照）を準備し、調査についての説明を書面及び口頭で行った。なお、A 校の教員数は限られており、各教員の詳細なプロフィールを記すことで個人が特定されてしまう恐れがあるため、本稿で言及することは控える。

表1 調査協力者の概要

学習者 1	20代女性、大学職員、 学習歴 4年	62分	教師 1	非母語話者	56分
学習者 2	30代男性、公務員、 学習歴 3年	41分	教師 2	非母語話者	71分
学習者 3	20代男性、会社員、 学習歴 6年	37分	教師 3	非母語話者	56分
学習者 4	40代女性、会社員、 学習歴 6年	37分	教師 4	母語話者	57分
学習者 5	40代女性、会社員、 学習歴 2年	48分	教師 5	母語話者	75分
学習者 6	20代男性、会社員、 学習歴 5年	38分	教師 6	母語話者	42分
			教師 7	母語話者	38分
			運営者	非母語話者	125分

2.3 調査の手順

学習者へのインタビューでは、①どうして日本語を勉強しようと思ったのか、②これまでどうやって日本語を学んできたのか、③日本語を使って将来何をしたいと考えているのか、④A校を選んだ理由は何か、⑤A校で勉強していてよかった点／悪かった点は何か、⑥日本語を学習する上で、教育機関に求めるものは何かを中心に尋ねた。学習者の日本語のレベルは日本語能力試験（JLPT）のN3～N2である。学習者にどの言語でインタビューをしたいか尋ねたところ、日本語と答えたため、インタビューはすべて日本語で行った。

教師・学校運営者へのインタビューでは、①日本語教師になったきっかけ・理由、②A校で働いている理由、③学習者がどのようなことを求めていると考えているのか、④③に対してどのように対応しているのか、⑤学習者の満足度を高めるためにどのようなことを試みているのか、⑥学習者の満足度を高めることについてどのように感じているのかを中心に尋ねた。学校運営者・教師へのインタビューは全て日本語で行った。

本研究はケース・スタディ（メリアム, 2004; イン, 2011）であり、A校の学習者が日本語学習に対してどのような魅力を感じ、教師や学校運営者はそれに対してどのように日本語教育の商品化を試みているのかをケースとして提示する。本研究の調査の方法にケース・スタディを用いるのは、ケース・スタディが「どのように」や「なぜ」といった説明的な問いに対する調査を行うのに望ましいリサーチ戦略であるとされるため（イン, 2011）、本研究のリサーチクエスチョンに答えるのに適切であると考えたからである。

分析では、まずすべてのインタビュー・データを書き起こしたものを質的データ分析ソフトである MAXQDA 2018¹を用いて読み込んだ。そして、インタビュー・データが意味することを解釈しながら、調査協力者の言語教育の商品化に対する意識と行動

¹ <https://www.maxqda.com/japan>

についてカテゴリを生成し、生成したカテゴリを指示するバリエーションを抽出した。その後、生成したカテゴリ間の関係について分析を深め、分析した結果を調査協力者とも共有し、解釈が一致するかを確認した。

次節では、まず学習者の日本語を学ぶ目的と理由を述べ、かれらが A 校での日本語学習にどのような魅力を感じていたのかを示す。そして、学校運営者及び教師が学習者に合わせてどのように日本語教育を商品化していたのかを提示する。

データから直接本文に引用した箇所は「」、インタビュー・データの内容を補足するものは（）、インタビュー・データの背景を説明するものは【】、インタビュー・データで説明のために別のことばに言い換えたものは【＝】、質問と解釈できる上昇イントネーションは？、長音はー、筆者による強調は下線で示している。

3. 分析結果

3.1 学習者が日本語を学ぶ目的・理由

3.1.1 仕事のためではなく、趣味のために

40年にわたり香港の日本語教育に携わってきた A 校の運営者によると、香港の学習者の日本語を学ぶ目的はこの 40年で大きく変化したという。1980年代初めは、日本人観光客向けの宝石店やお土産店等の店員やツアーガイドとして働きたいと考える学習者が多くいた。1980年代後半になると、製造業や商社等の日系企業が香港に進出してきたことから、それらの企業に就職したいと考える学習者が増えた。そして、1984年に JLPT が始まり、学習者は自分の日本語能力を就職活動の際に「証明」したり、JLPT の取得レベルに応じた「手当」を職場で得たりするために、JLPT を受験していた。このように 1980年代の香港には、文化資本を獲得蓄積するための投資 (Norton Peirce, 1995) を目的とした日本語学習者が多くおり、教育機関も JLPT 合格を目指すための授業を行っていた。

運²: 40年ほど前の学生達(の学習目的)は、まず就職のためです。もっといい仕事を探ことができると、日本語ができるとね。ちょうどあの当時ですか、日本経済もだんだんよくなってね。【中略】まー、試験のために勉強する学生がやはり増えました。【中略】試験に合格しないと、(日系企業への)就職も難しいし【中略】(JLPTの)レベルによってね、(企業から)若干手当が出ていたそうです。

だが、日本のポップカルチャーや日本製品・商品、食べ物が香港に普及し、人々が容易に日本に旅行できるようになった今では、仕事のために日本語を勉強する学習者は少なくなってきている。かれらは社会人として働き、社会経済的地位をある程度確立していたため、文化資本を獲得蓄積するために日本語を学ぶ必要はないのである。例えば、学習者 2 は政府機関で働いており、転職は考えておらず、日本語は「仕事」のためではなく、「趣味」として学んでいた。また、学習者 1 は日本語を学習し続けるために、定時の「5時半」に帰れる今の仕事をやめようとは思っていなかった。

² プログラム運営者を「運」、教師を「教」、学習者を「学」と省略する。

筆者: 日本語を使う仕事に就きたいですか。

学2: 仕事で(日本語を使うことは)多分ない。(日本語は)趣味に使おうと思っています。例えば、好きな歌手のニコニコ生放送³のときは、翻訳は全然ないでしょ? 日本語わからなければ、理解できません。コメントもできない。だから、日本語を勉強したいと思います。

筆者: 日本語を使う仕事に行きたいですか。

学1: 今の仕事は午後5時半に終わる。(日本語の)授業の始まりは午後の7時からですから。

調査協力者達の仕事では日本語は全く必要とはされていなかった。それは日系企業で働く学習者も同様であった。例えば、学習者5は日系企業に勤務していたものの、日本語を使う必要は全くないという。

筆者: (学習者5が勤務する日系企業では)日本語は全く使わない?

学5: 使ってないです。(自分の)部門ではみんなは広東語で。(香港支社の)CEO、一番上の人、一番偉い人は日本語しゃべれるけど。

3.1.2 明確ではない日本語学習の目的—JLPTに合格すること

では、なぜかれらは日本語を学んでいるのだろうか。かれらは日本語を学び始めたときには、日本を旅行したときに日本語が使えるようになりたい(学習者1、4、5)、好きな歌手の動画生配信を翻訳なしで理解できるようになりたい(学習者1、3)、字幕なしでアニメを理解したい(学習者2、6)と思っていた。だが、かれらはすでにA校で中級・上級レベルの日本語の授業を受講しており、それらの目標はすでに達成されている。そのため、現時点では日本語を使って将来したいことが明確にあるわけではなかった。

筆者: 将来日本語を使って何かしたいことってありますか。

学2: うーん、多分ないですね。

筆者: 将来、日本語を使って何かしたいことはありますか。

学5: ないですね。ただ暇だから、ただ日本語が勉強したい。

だが、日本語を使って何かができるようになりたいという明確な目標はなかったものの、かれらはJLPTに合格することを意識して日本語を学んでいるように感じられたため、かれらになぜJLPTを受験するのかを尋ねた。すると、「JLPTがないと全然勉強しないと思う」(学習者6)とJLPTを日本語を学ぶ一つの「モチベーション」としているのと同時に、アニメや漫画を単に理解するだけではなく、JLPTに出題されるような「難しい文法」や「正しい文法」を勉強したい(学習者2)、JLPTのための学習を通して「実力を伸ばしたい」(学習者1)というように、JLPTのために日本語を

³ 株式会社ドワンゴが提供するライブストリーミングサービス。https://live.nicovideo.jp/

学ぶことでかれらの欲望充足や自己実現を満たそうとしていることが窺えた。

学 6: 自分で勉強するのはなんかやる気がないんです。だから、**JLPT**がないと全然勉強しないと思う。

筆者: 仕事でも日本語を使わないし、アニメや漫画ももう理解できるのに、どうして **JLPT** を受験するんですか。

学 2: 今は (アニメや漫画は) 理解はできるんですけどね、その **JLPT** はね、その、えー、なんか、そのもっと難しい文法とか、それを覚える、そのモチベーションですね。なんか、言葉だけ理解できると、アニメは大体理解できるんですけど、正しい文法を勉強したいと思いますから、**JLPT** を受けます。

筆者: どうして **JLPT** を受けるんですか。

学 1: 実力を伸ばしたいです。もし **JLPT** も大丈夫なら、日本に住むことも日本人としゃべることも大丈夫と思います。

3.1.3 クラスメートや先生との交流を楽しむ

しかし、**JLPT** のために勉強しているからといって、それだけが日本語を学び続ける「モチベーション」となっていたわけではない。例えば、学習者 1 は A 校で **JLPT** N1 取得を目指す上級レベルの授業まで受講し、N2 に合格していたものの、調査時には N1 取得を目指すレベルの授業を受講するのではなく、N3 レベルの授業を受講していた。彼女に N3 レベルでは簡単すぎるのではないかと尋ねたところ、一番上の N1 レベルの授業を履修し終え、ひらがなから学ぶ「一番最初 (のレベル) から」受講しなおしていると言った。

学 1: 今、(**JLPT** の) N2 を持ってる。

筆者: N2 を持っていて、(今受講している授業が) N3 (レベル) だと簡単じゃないですか。

学 1: まあ、(A 校で N1 レベルの授業まで) 全部勉強したことがあります。

筆者: えっ、そうなんですか。ええっ、じゃあ、この。えっと。

学 1: (A 校で全部の授業が) 終わった後で、誰とも日本語をしゃべらない。そして、日本語の言葉や使い方も全部頭に入りたいから、だからもう一度、最初 (のレベル) から【日本語の勉強を】始めて。

彼女が A 校で最初のレベルから学びなおした背景には、X 先生 (日本語非母語話者教師) の授業が気に入り、もっと X 先生の日本語の授業を受講したいと思ったからだった。

筆者: 他の学校で勉強するとか、チョイスがあったと思うんですが、どうしてそうしなかったんですか。

学 1: 先生の関係。

筆者: 先生の関係？

学1: 最初の先生【=もともと授業をとっていた先生】が出張があつて、1回だけX先生が担当になりました。そして、先生の気持ちは届きました。【中略】X先生はいいと思いますから、また最初からX先生について勉強して。

そして、学習者1は「クラスで誰かと日本語をしゃべるのが大好きです」と述べるように、X先生の下で他のクラスメートや先生との交流を楽しむことに意義を見出していた。

学1: 休憩のとき私達は日本語でしゃべる。「先週は何をしたか」とか全部日本語で話します。私は仕事で日本語全然使わないので、クラスで誰かと日本語をしゃべるのが大好きです。

筆者: クラスで結構日本語を使っているんですね。

学1: クラスメートはもし（日本語が）出てこないなら、広東語に変わります。でも、広東語をしゃべったら先生はわからない（ふりをする）。私達は日本語でしゃべることをする。

このようにクラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむ姿は、学習者5が「クラスメートと友達になっているところに行って【=一緒に行くようになって】」と言うように、他の調査協力者にもみられた。そして、学習者4が日本語学習をやめようと思ったことは「一度も」なかったのは、「日本語を使って他のクラスメートと先生と一緒におしゃべりするのは一番楽しく、そのことが「仕事のストレスの発散」につながっていたからだった。

筆者: あまりなんか（日本語学習を）やめようと思わない？

学4: 思わない、一度もないね。【中略】（日本語の勉強は）好きですから、授業のときはすごく楽しいです。

筆者: ああ、いいですね、いいですね、なるほど。

学4: 仕事のストレスの発散のために。

筆者: えっ、勉強するのって何かこう結構ストレスがあると思うんですけど、ストレスが発散できるんですか。

学4: 仕事のストレスの発散。

筆者: どうしてそのストレスが発散できるんですか。

学4: 日本語が好きですから、授業で日本語を使って他のクラスメートと先生と一緒におしゃべりするのは一番楽しいです。

A校の教師やスタッフ、学習者の心理的な距離は近く、学校には「暖かい」、「リラックス」した雰囲気があるという。そして、学習者はそれがA校の良さだと感じ、A校での学びを継続する一つの要因となっていた。

- 学 3: (この学校の) いいところ、うーん、友達ができて、先生は親切です、スタッフさんが親切です。
- 筆者: 【先生やスタッフが】親切?
- 学 3: はい、家の感じかな。学校というより、家、別の家の感じです。
- 筆者: それはいいですね。家の感じっていうのは、具体的にはどんな感じですか。
- 学 3: 暖かい。
- 学 6: なんか (B校は) 普通に学校っぽくないと思う。
- 筆者: なるほど。学校っぽいついていうのはどういうのが、学校っぽいですか。
- 学 6: なんか、香港でさ、なんか、塾とかいっぱいあるでしょ、なんかそんな感じの。でも、こっち【=A校】はなんか、そう、リラックスな感じ。

では、このように JLPT のための学習を重視し、クラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむ学習者に対して、学校や教師はどのように日本語教育を商品化しているのだろうか。

A校では、教師の自由度が高く、教材とスケジュールは決められていたものの、その教材をどのように教えるかは各教師の裁量に委ねられていた。教師は運営者から「模索しながら自分なりの教え方を見つけなさい」と言われており、自分自身の教育観に合った教え方をそれぞれが見つけようとしていた。

- 教 2: (運営者の) 先生から「自由に、模索しながら自分なりの教え方を見つけなさい」と言われていまして。
- 筆者: じゃ、(A校)は教師が(授業を)自由にできる職場なんですか。
- 教 2: カリキュラムがあつてそれに沿って教えるんですけど、自分達で考えて教えますね。

そして、学習者の「満足度」を高める方法も各教師に「任せ」られており、教師が自分達で学習者が授業に何を求めているのかを考え、実践していた。つまり、A校の教師は学習者の希望や要望に対して真摯に向き合い、学習者の満足度を最大限に高めようとしていたのである。次項では、運営者を含む個々の教師の考えや行動を探り、かれらがどのようにして学習者の満足度を高めることで、A校の日本語教育を商品として売り出そうとしていたのかを述べる。

3.2 JLPT のための学習を重視し、クラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむ学習者への商品化

3.2.1 学習者との「つながり」の商品化

3.1.3 節で述べたように、学習者はクラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむことに意義を見出していた。そこで、A校では、茶道や浴衣などの日本文化を体験するイベントや忘年会などの交流を目的としたイベントを行うことでクラスメートや教師との交

流をさらに活性化させようとしていた。そして、これらのイベントはA校の「いいところ」として学習者に受け入れられていた。

- 学4: (A校)のいいところ、イベントがいろいろありますね。浴衣を着る体験もできるし、あと茶道とか。【中略】忘年会もありました。学生が参加したいなら、費用はもちろんかかりますね。クラスメートと一緒に参加して、ラッキードローとか、カウントダウンをします。
- 筆者: 何人ぐらいその忘年会に来るんですか。
- 学4: 50、60人ぐらいだったかな。結構多いです。
- 筆者: 先生も来るんですか。
- 学4: 先生も来ます。本当、楽しいです。

また、教師と学習者の交流を促すことは、運営者の考えにも表れていた。運営者は「宣伝することよりも先生の質を高めること」が重要だと考えていた。そして、運営者が考える教師の「質」とは「学歴よりも先生自身の学生に対する【中略】親切さ」であり、学習者に「親切」に接することがA校の教師には求められていた。

- 運: うち【=A校】はあんまり広告は出さないんですけども。えっとやはり最も重要なのはですね、まあ、宣伝することよりも先生の質を高めることですね。
- 【中略】
- 筆者: その、先生の質として、どういうことを求めますか。
- 運: えっと、まあ学歴より、先生自身の学生に対する、例えば親切さとか。

そして、A校では学習者への「親切さ」を実現するために、教師は学習者に「指導のフォローアップ」をするなどして教室外で学習者と接することが推奨されていた。

- 筆者: 他の学校と比べて、ここだけがやっつてることとか、力を入れていることって、何かあったりしますか。
- 運: えっと、やっぱり学生への指導のフォローアップですよ。
- 筆者: というと、どういうことですか。
- 運: 学生からのわからないことについてですね、質問するときも、教室だけじゃなくて、授業が終わった後でも対応します。
- 筆者: あ、そうなんですね。
- 運: 例えば、メールで質問しても。
- 筆者: 学生が先生に直接メール。
- 運: そう、はい、はい。

教師達もこの方針を受け入れ、教室外で学習者と積極的に関わろうとしている。そして、学習者がA校は「家の感じ」だと述べていたのと同様に、教師も学習者を「自分の家族のよう」に感じていた。

- 筆者: (A校)では、教室の外でもメールとかで、結構学習者とやりとりするって話を聞いたんですけど。先生もそういうことをされてますか。
- 教2: そうですね、LINE⁴とかで連絡しておりますので。【中略】学生をただのお客さまだと思わないで、本当の自分の息子か、自分の娘のように感じていますね。【中略】自分の家族のようにしていますね。

A校の教師は学習者と一対一のつながりを生み出そうと努力しており、毎週のように日本語の曲の歌詞を学習者自身が翻訳したものを添削してほしいとお願いされることがあっても、「学習者のためになる」ならと受け入れる教師もいた。そして、A校の教師は個人的に学習者と食事をしたり、学習者とインスタントメッセージアプリを用いてやりとりをしたり、ソーシャルメディアのグループに入ったりするなどして、授業以外で学習者と交流しようとしていた。

- 教2: クラスでの集まりっていうのもあって、例えば明日家に集まって、パーティーをやることになっております。
- 教7: 結構（学習者と）ごはんに行くんですよ。パーティーとかも進んでいきます。
- 筆者: 学生さんも先生との交流が多いと話していたんですが、そういうところもやっぱりあるんですかね。
- 教7: そうですね。(学習者の)WhatsApp⁵やLINEグループにも入ってるし、なるべく日本語でLINEしたり。

また、教室外だけではなく教室内でも学習者とのつながりを生み出そうと努力する教師もいた。教師6は、自身がサービス業で働いた経験から、教師と学習者のやりとりを「一対多」とするのではなく、一対一にする必要があると考えていた。そして、学習者数が多いものでは1クラス30人の学習者がいる授業もあったが、できるだけ学習者に個別に対応するように心掛けていていた。

- 教6: クラスの授業っていうのは一対多じゃないですか。先生がみんなの前に立って一方的に話をして、それを聞いてみんなが書くみたいな。なんだけれども、これは自分がサービス業で培ってきたものなんですけど、たとえクラス授業であっても一対多ではなく一対一を心掛けるっていうことかなと思いますね。【中略】例えば、文法とか、説明する。そうするとそれがしっかり理解できたかどうか、まあ（学習者に）練習させますよね。練習問題をやらせる。で、そのときに、まあ10分ぐらいの時間、（私は教室を）歩いて周るんですね。で、理解していない人に対してはそのヒントを、どうやって見たらわかるのかっていうのを、「こうやって、こうでしょ、こうでしょ」っていうのを一人ずつ見ていく。で、あの、できる人に関しては「い

⁴ ソーシャル・ネットワーキング・サービス（SNS）のアプリ。

⁵ 短いメッセージのやりとりをするスマートフォン向けのアプリ。

いね」って言う。そうするとすごくうれしそうなんですよ、その生徒さんも。だから、その一對多じゃないんだよっていうのをやはり生徒に感じてもらうのを心掛けてはいます。

3.2.2 JLPT を意識した授業による商品化

3.1.2 節で見たように、A 校の学習者が日本語を学び続けるための一つの「モチベーション」に JLPT があった。そして、教師も学習者が日本語に関する「知識」を求め、文法を「きっちり」学ぶことが好きだと思っていたり（教師 5）、「テストに出そうなものをしっかり教えてくださいっていうのを表情から」感じとったり（教師 4）していた。そのため、「受験勉強」のように「コツを説明」したり（教師 5）、「教科書にあるけどほとんど使わない」、「これはよく使う」、「会話で使わないけど JLPT には毎年出ています」というように学習者に伝えたりする（教師 4）などして、教師も JLPT を意識した授業を行っていた。

教 5: 私は文法をきっちりするようにしているんですね。参考書【＝文法書】みたいな内容まで説明していて。で、そういう勉強が好きなのは、香港人って結構その、日本人と同じで、文法にのっとって、なんかコツを説明してあげると、食いついてくるじゃないですか。あの、いわゆる、受験勉強の仕方。なので、耳から覚えて、さあみんなで発話して、一緒に読んでくださいねよりも、どこにポイントをおいて、どこを見たらどうわかるみたいなのを言ってあげるほうが、なんか満足度があるみたいで。

教 4: なんていうかテストに出そうなものをしっかり教えてくださいっていうのを表情からは感じますね。【中略】その習ったもののなかでどれが日本人がよく使うものなのか、日本に行ったときに使えるような文型なのかとか、これは教科書にあるけどほとんど使わない、私も使ったことがないっていうのとか、これはよく使うとか、これはあまり会話で使わないけど JLPT には毎年出ていますとか、そういうのを伝えると、やっぱり（学習者は）なるほどっていう（納得するような）感じになりますよね。

だが、文法知識を求め、JLPT のために勉強する学習者は「時間をかけなくても、すぐに身につく」ことを求めていたり（教師 2）、「プロセスをあまり重視」せずに、「答えがこれだとわかればいい」と考えたり（教師 4）していることから、違和感を抱く教師もいた。

筆者: 学生はどういうことを求めていると思いますか。

教 2: 私が見てるところでは、かれら【＝A 校の学習者】が求めているのは時間をかけなくても、すぐに身につくっていうのを求めているんですね。でも、（それは）ほぼ不可能じゃないですか。

筆者: 学習者がどういうことを求めているかっていう風に思いますか。
教 4: 私はやっぱりプロセスが大事だと思うんですが、(A校の学習者は) プロセスはどうでもいいって感じがするんですね。結果さえ手に入れば (いいと考えている)。だから、NIに合格できればいいとか、(日本語が) 話せるようになればいいとか、そこではプロセスをあまり重視しないなっていうのは感じますね。【中略】(だから) 私がいろいろと説明しようとしても「その説明はいい。答えだけくれ」みたいな感じを感じますね。だから、いろいろ説明するよりもとりあえず答えがこれだとわかればいいっていう人が多いかなと。

また、教師 1 は日本語に関する「知識」を求めている学習者が A 校には多いのではないかと感じ、文法知識を「詰め込」んで教えていたが、そういった授業についていけない学習者も教室にいることを感じており、悩んでいた。

教 1: 私の授業は、学生に「内容が半端ない、いっぱい詰まってる」と言われるんですね。で、いろんなことを勉強したい人には向いていると思いますけど、のんびりしたい人にとっては大変だと思うんですね。【中略】このバランスがすごい難しいですよ。すごい勉強したい人はたくさん勉強したいけど、ゆっくりしたい人もいますから。【中略】同じクラスにいるとやっぱり難しいですね。それがこの学校の一つの問題ですよ。学校の試験はとにかくすごいやさしい【=簡単だ】から (進級テストの結果) 同じクラスにあがれちゃうんですよ。

A 校は香港での日本語教育の普及のために多くの人々に日本語を学んでほしいと考え、授業料を安くしている。そのため、利益を生み出し学校を運営していくためには一クラスの学習者数が多くなってしまふ。また、学校を運営していくためには、学習者に日本語を学び続けてもらわなければならないが、教師 1 が「学校の試験はとにかくすごいやさしい【=簡単だ】」と述べるように進級テストも簡単になってしまうこともあるようだった。それゆえ、教室にはレベル差のある学習者が混在することになり、教師を悩ませていた。

4. 考察

本調査では、香港の民間日本語学校 A 校の学習者、教師、学校運営者へのインタビュー調査から、学習者が日本語学習に対してどのような魅力を感じ、教師や学校運営者はそれに対してどのように日本語教育の商品化を試みているのかを探った。その結果、A 校の学習者は JLPT のために日本語を学ぶことで欲望充足や自己実現を満ち、クラスメートや教師との交流を楽しむことに A 校で日本語を学ぶことの意義を見出していた。そして、A 校の教師と学校運営者も学習者とのつながりを作り出そうと努力し、JLPT を意識した授業を展開することで学習者の満足度を高めようとしていた。

余暇活動として言語を学ぶ学習者への英語教育の商品化の議論では、白人や英語母語話者が商品として売り出されてしまうことの問題が指摘されてきた (Bailey, 2006; Kubota, 2011b; Appleby, 2013)。だが、本調査の学習者は、日本語非母語話者教師や

日本語非母語話者のクラスメートとの交流にも意義を見出しており、日本語母語話者教師のみが消費の対象となつてはいるわけではなかった。そして、学校運営者と教師も日本語母語話者に価値を見出し、それを商品として売り出そうとはしていなかった。それよりもむしろ、教師はソーシャルメディアを介して学習者と教室外で交流したり、実際に一緒に食事に行ったり、教室内でもできるだけ教師と学習者が一対一の交流ができるようにするなどして教師とのつながりそのものを商品として売り出そうとしていたのである。

この点をマーケティング分野における消費の観点から考えてみたい。日本における消費文化の歴史をまとめた三浦（2012）は、高度経済成長による発展を遂げた日本では家電製品や自動車などの大量生産品を家族で消費する画一的な消費から、自分らしさを追求するための個人志向の消費が強まったという。そして、個人化が進んだ社会では、個人間のつながりを目指す方向へと進む傾向があり、現代の日本はつながりを生み出すことを目指す新たな消費に移行しつつあるという。従来の消費では物を消費することが重視されていたが、新たな消費では、人々は人間的なサービスを消費している。ここでいうサービスの消費とは、単にお金を支払いそれに見合ったサービスを受け取るというのではなく、「誰からそのサービスを受けるか、その人とのように人間的に付き合い続けられるかが重要な意味を持つようになる」（三浦, 2012, p. 205）という。

三浦（2012）が指摘するような新たな消費への移行が、香港のA校の日本語教育の現場でも起こっていたのではないだろうか。学習者が就職や昇給のために日本語を学んでいた1980年代は、日本語を学ぶことで個人的な経済的利益が生み出すと考える画一的な日本語教育の消費が行われていた。だが、その後、日本のポップカルチャーや日本製品・商品、食べ物が香港で普及し、日本への旅行が一般化すると、学習者は自身の興味のあることを消費するために日本語を学び、自分らしさを追求するための個人志向の消費が高まった。そして、日本語を学び続けていくことで、クラスメートや教師と交流することに楽しみを見出し、誰から日本語を学び、誰と一緒に日本語を使い、そして、教師や他の学習者とのように人間的に付き合い続けるかが重要な意味を持つようになっていたのである。

しかしながら、学習者が教師やクラスメートといった他者とのつながりに意義を見出し、教師達が教室内外でのつながりを商品化していく一方で、1980年代の学習者が文化資本の獲得蓄積を目指す際に重視していたJLPTが本調査を行った2010年代後半の学習者にとっても日本語を学び続けるうえで重要な役割を担っていることが窺えた。そして、JLPTを意識した授業が2017年の調査時にも行われていた。つまり、つながりを消費する学習者が多いA校の日本語教育の現場でも、人的資本を増大させるスキルを身につけるために行われる言語教育同様（McNamara, 2011）、テストによって客観的に想定できる言語形式の習得に焦点が当てられ、テストの点数向上のためのテクニックの教授を一義的な目的とした教育実践が行われていたのである。

本調査の教師達が述べるように、学習者が「プロセスをあまり重視」せずに、「すぐ身につく」ような授業を求めている姿勢、授業についていけない学習者が教室に混在してしまっていたことは確かに問題があるように感じられる。だが、だからと言って、JLPTを重視して日本語を指導することはよくないと言い切ることは果たしてできるのだろうか。本調査の学習者はJLPTに出題されるような「難しい文法」や「正

しい文法」を学習することで欲望を充足させたり、JLPTのための学習を通して「実力を伸ばしたい」と語るように自己実現を満たそうとしていた。このような学習者の学びやかれらに合わせてJLPTを意識した授業を行う教師をコミュニケーション能力の育成や言語習得という名のもとに否定してしまうことはできないだろう。本研究の対象とした海外の日本語学校のようなところで余暇活動として日本語を学び、学ぶ場や時間そのものの消費を楽しむ学習者がいることはこれまでの研究からも明らかになっている（佐久間, 2006; 久保田他, 2014）。だが、そのような学習者に対する日本語教育のあり方はこれまで十分に議論されているとは言い難く、コミュニケーション能力の育成や言語の習得を重視する日本語教育の研究者は目を向けることもなかったのではないだろうか。今後は、このようなコミュニケーション能力の育成や言語の習得以外にも意義を見出す余暇活動として日本語を学ぶ学習者の存在も日本語教育学の新たな輪郭に含み、さらに議論を深めていく必要があるのではないだろうか。

5. 今後の課題

本研究で言語教育の商品化の観点から香港の民間日本語学校 A 校を考察することで、つながりという言語教育以外の要素が商品化されていること、そしてつながりを消費する学習者に対しても JLPT に特化した授業が展開されていることを明らかにした。だが、本調査では A 校のみを分析の対象としており、香港の余暇活動として日本語を学ぶ学習者に対する商品化を十分に考察できていないとは言い難い。A 校では中級・上級の学習者、そして比較的年齢層の高い学習者を対象に調査を行った。初級の学習者の中には明確な目標を持つ者もいるかもしれないし、若年層の学習者には就職や転職など文化資本を獲得蓄積するために学んでいる者もいるかもしれない。また、そういった学習者が多くいる学校では、また別の日本語教育の商品化が行われている可能性もある。今後は、他の教育機関での調査を進めて行くことで、香港における日本語教育の商品化をさらに明らかにしていきたい。そして、他地域で日本語教育がどのように商品化されているのかを考察することで、言語教育とグローバル経済の関係性を明らかにしていきたい。

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資料 A

言語学習の「商品化」と「消費」の包括歴な理解をめざした調査研究

調査協力承諾書

調査の概要：

近年、日本語学習目的の多様性に目が向けられ、日本への就職や進学、定住をめざした投資（Norton Peirce, 1995）としての学習だけでなく、喜びや楽しみのための余暇活動としての日本語学習や、アイデンティティ・自己表現と深く結びついた日本語学習の形が指摘されています（Kubota, 2011）。これらの日本語学習目的に応えるために、各日本語教育機関では学習者の多様な興味や関心に応じて日本語学習の魅力を高めることで日本語学習の「商品化」に務め、学習者の獲得を試みています。そして、学習者はそのようにして提供される日本語学習を商品として「消費」しています（久保田他, 2014; 瀬尾他, 2015）。

この研究では、学習者、常勤・非常勤教師、母語話者・非母語話者教師、コースディレクター、学校経営者等様々な立場の方々への調査を進め、それぞれの立場からの商品化と消費に関する経験や考えを探ることを目的にしています。そして、多様な視点から建設的な議論を試み、日本語教育に関わる者すべてに利益がもたらされる言語学習の商品化と消費のあり方および指針を明らかにします。

調査は、香港とベトナムの社会人教育機関で調査を行います。研究では調査協力校の広告・カリキュラム・教材などの資料収集、調査協力校の学校経営者・教師・学習者へのインタビュー調査及びアンケート調査から、以下の点を明らかにすることを試みます。

1. 言語教育を提供する学校経営者と教師が、学校の広告・カリキュラム・教材・授業・授業外の活動等を通して、どのように言語教育の商品化を試みているのか（資料分析と経営者・教師へのインタビュー調査およびアンケート調査から）
2. 消費者である学習者がこれら商品化されたコンテンツやサービスにどのような魅力を感じ、消費しているのか（学習者へのインタビューおよびアンケート調査から）
3. サービス提供者である学校経営者と教師がこれらの商品化と消費についてどのように考えているのか（経営者・教師へのインタビューおよびアンケート調査から）

以下の点を了解した上で、調査に協力いたします。

1. 発表・報告書・論文等では実名などを使用せず、研究者はプライバシーの保護に最大限努める。
2. 研究者は調査協力者の同意なしに情報を他者に開示しない。
3. 調査協力者はいつでも調査を辞退することができる。

記入日：2017年 月 日

名前：_____

連絡先： E-mail _____

執筆者

茨城大学全学教育機構国際教育部門准教授。ハワイパシフィック大学非常勤講師、香港大学專業進修学院助理講師、香港理工大学専任講師を経て、現職。上智大学にて博士号を取得。

Difficulties of Teacher Collaborations at Community-based Japanese Heritage Language Schools: Teachers' Perspectives

継承日本語学校における教師間協働の難しさはどこにあるか：
教師の視点を通して

Yukiko Seo
The University of Tokyo
瀬尾悠希子
東京大学

Abstract

Community-based heritage language schools have played a vital role in heritage language education. However, these schools have faced numerous challenges such as insufficient teaching resources, few opportunities for professional development, staff shortages, and a lack of funding. To overcome these challenges, strong collegial collaboration must be established, as it promotes professional development, creates a learning community in schools, and ultimately positively impacts students' learning. However, previous research suggests that teachers of community-based heritage language schools lack close collaboration with each other.

This study identified the difficulties faced by teachers of community-based heritage language schools in collaborating with each other based on data obtained from semi-structured interviews with 12 teachers of community-based Japanese heritage language schools across the world. The results showed that the teachers perceived difficulties because of (a) limited time, (b) limited common or safe space, (c) lack of funding, and (d) parents serving as teachers. The difficulties experienced by the teachers while collaborating with each other emerge from the existing challenges associated with school operations and complex micropolitics involving parents. Thus, active support for community-based heritage language schools to secure the required financial, physical, and human resources as well as efforts to convert the tensions within schools to constructive relationships is vital.

要旨

親や教師が運営する継承語学校は継承語教育において主要な役割を果たしているが、教育資源、研修機会、運営スタッフや教員、資金の不足など多くの困難を抱えている。教師の協働は職業的成長や校内の学習共同体の発達、ひいては学習者の学びに好影響をもたらすと考えられており、継承語学校が抱える困難を乗り越えるために有用であると思われる。だが、先行研究では継承語学校において教師間の協働が十分に行われているとは言い難い現状が示されている。

本研究は、協働するうえで教師が感じている難しさを、12名の世界各地の継承日本語学校の教師達への半構造インタビューによって探った。その結果、教師達は(a)時間不足、(b)共同の安心できる空間の不足、(c)資金不足、(d)教師を務める保護者に難しさを感じていた。つまり、継承語学校における教師間協働の難しさは、継承語学校がかねてより直面してきた運営上の課題、および保護者を含む継承語学校特有のミクロ・ポリティクスに起因している。

Introduction

Heritage language (HL) schools, also known as community language schools, ethnic schools, complementary schools, or supplementary schools, have been playing a central role in HL education. These schools are usually established and operated by people in ethnic communities who want their children to inherit their ethnic language and culture. Classes are generally held after mainstream school hours or on weekends on a part-time basis. Although these schools play a vital role in HL education, they are often ignored and offered little to no support by the state and local governments as well as the local communities (Aravossitas, 2014; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Liu et al., 2011). These schools make the “strongest efforts for the teaching of heritage languages” (Kelleher, 2010, p.1), and they are particularly “vulnerable and fragile organisations” (Thorpe et al., 2018, p.62) that have been facing overwhelming challenges.

To overcome the challenges, strong collegial collaboration has to be established in these schools. Collaboration among members is crucial to promote HL schools and to implement innovations successfully and also to ensure that they are sustainable (Souza & Gomes, 2017). In addition, collaboration ensures that teachers have moral support, and it increases their professional confidence, capacity for reflection, and provides opportunities for them to learn (Hargreaves, 1994). At the same time, research indicates that teachers at HL schools rarely collaborate with each other (Ludanyi et al., 2017; Wu et al., 2011). The question is, why do teachers at community-based HL schools collaborate so little? What prevents them from building collaborative relationships? This study aims to identify the difficulties experienced by teachers of community-based Japanese HL schools when building cooperative relationships with each other.

Literature Review

Challenges faced by community-based HL schools

Community-based HL schools do not fall within the purview of the mainstream education system, and therefore they cannot rely on government funding (Moore, 2014). In most cases they depend on the tuition charged and do not have enough funding (Moore & Ingersoll, 2011; Liu et al., 2011). Hence, these schools have trouble in purchasing educational resources, securing permanent spaces for classes, paying salaries of the teachers and staff, and so on (Liu et al., 2011).

Researchers have also identified several pedagogical issues faced by community-based HL schools. First, the teaching approach of HL teachers is not always suitable for the learning style of their students (Curdt-Christiansen, 2006; Li, 2005; Walters, 2011). For example, Curdt-Christiansen (2006) found that the discrepancy between teacher-controlled and recitation-oriented approach employed by Chinese HL teachers and the teaching approach in Canadian local schools acted as a hindrance for students to learn the language. Second, considering the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of HL learners, the available teaching resources are insufficient and the curriculum is not necessarily well established (Lee & Bang, 2011; Li, 2005; Liu, 2006; Wu et al., 2011). Korean teachers who participated in a qualitative study by Lee and Bang (2011) indicated that they found it difficult to conduct classroom sessions that met the needs of the students because appropriate teaching resources specific to HL learners were not available. Teachers usually have to collect material and convert it into teaching resources on their own. Third, often teachers do not have the requisite qualifications. Teachers at community-based HL schools are often parents or international students who are attending local universities. Most of them

have little or no training for teaching and do not have prior teaching experience (Aravossitas, 2014; Li, 2005; Li & Wen, 2015). Also, they do not have a lot of opportunities for professional development (Anderson 2008; Compton, 2001; Wu et al., 2011). Wu et al. (2011) stated that Chinese HL teachers were uncertain about their professionalism as they had not received enough professional training. The teachers wished to participate in further professional training sessions, but such trainings were rarely offered locally, and the teachers were reluctant to spend extra time and money to travel for trainings that were held far off. Scholars have emphasized that more professional development opportunities for HL teachers are needed. Another common issue is that most teachers cannot teach all that is necessary because instructional hours are limited. They tend to burden their students with a lot of homework to make up for this (Aravossitas, 2014). Considering these circumstances, researchers indicate that attending HL schools does not always lead to high proficiency in HL nor a positive attitude toward HL learning (Kondo-Brown, 2004; Lee, 2002). Also, teaching approaches that are not relevant to the learning styles of HL students and the lack of professional development of teachers contribute to the low success rate of students (Lee & Shin, 2008).

Hiring staff is another challenge for community-based HL schools (Ludanyi et al., 2017; Thorpe et al., 2018; Walters, 2011). Ludanyi et al. (2011) pointed out that HL schools were always looking for teachers as the teachers would leave the job for several reasons such as going back to their home country, graduation of their children from HL schools, and not wanting to work on weekends. As a result, they had to rely on parents or members of the ethnic community to function as teachers. Finding good leaders is also a difficult task. Thorpe et al. (2018) examined the leadership succession at community-based HL schools and found that head teachers tried to plan out the succession of leadership as they were concerned about the longevity of the schools. In other words, if they failed to find their successors, the school would have to be closed.

Teacher Collaboration

Researchers have been interested in teacher collaboration ever since Lortie (1975) revealed that teachers are often isolated from each other and that they rarely share resources or exchange ideas about their teaching practices. Professional isolation has been shown to cause burnout and create a sense of loneliness, which negatively impact student learning, ultimately leading to teachers resigning from their positions (Ostovar-Nameghi & Sheikahmadi, 2016). Teacher collaboration has been identified as a possible solution to professional isolation (Kelchtermans, 2006).

Benefits and drawbacks of teacher collaboration

Collaboration is extremely beneficial for teachers as it promotes professional development. Johnson (2003) found that teachers who worked collaboratively believed that they learnt instructional skills from each other. They also felt that their ability to reflect on teaching practices increased and they could position their practice within a coherent philosophy. Vangrieken et al. (2015) reviewed 82 studies that were published from 2001 to 2012 and reported that collaboration encourages teachers “to be more motivated, to experience decreased workload, a positive impact on teacher morale, greater efficiency, increased communication, improved technological skills, reduced personal isolation; next to advantages such as the conclusion that instruction strategies became more student-centered and alignment between the real and hidden curriculum increased (p.27).”

In addition, research indicates that teacher collaboration also has a positive

impact at the organizational level. Slavit et al. (2011) found that this led to the development of school-wide attention to the needs of the learners and led to a cultural shift toward equity principles. According to a study by Jao and McDougall (2017), teachers formed learning communities through active collaboration. The active collaboration had positive impacts at the level of the teachers and organization, which ultimately contributed to students' learning. Several studies indicate that students in schools where there is extensive teacher collaboration tend to display higher academic achievements (Egodawatte, et al., 2011; Goddard et al., 2007; Leana & Pil, 2007).

Although teacher collaboration is beneficial for teachers, organizations, and students, it should also be noted that this has some disadvantages. Hargreaves (1994) warns, "collaboration carries with it great dangers also, in ways that can be wasteful, harmful, and unproductive for teachers and their students (p. 247)." According to him, because of the collaboration, teachers may become comfortable and complacent within the existing practice, they may begin to suppress autonomy, and collaboration may be contrived and co-optative. It is important to note that teacher cooperation is not a cure-all, and in certain instances it can also have an adverse impact.

Nevertheless, the benefits that teacher collaboration can offer must not be overlooked. As has been indicated through previous literature, it is a crucial element of professional development and can be a tool to provide emotional support for teachers. Also, it helps to create a learning community within the organization where careful attention is paid to the needs and equity of the students. This environment ultimately has a positive impact on the students learning. Teacher collaboration can be helpful, if not a panacea, for community-based HL schools that face various challenges.

Teacher collaboration at community-based HL schools

Research on teacher collaboration at community-based HL schools is extremely scarce. Souza and Gomes (2017) investigated the institutionalization processes of two Brazilian community-based HL schools in London and Barcelona and found that the schools succeeded in institutionalizing their innovations despite limited resources and finances. They state that an ethos of collaboration among teachers and the executive committee members was crucial for this successful implementation.

A qualitative study by Wu et al. (2011) explored the professional identity of HL teachers. They found that one of the causes of weak professional identity of the participants was the lack of collegial collaboration. Researchers claim that it is necessary for HL teachers to communicate and collaborate with each other. Similarly, Ludanyi et al. (2017) point out the weak collegiality at HL schools. They emphasize that one of the reasons that HL teachers leave schools is because of the lack of collegial support. They suggest that close collegiality is required to ensure that teachers continue working in these schools and are able to teach successfully.

These studies indicate that while teacher collaboration can be beneficial at community-based HL schools, teachers collaborate little with each other.

Factors restricting teacher collaboration

Teacher collaboration is not easily accomplished. Previous studies have identified the factors that impede teachers from collaborating with one another to be in three interrelated areas, namely time, school culture, and micropolitics.

Lack of time to work with colleagues outside of the classroom has been regarded as a significant barrier to teacher collaboration. Literature reports that the shortage of time not only hinders teachers' participation in collaborative work, but

also demotivates them from working together (Cameron, 2005; Cook & Collinson, 2013; Pharo et al., 2012). Teachers suffer from time pressure because of their heavy workload. A study of public school teachers' professional collaboration in North Louisiana found that participant teachers were busy with other duties, such as lesson planning, increased paperwork, and school committee work, as well as responsibilities at home and other employment (Leonard & Leonard, 2003).

School culture is another factor that impacts teacher collaboration. Kelchtermans (2006) referred to the four forms of school culture identified by Hargreaves (1994) and stated that the cultures of *contrived collegiality*, *balkanization*, and *individualism* differ from a *collaborative culture*. In a collaborative culture, teachers' collaborative working relationships are spontaneous and voluntary, and are built around the teachers' own interests. They are also development-oriented, pervasive across time and space, and unpredictable. In contrast, contrived collegiality is implementation-oriented, imposed by administrative power, and compulsory, whether directly or indirectly. Therefore, it is predictable and fixed in time and space. Next, in a culture of balkanization, teachers work in smaller sub-groups within the school, which are isolated from each other. The sub-groups have high permanence and function as sources of identity and meaning for their members. They compete for status and resources, and collaboration occurs only for their own interests. Lastly, the fourth form of school culture, individualism occurs because of administrative, architectural, or other situational conditions, in response to the daily contingencies of the teachers' work environment, and as a preferred way of working all or some of the time. While individualism is not necessarily considered negative, Westheimer (2008) states that "teachers cannot learn from each other when they rarely see or talk to one another" (p. 769).

Micropolitics within the school form another important factor hampering teacher collaboration. This highlights individual differences, goal diversity, conflict, uses of informal power, and negotiated and interpretive nature of organizations (Achinstein, 2002; Blase, 1991; Kelchtermans, 2006). Collaboration emerges only to the extent that it does not imperil the relationships of the community members and cultural norms (Kelchtermans, 2006). The positional power of administrators, such as the school principal, may also discourage teachers from collaborative work (Cameron, 2005). Conflicts often arise when collaboration is encouraged. Achinstein (2002) claims that it is important to balance the bonds and connections in a learning community while sustaining constructive controversy, which is an "open dialogue of opposing views that makes cooperative settings productive" (p.448).

These studies may be helpful to understand what makes teachers collaborate only to a small extent with one another. However, these studies were conducted at institutions within the mainstream educational system and excluded community-based HL schools. The school system and social context of community-based HL schools differ greatly from those of mainstream schools; additionally, they have been facing unique challenges as described in earlier sections. Accordingly, the difficulties experienced by teachers of community-based HL schools may differ from those of mainstream schools. Despite these differences, teacher collaboration at community-based HL schools has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

The Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the difficulties teachers of community-based HL schools experience when collaborating with one another. Teacher collaboration may be an effective solution for community-based HL schools

that encounter various challenges. However, previous literature has revealed a paucity of teacher collaboration at these schools. Furthermore, the reasons thereof have not been examined fully. Accordingly, the purpose of this study was to explore the following research questions:

- What challenges do teachers of community-based HL schools experience when collaborating with their colleagues?
- What characteristics of community-based HL schools lead to these challenges?

The Context of Community-based Japanese HL Schools

In this study, the focus was on teachers of Japanese as a HL. Calder (2019) noted that there are three types of institutions that offer Japanese as a HL: institutions established by governments of host countries/cities, Japanese supplementary schools (*hoshuuko*) that are supported by the Japanese government, and small- to medium-sized schools that are established and run by parents and/or teachers. The last one type of schools were regarded as community-based Japanese HL schools in this study because they have a great deal in common with community-based HL schools of other languages in relation to their operational structures and the challenges they experience. They tend to be underfunded (Calder, 2019), have difficulty securing spaces in which to run the schools (Mochizuki, Akashi, & Kon, 2020; Calder, 2019; Sakurai & Kawaguchi, 2020), the teaching materials and curriculum are often underdeveloped (Nakajima, 2003), and they tend to have difficulty finding qualified teachers and administrative staff (Calder, 2019; Nakajima 2003).

Community-based Japanese HL schools have been newly established throughout the world, especially in the last two decades. Many of them were established in the early 2000s in North America and Australia (Calder, 2019). Also in the early 2000s, an increasing number of such schools have been established in Western Europe. For example, Fuchs-Shimizu (2020) noted that four schools were developed by the early 2000s in Switzerland and the country currently has eight such schools. In Asian countries such as South Korea, China, and Taiwan, many community-based Japanese HL schools were first established in approximately 2010 (e.g., Sakurai & Kawaguchi, 2020). These newly established community-based Japanese HL schools teach Japanese children growing up outside of Japan. They tend to reside there for a long time or permanently without having clear plan to go back to Japan. Whereas Japanese supplementary schools (*hoshuuko*) aim to provide education with a curriculum equivalent to that of Japan to short-stay children who will be returning to Japan within a few years, the purpose of community-based Japanese HL schools is to teach Japanese language and culture under their own curriculum while taking consideration the language skills and identities of children growing up in a multilingual and multicultural environment.

Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 teachers involved in community-based Japanese HL schools who perceived various challenges in collaborating with their colleagues. They were either acquaintances of mine or had been introduced to me by acquaintances. The participants lived in four different countries in Western Europe, North America, and Oceania. As noted previously, many community-based HL schools were established in the early 2000s in these areas. All the participants worked at different schools. They were all female. This was because only a few men are working as HL teachers at these schools. Their teaching experience of Japanese as an HL ranged from three to twenty years.

The participants' information is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Summary of participants

Pseudonym	Region of residence	Years at same school	Number of teachers at school
Takako	Oceania	10	15
Noriyo	Oceania	6.5	15
Otoha	Western Europe	8	6
Izumi	Western Europe	4	7
Chie	Western Europe	2	9
Reiko	Western Europe	27	3
Akane	Western Europe	5	2
Momoyo	Western Europe	6	5
Suzu	North America	12	16
Yurika	North America	2	21
Kumi	North America	9	4
Emiko	North America	5	7

The semi-structured interviews were conducted from October 2018 to January 2019 through Zoom, an online conference software. Compared to structured interviews or questionnaires, semi-structured interviews allow for more open-ended responses, and thus provide a clearer picture of the interviewees' perspectives (Flick, 2007). Each interview, which was audio-recorded with the permission of the participants, lasted for approximately 60–90 minutes. Nine of the participants were interviewed once and three, who had participated in the pilot study, were interviewed twice. All interviews were conducted in Japanese, the participants' and researcher's native language. The interviews were part of a larger study, which investigated community-based Japanese HL teachers' networks. The data for the current study were extracted from the interviews in which the participants were asked about their relationship with their colleagues as well as their experience of working in collaboration with other teachers at school. Some follow-up questions to clarify unclear points were asked and answered via email.

Data Analysis

As noted in the literature review, only a paucity of research has been conducted on teacher collaboration at community-based HL schools and HL teachers' views are not known well. Therefore, thematic analysis, which is beneficial to identify and describe recurring patterns across data without assuming pre-existing theoretical frameworks, was conducted on the basis of the guidelines provided by Braun and Clarke (2006). This method allows to perform a more data-driven rather than theory-driven analysis.

All the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Subsequently, I read the data thoroughly a few times to familiarize myself with the data while noting down initial ideas and impressions. Thereafter, data that were pertinent to difficulties in collaborating with peer teachers were extracted from the entire data corpus. In the second phase, initial codes that identified the features of individual data extracts were produced. In the third phase, similar codes were gathered, and themes were developed from the common semantic content. Sub-themes were also generated during this

phase. In the fourth phase, the validity of the themes and sub-themes were checked by confirming that all data set within each main and sub-theme contained common semantic contents. In the fifth phase, each main and sub-theme was given a name, which described the essence thereof.

Results

Four main themes were identified from the analysis: (a) limited time, (b) limited common or safe space, (c) lack of funding, and (d) parents serving as teachers. Two sub-themes were identified in the main theme (a) and (c) respectively. The interview data cited here were translated into English by the researcher.

Limited Time

The teachers reported that they only spoke with each other when they happened to see each other before or after class. Noriyo said, “We hardly have a chance to talk to each other. The only opportunity that we have is when we are making copies before class in the copying room.” Takako reported, “We talk to each other in the corridor if we are going in the same direction.” Other teachers shared that the chance that they had to communicate face-to-face with each other was while commuting on the train. Reiko said, “We hardly have time to talk unless we take the same train on the way home.” Interview data indicates that close communication among teachers is hindered by the overlapping teaching schedule, limited common or safe space, and other commitments.

Overlapping teaching schedule

Community-based Japanese HL schools that the participants are working for are open only for half to one day in a week and teachers conduct classes concurrently with no non-instructional time. As a result, they do not have any free time while they are in school and hardly get to see each other. Takako explained, “We have classes only once a week and the classes run at the same time in separate classrooms. We feel like, ‘Oh, we have not talked for ages. It has been a month since we said, good morning’.” Otoha stated that the lack of proper communication with her colleagues makes it difficult to develop a collaborative relationship. She said, “We are usually teaching at the same time and rarely see each other in school. As a result, it is difficult for us to work collaboratively.”

Other commitments

Most teachers in this study also had other jobs during the weekdays, which has been observed in previous literature on HL schools (Rech, 2014; Walters, 2011). Therefore, they feel that they do not have enough time to do anything with their colleagues after the classes.

Not only me but also other teachers work at other schools during the week, so we are all busy. It is extremely difficult to find time that is convenient for all of us. As we have limited time on weekends, we would have to give up on our time with the family to meet each other. (Reiko)

My colleagues and I teach Japanese at several schools. Our schedules are always full, and we really do not have time to work together even if we have a lot of ideas that we want to share with each other. (Akane)

Even if the teachers do not work at any place other than the HL school, they hesitated to invite other teachers, who have other jobs, to work with them. Yurika explained, “I feel guilty in asking them to spend extra time to work with me when they are busy with their other jobs.”

Also, it is common for parents to work as teachers in community-based Japanese HL schools. These parents need to take care of their children after class and have little time to work with their colleagues in school. For example, Suzu mentioned that her role as a mother restricted her from working with other teachers:

I have small kids. My kids yell “Mama, let’s go home! Hurry up!” This disturbs us when we are talking about the classes. As a result, I have to end the discussion with my colleagues and leave for home.

These statements clearly indicate that teachers are not necessarily unwilling to work collaboratively. However, they perceive that it would be difficult to collaborate with colleagues as they are busy with other commitments such as jobs during the week and childcare.

Limited common or safe space

As most community-based HL schools do not have their own facility nor enough finance to secure ample meeting space (Aravossitas, 2014; Liu et al. 2011), it is not unusual that they do not have an area where teachers can sit and work together. The schools that the participants interviewed in this study work for, are no exceptions. Reiko stated, “We have no staff room either, so the only chance that we have to talk face-to-face is in the train while commuting.” Izumi said, “We do not have a staff room. If I need to talk to a teacher, I have to go to the classroom that she teaches in. Also, if we need to work together, we have to find a place outside the school.”

In some cases, even if there is a common room that teachers can use, it is not necessarily a safe place for them to talk about the classes.

We have a room where teachers hold a morning meeting before class, but there are some parents around who serve as administrators or volunteers. We avoid talking about our classes or students in that room. We can talk only in places where there are no parents around and it is safe to have a conversation. (Takako)

Lack of Funding

Insufficient program funding has always been a challenge for community-based Japanese HL schools. Data indicates that the lack of funding has an impact on teacher collaboration as the administrative staff is concerned about paying for the meetings. Also, the teachers tend to be reluctant to put in the extra effort that is needed to collaborate.

Prohibited teacher meetings

Some teachers who tried to collaborate and work with their colleagues claimed that the attempts were discouraged by the administrative staff. The teachers reported that they had to get permission from the administrative staff before conducting meetings as their school does not have abundant funds, and the staff is concerned about paying extra fees to the teachers who are usually paid on an hourly basis.

We have to ask for permission even if it is a 30 minutes meeting after class. We cannot hold any meetings without getting permission from the administrative staff. The fee to be paid for the meetings is quite small, but the staff believes, 'Many a little makes a mickle.' (Suzu)

Izumi and her colleagues were reprimanded by the administrative staff when they held a meeting over lunch without permission.

We are not allowed to hold any meetings because the administrative staff does not want to pay for the meeting. We decided to go for lunch and talk about our classes. We thought that this would be alright as it was just a lunch and not a "meeting." However, when they found out that we discussed our classes over lunch, they were very angry and told us that they had not given permission to conduct a meeting. (Izumi)

Prohibiting teachers to freely hold meetings prevents them from working collaboratively, even if they are willing to do so. Some teachers feel that the administrative staff, who are usually parents, look at things only from the perspective of a business.

As teachers we make suggestions based on our knowledge regarding education, however these are often ignored as the administrative staff looks at things based on corporate logic. Most of the parents who serve as the administrative staff have never worked at a school and most of them work in companies. Their top-priority is profitability, and the quality of the class and education are not taken into consideration by them. (Izumi)

Participants spoke about conflicts with administrative staff who worked at schools where teachers and administrative staff are not the same; while no such narrative was mentioned by the participants of small schools where teachers also served as administrative staff.

Low salaries

Schools with insufficient funding cannot pay the teachers well. The teachers in this study pointed out that their salary is very low. Chie stated, "It is fun to teach, but the money we make here is very little. It is more like a voluntary position. You cannot work at HL schools if you look at it as a job." Otoha also commented, "We often discuss that you cannot teach here without having the spirit of a volunteer." The low salaries seem to demotivate some teachers from engaging in collaborative work. Noriyo said, "We do not have any energy left to do anything extra with our colleagues. We are not paid enough for that." She continues,

This is similar to working as a volunteer. The salary is very low and hence, it is not easy to ask other teachers to take out time to collaborate. Collaboration requires a lot of discussion. It needs time and energy, but we do not get any financial benefit from doing so.

It seems that expecting the teachers to dedicate their time and effort for collaborative work based on their "voluntary spirit" is not feasible.

Parents Serving as Teachers

As stated previously, it is a common practice that parents work as teachers at community-based Japanese HL schools. This implies that a colleague may be the parent of a student in one's class. The following statement indicates that this has an impact on the relationship between teachers:

It is a little difficult to talk about the classes with colleagues as they are also parents of students. It is a sensitive situation. In general, because of this, I prefer to talk about my classes with someone who is not a teacher in my school. (Kumi)

I cannot ask other teachers for advice on dealing with any trouble caused in my class as some of them are parents of my students. They may feel uncomfortable if they find out that their kids are causing the trouble. I also worry that they may not trust me as a teacher if they know that I have difficulties in my class. (Izumi)

Slavit et al. (2011) states that it is important for collaborative professional development that teachers are comfortable in sharing uncertainties and questions. However, it has been observed that the teachers in this study felt uncomfortable in talking about the problems and sharing their honest opinions with other teachers who could also be parents of the students.

Discussion

This study investigated the challenges experienced by community-based Japanese HL teachers in collaborating with their colleagues. It was identified that the lack of resources available to community-based HL schools are deeply related to these challenges. Micropolitics among teachers, administrative staff, and parents was also a restricting factor.

Lack of resource: Challenges beget challenges

This study showed that lack of time hampered teacher collaboration in community-based HL schools, similar to the results of the previous study on mainstream schools. Most participants worked elsewhere during the week to earn a living or were parents who had to take care of their children. While such responsibilities outside the school formed merely one of many causes of time pressure for teachers at mainstream schools, the participants of this study shared that such responsibilities were a major cause for their lack of time. This would likely be the case because community-based HL schools cannot hire full-time teachers and have to rely on parents or members of the ethnic community to work as teachers. In addition, the overlapping teaching schedule, which was designed to maximize the limited instructional hours, also prevented teachers from being able to meet each other while they were at school.

The issue of space was another hindrance to collaboration. The participants' schools often did not have their own facilities and had limited space that teachers could use to meet. As a result, they rarely had an opportunity to talk or work together.

It has been observed that the lack of funding has also a negative impact on teachers. Some of them were not motivated to put in the additional effort to work with their colleagues because of the minimal pay. As per my understanding, previous studies on teacher collaboration have not mentioned low pay as a constraint in teacher

collaboration as the subjects of these studies were teachers working in mainstream schools. HL education has been largely dependent on the teachers' personal interest and sense of mission to ensure that the children are aware of their language and culture (Li, 2005; Liu, 2006; Wu et al., 2011). However, this study suggests the limitations. Without proper financial remuneration, teachers were not always willing to make the effort to collaborate and develop professionally.

In sum, the difficulties that the participants experienced in teacher collaboration stem from the challenges that the community-based HL schools have been facing for a long time. In other words, the existing challenges associated with HL school operations caused another challenge related to teacher collaboration. Relying solely on the motivation of the teachers and their efforts is not enough to ensure collaboration. Community-based HL schools need more active support so that they can secure the required financial, physical, and human resources.

Complex micropolitics

The interviews revealed that the participants experienced some tension with administrative staff and parents. The strongest tension occurred when the administrative staff exercised power over teachers and prohibited voluntary teacher meetings to save on additional meeting attendance fees that they may otherwise have had to pay. The primary concern of the administrative staff was to manage their funds well, while that of teachers was the quality of education; hence, their interests and priorities differed. Support of the school leaders is important for effective teacher collaboration (Silva et al., 2017); as such, the participants were hindered from collaborating with each other.

One of the most common characteristics of community-based HL schools is that parents are deeply involved by serving as volunteers and teachers. However, based on this study, this sometimes served as a brake on teacher collaboration. For instance, the participants avoided talking about their classes or students at school owing to the risk of being overheard by the parents who were serving as volunteers. They also hesitated to share their personal opinions and challenges experienced in their classes with the colleagues whose children were studying in the school as they perceived their relationship with them to be that of parent and teacher rather than that of colleagues. As a result, teachers lost opportunities to collaborate. As Kelchermans (2006) has pointed out, collaboration emerges only when it does not harm the relationships in the community. Conflicts between teachers and school administrators and among teacher peers were highlighted in the previous study on teachers at mainstream schools (Achinstein, 2002; Cameron, 2005). Further, this study indicated that the micropolitics at community-based HL schools are even more complex as parents are also major actors deeply involved in the school.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This study has certain limitations, which also highlight a path for future research. First, this is an interview-based study with teachers at different schools; actual interactions between teachers were not in the scope of this study. Conducting participant observations and examining each case in detail would be worthwhile to gain a deeper understanding of the difficulties in teacher collaboration in community-based HL schools. Second, this study investigated only the difficulties in the collaboration but not the facilitators. This creates an opportunity to examine successful cases of collaboration and identify how teachers can collaborate with each other effectively. Close examination of the impact on students' learning would also be

beneficial. Despite the above limitations, this study fills the gap in literature regarding teacher collaboration at community-based HL schools by identifying the difficulties that teachers perceive.

Conclusion

This study used data collected through interviews to investigate the challenges experienced by teachers of community-based HL schools in collaborating with their colleagues. The results reveal that lack of financial, physical, and human resources available to community-based HL schools caused difficulties for teachers to collaborate with each other. Micropolitics among teachers, administrative staff, and parents served as another deterrent to teacher collaboration. Active support for enriching the resources of community-based HL schools is needed. An effort to convert the tensions among school community members to constructive relationships would also be important.

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Author

Lecturer of College/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at The University of Tokyo. She is the author of 『多様化する子どもに向き合う教師たち：継承語教育・補習授業校におけるライフストーリー研究』（単著，2020，春風社）。 Please contact at: seoy@g.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Enhancing Students' Awareness of Japanese Speech Styles with Literature

文学教材を用いた敬語教育：気づきの観点から

Vicky Ann Richings
Kobe Shoin Women's University
リッチングス ヴィッキー アン
神戸松蔭女子学院大学

Abstract

The Japanese honorific system, including speech styles, is embedded in many aspects of Japanese grammar and society. Japanese speakers use honorifics instinctively in their daily interactions, both formal and informal, by making speech style choices. The choice of speech style indicates the social relationship between speakers and is usually maintained throughout an interaction. As many studies have argued, Japanese language learners struggle to master this complex system. This pedagogical research aims to explore the potentials of raising Japanese language learners' awareness of honorific language features and speech styles in Japanese through literary texts. In this paper, the author first outlines the Japanese honorific system in detail, including speech styles. Next, the author illustrates a practical attempt on how to integrate literature in the Japanese class. This illustration presents a way to enhance students' awareness of the functions and use of the Japanese honorific language and various speech situations. This is the second study into the usage of literary texts in JFL thus far conducted by the author.

要旨

スピーチスタイルを含む日本語の敬語形式は、あらゆる形で日本文法と日本の社会生活に埋め込まれている。日本語母語話者はスピーチスタイルの選択を行いながら、公式・非公式問わず、日常的に場面に合わせて敬語を使用する。スピーチスタイルの選択は話者同士の社会的関係を示し、通常会話を通して保たれている。先行研究の多くが述べているように、多様かつ複雑な日本語の敬語を習得することは、日本語学習者にとって困難であるとされている。そこで、本研究では、文学教材を用いて、日本語学習者の敬語およびスピーチスタイルの特徴に対する気づきを高めることの可能性を検証し、導入したアプローチの日本語教育における有効性を考察する。本稿では、まず日本語の敬語形式を要約し、次に今回導入した文学教材を用いたアプローチとその調査結果を報告する。具体的には、日本語学習者の敬語およびスピーチスタイルの特徴に対する気づきの促進につながる教育実践について述べる。本研究は、「日本語教育における教材としての文学に関する研究」の一環として取り組んだものであり、2つ目の調査に該当する。

Introduction

Due to its complexity, Japanese honorifics is perhaps the most challenging and burdensome linguistic element, besides kanji, for Japanese language learners to master. It is therefore a regular and recurrent research topic in the field of Japanese as a Foreign Language Education (JFL). The account presented in this paper contributes to research on L2 pragmatics, particularly in the honorific language context. As few studies have closely examined approaches with literature as learning material in JFL, clearly more research needs to be conducted to investigate to what extent literature can contribute to learners' language awareness of Japanese honorific language features and speech styles. Motivated by previous studies in this field, a one-class intervention was carried out in a Japanese language class for international students in a private university in Japan. This one-class intervention was conducted after first reviewing with the students previously learnt honorific language features and common speech styles in Japanese discourse. Data were collected through observation, discussion, and a short questionnaire.

This study forms part of an extensive research project¹ in the usage of literature in JFL and was designed to accommodate Japanese language instructors with an alternative way to teaching the Japanese honorific system by stressing the importance of contextualizing language through reading literary texts. What follows is a detailed overview of the Japanese honorific system and speech styles, succeeded by the literature review introducing previous studies in the JFL context. Finally, this paper concludes with the procedures and findings of the classroom study.

Japanese Honorifics

The Japanese honorific system, or honorific language (Niyekawa, 1991) is commonly known as *keigo* (hereinafter, *keigo*). However, to Japanese people, *keigo* is more than just a linguistic resource for expressing politeness. It is a complex and essential tool strongly associated with traditional Japanese values such as harmony and mutual respect guaranteeing personal success in Japanese society. The word *keigo* and the honorific system as we know today are fairly recent terms. Although the Japanese language has a long history of honorifics even before the pioneering works by Western scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, studies conducted in a Western framework by Japanese scholars started only towards the end of the nineteenth century or in the Meiji period (Tsuda, 2010). Honorific linguistic forms and the implication of their social usage can first be found in the classical works of the Nara period (710-794) and Heian period (794-1192), however, the first methodical accounts categorizing *keigo* only appear in the Edo period (1603-1868) (Pizziconi, 2004). According to Lewin (1967), B. H. Chamberlain's *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888) was the first English work to use the term "honorific" given the term *keigo* was first recorded in Fumihiko Ōtsuki's introduction to the dictionary *Genkai* (1891). Until the new *keigo* government guidelines of 2006 (*Bunka Shingikai Kokugo Bunkakai*, 2007)², it included three main categories: *teineigo*, *kenjōgo*, *sonkeigo*. *Teineigo* (polite language) encodes politeness towards the addressee, *kenjōgo* (humble language) is employed to lower the status of the speaker, and *sonkeigo* (respectful language) is the language used to raise the addressee's status. In 2006, *kenjōgo* and *teineigo* were further divided into subcategories³.

Due to its complexity and comprehensiveness, several theories on *keigo* and its definition have been forwarded (Ide, 1992; Kikuchi, 1994; Okamoto, 1998; Matsumoto, 1988). These theories provide a different perspective of what exactly *keigo* encompasses. Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1992), for example, argued that Japanese

politeness can be explained by the Japanese concept of discernment or *wakimae*. *Wakimae* means knowing how to act and behave in certain situations in society. It comprises actions and phrases that society sees as correct and proper. Kikuchi (1994), on the other hand, posited that both personal and contextual factors influence a speaker's choice of keigo. Social factors would include topic or place of interaction and relationship between speakers, whereas personal factors refer to psychological intentions such as speech strategies.

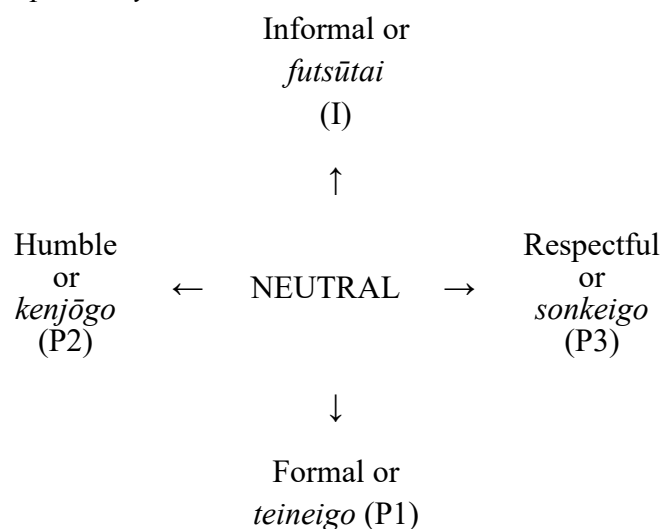
Some scholars describe keigo as a tool to elicit the most positive outcome in an interaction (Okamoto, 1998) and others like Ōishi (1974) address keigo from the perspective of business discourse. In any case, regardless of these different terminology adoptions, what is most important in Japanese politeness is to understand that the use of keigo and its different speech styles (next section) are closely related to one's own hierarchical position in relation to the listener and societal context, making it a convoluted system but an ineluctable linguistic element for Japanese language learners to study.

Speech Styles

As previously mentioned, modern Japanese keigo is divided into three main categories -polite language (*teineigo*), humble language (*kenjōgo*), and respectful language (*sonkeigo*)- with two other minor categories -courteous language and beautification language. Another verb form that is not included here is called the plain form or basic dictionary form of the verb. This informal form is used in conversations with close family and friends bearing no aspect of politeness or respect⁴. The plain form would be the non-honorific counterpart of the so-called "addressee honorific"⁵ (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016), also commonly known as the *desu/masu*-form⁶, which is classified under *teineigo* (polite language) (Fig. 1). In Japanese, the plain form is sometimes called *futsūtai* (ordinary or informal form) and the *desu/masu*-form *teineitai* (polite or formal form). What categorizes these speech styles is who or what the subject is. Niyekawa (1991) states four speech style levels in Japanese: one neutral level (N) and three polite levels (P-0, P-1, P-2) to demonstrate these four speech styles. The neutral level (N) conforms to an informal relationship with male and female speech styles⁷.

For better understanding and clarification, in this paper, the terms "I" and "P" will be used to illustrate the speech style levels; "I" instead of "N" to refer to the informal form or *futsūtai*; "P1, P2, P3" instead of "P-0, P-1, P-2" to match with the three formal forms mentioned above -the polite form (P1) or *teineigo*, the humble form (P2) or *kenjōgo*, and the respectful form (P3) or *sonkeigo* (Fig. 1).

Figure 1
Japanese speech style levels



The next example shows the four levels:

1. I: *Taberu.* (I) will eat.
2. P1: *Tabemasu.* (I) will eat.
3. P2: *Itadaki-masu.* (I) will eat.
4. P3: *Meshiagari-masu.* (S/he) will eat.

Japanese textbooks typically introduce the *desu/masu* or polite form (P1) first. The informal form (I), the object honorific or humble form (P2), and the subject honorific or respectful form (P3) are only introduced at a later stage. Moreover, depending on the textbook or materials used, introduction and usage of these forms in a social context is simplified to a great extent. In Japanese discourse, however, speakers do not communicate on a single speech level but change styles throughout the conversation even with the same addressee in the same setting while constantly considering social and contextual elements (Jones & Ono, 2008). In short, Japanese style shifts involve continuous shifts between the three polite forms and the plain form (Cook, 2008).

Hymes (1971) asserted that knowing how to understand and convey messages in a certain context is essential to being a proficient speaker in a social group. This applies to Japanese as well. To share interpretation conventions with members of a social group as a non-native speaker, it is important to perceive preferred linguistic choices (speech styles) and meaning in a given social situation in the target language. Mimaki (2002) reported that there are two factors affecting the choice of polite and non-polite forms in Japanese: a social norm of language use which each speaker is expected to follow in society, and the speaker's personal politeness strategy which is consistently adjusted to various social contexts. Ide (1982), on the other hand, introduced four rules of politeness in Japanese society: politeness toward a person of higher social status, politeness toward a person with social power, politeness toward elderly people, and politeness in formal settings. These are also the rules that Japanese language learners usually learn when studying keigo. Interestingly, Japanese children acquire these speech style rules and nuances through daily interaction with family and in their social environment. They learn how to use honorific forms both socially and culturally (Cook, 2008).

Contrarily, for Japanese language learners it is extremely difficult to understand and master how a particular style pattern is associated with a particular social situation in the classroom. More specifically, first students need to learn the respective forms and grammatical rules. Next, they need to learn how to apply each form, and finally, they need to master the skills for appropriately shifting styles, all of which are essentially practiced in a classroom environment instead of the target society. This is an onerous task for students as “politeness and impoliteness as social practices are embedded in daily interactions” (Iwasaki, 2011, p. 68). The literature review below provides an overview of various teaching approaches that have been used to instruct and facilitate raising learners’ awareness of Japanese honorific language features and speech styles.

Literature Review

With the recent emphasis on the importance of the understanding of written and spoken discourse, numerous pragmatic studies on teaching practices that may help improve Japanese language learners’ awareness of honorific language features and speech styles have been forwarded (Hayano, 2019; Iwasaki, 2011; Kobayashi, 2016; Ogawa, 2017; Okabe, 2003; Walker, 2011). Okabe (2003) examined the dynamics behind the speech style choices in conversations of Japanese high school students and Japanese language learners. In particular, she investigated the speech level shift between the plain form (informal) and the *masu*-form (formal) of Japanese high school students and foreign exchange students through an online game task. It was found that the participants took each other’s social context into consideration when choosing or shifting speech level during the task. Hayano (2019) introduced the jigsaw reading method as a successful way to facilitate understanding of honorifics and by doing so promoting intercultural communication. The discussion in this study showed that by providing ample opportunities for students to practice honorific communication, which refers to using keigo to express oneself and understanding keigo expressions on the other hand, Japanese language learners can gain general knowledge of how honorific forms are used and what their respective roles are. Iwasaki (2011) interviewed four male Japanese language learners and analyzed their accounts and perceptions of politeness usage during their study abroad in Japan. Iwasaki’s study revealed that the participants developed their own understanding of speech style shifts or choices between polite and impolite language uncovering “a major disconnect between what they had been taught in the classroom and the social encounters they experienced” (p. 98). Walker (2011) used an interactive approach by exploring how Japanese language learners notice the stylistic differences between the polite and plain form during their first contact with Japanese native speakers. She also addressed potential learning difficulties in the learning process of keigo. Kobayashi (2016) discussed how she introduced five different movies in a Japanese language class to analyze various speech styles in multiple social situations and help students make connections between these settings and their personal learning environments. Finally, Ogawa (2017) reported about an approach introduced in a Japanese grammar class to build Japanese language learners’ awareness of Japanese speech styles through the usage of an online education support system called Manaba⁸.

What all these and other research findings indicate is that recognizing and using the appropriate keigo forms is difficult for JFL learners at the elementary level, and that many learners are still not able to command speech styles after many years of study (Cook, 2001). As the research suggests, one thing is clear, carefully planned class instruction in addition to contact with native speakers in diverse social contexts

could help improve learners' usage of keigo. Robinson et al. (2012) advocated that foreign language acquisition is closely related to observation skills. Learners acquire language skills through consciously paying attention and observing how linguistic patterns are used in context. Such skills are also referred to as "language awareness skills." Mastering speech style shifts in Japanese implies that learners firstly need to learn the honorific patterns, secondly can distinguish the various possible linguistic variations in diverse socio-cultural contexts, and thirdly can produce the correct keigo form in any given context. To reach this third level, it is essential for learners to recognize the multiple keigo forms and therefore foster Japanese language awareness. However, as Walker (2011) pointed out, introducing all four styles at the elementary level could be an overload to learners. Overwhelming learners with a set of rules and forms at the elementary level could result in learner demotivation, and a slowing or even halted learning process. Hence, finding cogent ways to boost the learning process of Japanese honorifics while fostering Japanese language awareness in learners is desirable. De facto, there is an academic demand as numerous studies have shown that Japanese language learners are actually eager to learn and master keigo regardless of the fact that it is evidently arduous to master (Hayano, 2017, 2019).

Drawing on these insights, for this study, the author proposes an approach to develop Japanese language awareness and keigo learning through reading literary texts. Although previous studies focus on pedagogical issues with different resources or approaches, none of these studies use literature as a learning tool. In this study, literature was used to model appropriate speech styles in daily settings. As Cook (2001, p. 151) stated, "Modeling is an effective way of teaching novices social norms of the target language and culture." Thus, demonstrating the manner in which information should be conveyed can be obtained through modeling. In language learning, it is evident that providing opportunities in which learners can actively be involved in interactions with native speakers is one alternative to acquiring the target language. However, in academic settings where students learn the target language in the classroom, ensuring such practice is difficult to accomplish. As a substitute, the use of authentic teaching materials in text or written form has become an established approach. It is believed that the use of authentic teaching materials is effective as they represent real life situations, they render cultural context and social background information, they are engaging and relevant to learners' lives, and as such motivate the learning process (Gilmore, 2007; Guo, 2012). For this study, literature was used as the modeling tool to provide the target learners with ample examples of how speech styles are used in Japanese discourse. With the proposed approach it is hoped language awareness and effectiveness can be explored. In the next section, I will first outline a case study of reading literature in the JFL classroom, and then briefly discuss the issues involved in using literature as a language learning tool in JFL instruction.

Method

Participants

The research participants for this study were a Japanese intermediate language class for international students in a private university in Japan. A one-class intervention was carried out with a class of 13 students at the intermediate to high-intermediate level who met twice a week. The study was introduced to students at the beginning of the semester when explaining the syllabus in the first orientation class. The purpose and procedure of the study were also clearly briefed at the outset whereupon students reacted with interest in this one-literature-reading session. The students showed excitement about reading authentic material to deepen their awareness of Japanese

honorifics. All students in this class had previously learned the basic honorific forms, including the three polite levels and the informal style, and had had ample practice of these forms in language classes prior to this class. However, although students' language proficiency levels had been assessed in the form of a placement test after enrollment, coming from different backgrounds and having different lengths of stay in Japan, the students' language awareness of keigo was of varying levels. Also, some students were more fluent at reading and expressing thoughts than others. This became apparent after giving students a role-play task prior to the intervention.

Materials and Procedure

This one-class literature intervention was part of the class content pertaining to Japanese honorifics, or keigo, and Japanese speech styles as presented in Chapter 2 of the textbook *Jōkyū e no tobira* [Gateway to Advanced Japanese Learning Through Content and Multimedia] (Oka et al., 2009). Six classes (three weeks) were allotted to Chapter 2: two classes for the textbook content, one literature class, one practice class, and two presentation classes. The literature class was preceded by two textbook-based review classes of keigo and Japanese speech styles. The textbook review (Chapter 2) consisted of a reading section explaining five common Japanese speech styles—*teineido*, or degree of politeness (very formal, formal, informal); *danjokotoba*, or gender speech style; *bunmatsu no shōryaku*, or aposiopesis (omission of the end of a sentence); *kotoba no tanshuku*, or clipping (clipped forms); *bun no tōchi*, or sentence inversion (Table 1). It also had a topic section with further detailed information, a conversation section to practice the speech styles, and a linguistic note on Japanese sentence-final particles.

Table 1

Speech style examples

The 5 Speech Styles (as presented in Chapter 2)	Japanese Example	English
Degree of politeness	<i>Mōshiwake gozaimasen</i> (very formal)	I am sorry
	<i>Mōshiwake arimasen/nai desu</i> (formal)	I'm sorry
	<i>Gomen</i> (informal)	Sorry
Gender speech style	<i>Ore, ~ze</i>	Me, (male language)
	<i>Watashi, ~wa</i>	Me, (female language)
Omission (aposiopesis)	<i>Are wa?</i>	That...?
	<i>Doko ni?</i>	Where...?
Clipping	<i>Shitteru</i> (from <i>shitte-iru</i>)	Do you know? (informal)
	<i>Nacchau</i> (from <i>natte-shimau</i>)	~end up, will~ (informal)
Inversion	<i>Nanda sore wa?</i>	What. That is?
	<i>Katte ne, mata.</i>	Again, buy it.

After finishing Chapter 2, the 90-minute literature class commenced with a short review of the previous class in the form of a slideshow summary of the five speech

styles as presented in the textbook. The instructor (author) explained how these forms are constantly used and incorporated into daily Japanese social life, and how these can easily be observed in different kinds of discourse such as in media, SNS, manga, and literature among others. Next, to facilitate comprehension and perception of the procedure, slides with excerpts from selected texts were shown as examples. The materials for this study were chosen with the students' small reading level discrepancy in mind and based on the following criteria:

1. Authentic literary text
2. Appropriate level
3. Covering the honorific forms or speech styles reviewed in class
4. Describing different characters with different speech styles

In addition, the instructor strived to gather different text genres as to try to appeal to as many students as possible. After a thorough search for texts that met all criteria, the following four texts were selected:

Text 1: *Sekai no chūshin de, ai wo sakebu* [Socrates in Love] (by Kyōichi Katayama, 2001)

Text 2: *Setsuen cheisu* (by Keigo Higashino, 2016) (No English translation)

Text 3: *Kaban* [The Suitcase] (by Kōbō Abe, 1984)

Text 4: *Wasuregasa* (by Michiko Yoshida, 1999) (No English translation)

The genre for each text could be classified as love story (Text 1), mystery novel (Text 2), surrealistic short story (originally being a play) (Text 3), and juvenile literature (Text 4). The distributed text excerpts were respectively four, six, three, and seven pages long. Following the slideshow warm-up, the instructor illustrated how the actual activity would be conducted by first reading one text with the class and then giving students hints how to find the different speech styles covered in class. Before the answers to the first reading (Text 1) were shared with the whole group, the students were asked to complete a separate task sheet with their individual answers to the first text (Appendix 1). The task sheet activity was aimed at comparing and discussing students' answers. The introduction and first exercise took fifty minutes. In the second half of the class, students were asked to pair up with someone and do the second reading and exercise in pairs. After twenty minutes, each pair reported their answers to the second reading (Text 2). Students were also given some time to ask other questions related to the text content and speech styles in general. At the end of the class, students were given a reading assignment of two additional texts (Text 3 and 4). This task was identical to the activity practiced in class. In the next class, students were told to share their answers to Text 3 and 4, first with a partner and then with the class. After checking the answers and discussing other content, students were given instructions for their presentations.

Two presentation classes followed the reading classes. Per class, six students presented the findings of their own Japanese honorifics and speech styles project. This was a small-scale individual project consisting of searching for different forms of keigo in discourse in media or any other form of discourse incorporating keigo. The instructions were to prepare a presentation of at least 10 minutes with at least five slides, and to clearly explain the linguistic features that had been observed and analyzed. After the second presentation class, the students were asked to express their thoughts on this 3-week activity with literary texts on a separate questionnaire sheet with three questions:

1. Please write your opinion about the texts that were used (discuss genre, difficulty, and order of presentation).
2. Please write your opinion about the activity content and procedure.
3. Do you feel this activity was effective in enhancing your awareness of honorific language features and speech styles in the Japanese language?

In addition, there was a final section where students could comment on the study design and share other opinions. It was explained to the students that completing the questionnaire was voluntary, and that their responses would not affect their grades in any way.

Intervention Design

Generally speaking, this activity involved using grammatical and cognitive skills rather than reading strategy skills, which are normally applied to strengthen reading comprehension. For this study, the reading of literary texts was not for the purpose of instructing reading strategies or improving comprehension outcome in students, but for boosting Japanese language learners' awareness of honorific language features and speech styles in the Japanese language. According to Snow (2002), reading is done with an objective in mind, and in instructional settings reading activities refer to this dimension of reading. Although the initial purpose of reading can change during the reading process, for example from reading to increase knowledge or enhance certain skills to reading for engagement and joy, "the reader processes the text with regard to the purpose" (Snow, 2002, p. 15), and this process involves linguistic and semantic processing and monitoring. In that sense, also for this study, it can be said that the purpose, process, comprehension, and consequences of the reading practice are closely related to one another. For this study, the performance processes and consequences, or outcome, could be outlined in a framework as presented in Table 2. The action part of this study is thus based on this framework, and the ultimate goal of this activity was to achieve this pattern.

Finally, the data, collected through observation, discussion, and a short questionnaire, were analyzed using the Steps for Coding and Theorisation (SCAT) qualitative research analysis method (Ōtani, 2011). SCAT is based on a four-step coding process and can easily be applied for small sets of data.

Table 2

Activity reading dimension

Reading dimension	Performance processes and consequences
Purpose	Boosting Japanese language learners' awareness of honorific language features and speech styles
Process	Observing and analyzing honorific language features and speech styles in Japanese literature
Comprehension	Understanding the usage of Japanese honorific language features and speech styles in different contexts
Consequence	Acquiring Japanese language learners' awareness of honorific language features and speech styles

Results

Question 1

Eleven out of thirteen students submitted feedback. Students' answers to Question 1

(“Please write your opinion about the texts that were used.”) showed their satisfaction with the choice of texts. Some students mentioned that they would like to try reading a wider variety of genres if they had the chance. And the majority of students thought the four texts were presented in a good order. On the other hand, some students mentioned that the order in which they were given the texts was not a really big issue. Seven students found the texts somewhat difficult. Text 3 and 4 were described as being most difficult, and Text 1 as easiest to understand. One student wrote, “Kanji make it difficult to read but *Sekai no chūshin de, ai wo sakebu* was the easiest to read.” Although reading comprehension was not the objective of this class, intermediate Japanese reading skills were required to understand the content prior to being able to derive honorific forms in the text. The minor reading skill discrepancy in this intermediate to high-intermediate class may have impacted on students’ abilities to recognize speech styles and their usage in dialogue. Nine students indicated in the feedback that they appreciated the fact that they were given authentic texts with a genre variety instead of textbook texts.

Question 2

In answer to Question 2 (“Please write your opinion about the activity content and procedure.”), most students thought the way the activity was prepared and explained was constructive and rational. Three students, however, stated that the class speed was too fast, and that they would have liked some more time to read and understand the texts before proceeding to the task. One student wrote, “It’s nice to read something (the genre) you like, but if it is something you don’t like to read, then it feels more difficult.” Admittedly, the fact that some texts were longer and slightly more difficult to process than others could have left the students with a feeling of being rushed and confused.

Eight students reported their thoughts about the presentations. They all felt that the presentations were a very good way to put this awareness strategy into practice and increase understanding of social honorific usage. Most students used film extracts or manga excerpts and gave original presentations. For example, one student used extracts from a 2015 film adaptation of the popular manga *Umimachi Diary* that was first issued in 2006. This student introduced, analyzed, and commented on four speech styles that had been reviewed in class by giving concrete examples from the movie. In all, the presentations were an excellent means for the instructor to witness students’ understanding of the learning content.

Question 3

Students’ responses to Question 3 (“Do you feel this activity was effective in enhancing your awareness of honorific language features and speech styles in the Japanese language?”) were overall affirmative. Ten respondents disclosed the analysis of speech styles in the texts helped them to 1) better understand speech features in real situations; 2) reflect on their own usage of honorific forms and speech styles, and; 3) distinguish the different forms. Additionally, they indicated that this was something they could apply to their individual daily environment instantly. One student wrote, “Through reading dialogues in the text, I was able to learn speech styles more in depth. I think this is very practical and useful in my daily life.” In other words, the students perceived how different styles operate to express diverse social interactions and how various forms could be interpreted. One student, however, noted that the activity had little effect as they were ultimately reading fiction. This student also suggested using nonfiction instead.

Finally, in the free writing section, one student wrote, “I enjoyed very much because I am interested in and like Japanese literature.” The two students who had not submitted their responses to the questionnaire had previously mentioned during class that they had enjoyed the activity and texts. However, they had given no further opinions.

Discussion and Practical Implications

Although this practice may have been perceived as having had no novel benefit to some students, it did receive positive feedback from most students and especially in terms of its purpose and comprehension as outlined in Table 2. The results of the questionnaire showed that these students had become more sensitive to and aware of the different honorific forms and speech styles. As Schmidt (2001) advocates, “that the concept of attention is necessary in order to understand virtually every aspect of second language acquisition” (p. 1), meaning that paying attention to linguistic features in various contexts is an important element in language learning. There is an apparent link between the results of this activity using literature and the modeling theory put forward by Cook (2001) in that demonstrating the manner in which information is conveyed can be obtained through modeling, regardless of the content tool being fictitious or fiction. Whether reading for pleasure or for academic purposes, literature holds the potential to benefit the learners in various ways. Many scholars have reported on the enrichment literature as a language learning tool can bring to the learner (Gilroy & Parkinson, 1997; Hall, 2015; Khatib et al., 2011). Through this study there is now some evidence that literature is a valuable and legitimate resource for language teaching not only in EFL but also in JFL.

In addition, it is known that the knowledge of interpretation conventions and linguistic structures in social context that are shared between members of a social group is part of communicative competence (Cook, 2001). As such, enhancing language awareness skills can be considered the first step in acquiring communication skills. However, to maximize the feeling of engagement and accomplishment in learners in this kind of activity, it is recommended to furnish ample time for reading and interaction among students to first consolidate these awareness skills. For example, instead of a one-class intervention, this study could have been conducted spanning two classes to secure more reading flexibility and interaction with the texts. Secondly, to track students’ improved understanding and awareness of Japanese honorific discourse, additional activities such as role-play could have been implemented. To move from “awareness” to “communication,” it is essential to create supplementary output activities. Still, as the purpose of this study was not the communicative goal, an experimental longitudinal study could be conducted to attain that purpose.

Finally, this suggested approach to Japanese language learning using literature covered only four different texts with a very limited number of students. Providing more time with a variety of texts and receiving feedback from a larger number of students could have generated different findings. Adding a quantitative component with test scores could give a longitudinal study more weight and significance. Such a study seems perfect for a mixed methods approach to see if statistical analysis can reveal anything further, as well as match the qualitative data.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that literature could be considered an effective tool in the instruction of Japanese honorifics. Intrinsically, this one-class

literature intervention achieved its objective. The account presented in this paper contributes to research on L2 pragmatics, particularly in the honorific language context. So far, in this context, few studies have closely examined reading approaches with literature. Clearly, more research needs to be done to investigate to what extent literature can contribute to Japanese language learners' awareness and acquisition of keigo. Students come to language programs for various reasons. This study was conveyed with the hope to meet the diversity in students' needs from an alternative perspective.

Notes

1. This is the second study into the usage of literary texts in JFL thus far conducted by the author. The first study describes how a linguistic and cultural approach with canonical texts can be incorporated in the JFL reading class to enhance students' linguistic and cultural awareness skills and develop intercultural connections (Richings, 2020). The third study examines adopting the story grammar approach using Japanese folktales as a way to help foster students' understanding of text structure, reading strategies, and language and cultural awareness (forthcoming).
2. The Japanese Language Council (*kokugo shingikai*) has produced three official documents so far regarding Japanese honorifics: 1952, 1998, and 2007.
3. *Kenjōgo* was divided into *kenjōgo I* and *II*. *Teineigo* was divided into *teineigo* and *bikago* or word beautification.
4. According to R. Lakoff (1973), politeness comprises being friendly. Thus, by using the plain form, people can be polite by manifesting no distance or remoteness.
5. Japanese honorifics are sometimes divided into two sets instead of four: addressee honorifics (plain form and *teineigo*) and referent honorifics (*sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo*) (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016).
6. The *masu*-form includes a present (*-masu*), past (*-mashita*), and gerund (*-mashite*) form, and a copular present (*desu*) and past (*deshita*) tense form. The plain form comprises a present (*-u* or *-ru*), past (*-ta*), and gerund (*-te*) form, and a copular present (*da*) and past (*datta*) tense form.
7. Japanese is known to be a language with gendered speech, reflecting how men and women should speak in social contexts (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith, 2016). For example, the sentence-final particle *ne* or *wa* reflects female speech and has the effect of softening utterances.
8. Manaba is a cloud-based learning management system (LMS) developed in 2007 by ASAHI Net, Inc.

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Appendix 1 Speech Style Worksheet

テキスト①：『世界の中心で、愛をさけぶ』（片山，2001年） (Text 1: <i>Sekai no chūshin de, ai wo sakebu</i> [Socrates in Love] (Kyōichi Katayama, 2001))	
① 丁寧度？ (degree of politeness) 登場人物？ (characters)	ア とても丁寧 イ 丁寧 ウ くださった話し方 (a. very formal, b. formal, c. informal) 誰が誰に？ (who is talking to who?) ・ ・
② 男女言葉？ (gender speech style)	・ ・
③ 文末の省略？ (end-of-sentence omission)	・ ・
④ 言葉の短縮？ (clipping)	・ ・
⑤ 文の倒置？ (sentence inversion)	・ ・
⑥ その他のコメント？ (other comments)	・ ・

Author

Vicky A. Richings teaches at Kobe Shoin Women's University, Japan, and specializes in reading, literature in language teaching, Japanese language, literature, and culture. She is interested in language awareness and the function of literature in the language classroom. She has presented on a wide variety of topics in this area. Please contact at: richings@shoin.ac.jp

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