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Foreign Language Learning Anxiety in Japanese EFL University Classes: Physical, Emotional, Expressive, and Verbal Reactions

**Melvin Andrade
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This study presents an overview of research devoted to foreign language learning anxiety and then examines in detail the reactions reported by Japanese university students to an anxiety-provoking situations in English-as-a-foreign language (EFL) classes. Questionnaire data was obtained from 243 Japanese learners in conversational English classes at 31 four-year universities in Japan. The following research questions are addressed: (1) What are the physical, emotional, expressive, and verbal reactions to the anxiety-provoking situation? (2) What are the characteristics of anxiety in terms of occurrence, duration, intensity, expectation, and degree of hindrance? (3) What is the relationship between anxiety and pair and small group work? Overall, the findings indicate that some degree of anxiety affected 75% of the learners and that the debilitating aspects of anxiety strongly hindered about 11% of them. Other findings include significant differences between male-female and high-low perceived ability groups on several dependent variables.

Introduction

A growing body of research stretching from the mid-1970s onward indicates that communication anxiety commonly affects many foreign language learners. Because anxiety can hinder performance and achievement, classroom anxiety is a topic deserving of continuing investigation. Early research focused mainly on students studying foreign languages in the United States and Canada, but studies of Asian and other learners have been increasing in recent years. The present study provides a summary of research devoted to foreign language learning anxiety and then examines in detail the physical, emotional, expressive, and verbal reactions of Japanese university students to anxiety-provoking situations in an English-as-a-

foreign language (EFL) classes.

Literature Review

Brown (1973), Chastain (1975), and Scovel (1978) were among the earliest researchers to recognize the important and distinct role that anxiety played among the many variables that affect foreign language learning. Foreign language anxiety research during the 1970s, however, was relatively sparse and presented mixed results. During the 1980s, foreign language anxiety research continued to grow (e.g., Bailey, 1983; Horwitz, 1986; Lucas, 1984; Young, 1986), and it was during this period that one study (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986) proposed that foreign language anxiety was distinct from other anxieties. Subsequently, research grew considerably with the publication in 1991 of Horwitz and Young's *Language Anxiety: From Theory to Research to Classroom Applications* and the work of Aida (1994), MacIntyre and Gardner (e.g., 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1994a, 1994b), Phillips (1992), Saito and Samimy (1996), and Williams (1991) among many others. Foreign language anxiety is now generally recognized as an area of study related to but distinct from anxiety studies in general. Reviews of this research can be found in Horwitz (2001) and MacIntyre (1999).

Types of anxiety

There are many types of anxiety. Not all of them are particular to foreign language learning, but many of them have been discussed in the foreign language learning literature. These anxieties can be described in different ways and grouped into several categories, which overlap to a certain degree. First of all in general terms is the distinction between *trait anxiety*, which is the tendency of a person to be nervous or feel tension regardless of the particular circumstances, and *state (situational) anxiety*, which is nervousness or tension at a particular moment in response to some outside stimulus (MacIntyre and Gardner, 1989). One type of situational anxiety, for example, is *communication anxiety*, which may occur when people interact verbally (Daly, 1991). Another type is *fear of negative evaluation*, which may be present when people worry about what others think of them (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986).

Classroom anxiety

In classrooms, a number of other anxieties may be observed. Learners may feel

cognitive tension when their expectations about the content and organization of a course are not met, and *affective tension* when there is unsatisfactory interaction with other learners or the instructor (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001). Other classroom anxieties are *test anxiety*, which is fear of poor performance on tests (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986), and specific *subject* or *task anxieties* such as the nervousness and tension associated with grammar, listening, public speaking, reading, and writing (e.g., Arnold, 2000; Cheng, Horwitz, and Schallert, 1999; Matsuda and Gobel, 2001; Oh, 1992; Saito, Horwitz, and Garza, 1999; Sellers, 2000; VanPatten and Glass, 1999; Vogely, 1998; Young 1990).

Causes of foreign language learning anxiety

The causes of foreign language learning anxiety have been a major focus of research. One area of research has examined *situational variables*, for example, course activities, course level, course organization, and instructor behavior (Jackson, 2002; Oh, 1992; Oxford, 1999a; Powell, 1991; Samimy, 1989; Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001; Young, 1991). Another area of research has investigated *learner variables* such as ability, age, beliefs, gender, learning styles, and personality factors among others (e.g., Bailey, Daley, and Onwuegbuzie, 1999; Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar, 1996; Campbell, 1999; Dewaele, 2002; Ehrman and Oxford, 1995; Gardner, Day, and MacIntyre, 1992; Gardner, Smythe, and Brunet, 1977; Gregersen and Horwitz, 2002; Oxford, 1999b). In contrast, some researchers have argued that it is not anxiety or other affective factors that are the problem, but rather it is the native language ability and language learning aptitude of the learner that need to be considered (e.g., Sparks and Ganschow, 1991; Ganschow Javorsky, Sparks, Skinner, Anderson, and Patton, 1994).

Characteristics of foreign language learning anxiety

Although anxiety can be observed in both foreign language and other classes, the research suggests that there are particular characteristics of formal foreign language learning that hold the potential for provoking anxiety in learners who in other learning situations would not experience it. For example, formal foreign language anxiety has been attributed to the inability to present one's ideas and opinions as well as one can in the target language, which can undermine self-esteem and threaten one's self-image (e.g., Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986). In addition, the inability to pronounce words correctly or use correct grammar can lead to negative evaluation

by others, and the inability to comprehend spoken and written input, including instructions, can lead to confusion and embarrassment about how to respond or act. These types of anxiety contribute to making formal foreign language learning a particular at-risk experience for many learners (Horwitz and Young, 1991; Horwitz, 2001; Young, 1999).

Effects of foreign language learning anxiety

Foreign language learning anxiety has been associated with a large number of negative outcomes that can be classified as physical, psychological, or social (e.g., Bailey, Daley, Onwuegbuzie, 1999; Oxford 1999a). Physical symptoms can include, for example, rapid heartbeat, muscle tension, dry mouth, and excessive perspiration. Psychological symptoms can include embarrassment, feelings of helplessness, fear, going blank, and poor memory recall and retention among others. Negative social behavior may be manifested in such ways as inappropriate silence, unwillingness to participate, absenteeism, and withdrawal from the course. These effects can lead to poor performance and low achievement. Research suggests that for many learners, success and perseverance in foreign language learning to a large extent depends both on the teacher's ability to minimize the debilitating effects of classroom anxiety and the learners' ability to cope with the anxiety that cannot be prevented or avoided (e.g., Young, 1999).

In contrast to this *debilitative anxiety*, there is indication that a certain degree of anxiety may be beneficial to some learners (Scovel, 1978). Usually referred to as *facilitative anxiety*, it has been credited with motivating learners to study harder and make stronger efforts to perform better on classroom tasks. There remains, however, disagreement as to whether this emotional state is really anxiety, and terms such as attention, alertness, or arousal may be more accurate. Although some research has found in a few cases that high anxiety is associated with positive outcomes mainly high tests scores (e.g., Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar, 1994) the predominance of the evidence supports the debilitating effect, especially for speaking activities. Williams (2008), however, has questioned the validity of the initial research by Yerkes and Dobson, done in 1908, upon which the assumptions of facilitative anxiety are based.

Studies of Asian Learners

Since the early 2000s, there have been a growing number of studies of Japanese and other Asian learners. Jackson (2002) in an ethnographic study of 168 Chinese

students in English-medium business classes at a university in Hong Kong found that a combination of anxiety, cultural, and personal factors contributed to the lack of participation in discussions. In a study of 272 first- and second-year Japanese university students in Japan, Caprio (1987) found negative reactions to being called on in class and speaking English. Females reacted more negatively than males to calls for class participation, perhaps attributable to cultural factors in conjunction with their minority status in the groups studied. Hashimoto's (2002) study of 56 Japanese students at a university in the United States found that anxiety exerted a strong influence on perceived competence and negatively affected their willingness to communicate.

There have been several other studies of Japanese learners and classroom anxiety. Tajima (2002) found in a study of 84 Japanese university students that differences in anxiety levels between English majors and non-majors, and students whose previous experiences included having native-speaking friends, traveling abroad, and passing standardized achievement tests. Anxiety was mainly related fear of negative evaluation while speaking in front of others. The results of Yamashiro and McLaughlin's (2001) study of 220 Japanese junior college and university students suggested that higher levels of anxiety tend to indicate lower levels of proficiency. The data also suggested that a higher level of motivation might lead to a higher level of anxiety, which in turn may lead to a lower level of proficiency. Kondo and Yang (2003) found in their study of 148 university students in Japan that classroom anxiety was associated with three main factors: low proficiency, fear of negative evaluation by classmates, and speaking activities. In a study of first-year Japanese junior high school students ($n = 148$), Takada (2003) found that anxiety levels and motivation were unrelated to previous English language study in elementary school. Burden (2004) replicated the study of Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1991) and found that about half of the Japanese students ($n = 289$) in the university conversation classes he studied suffered from some level of anxiety. In contrast to other studies of Japanese learners, Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar (2001) found that Japanese university students ($n = 320$) who had higher scores on a cloze test tended to have high anxiety scores on the FLCAS (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986).

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Related research in the area of Japanese-American cross-cultural psychology has found that culturally based differences of the definition and interpretation of

emotions can be identified. In one study of interest (Imada, 1989), the purpose was to define the Japanese equivalents of anxiety (*fu-an*), fear (*kyo-fu*), and depression (*yu-utsu*). Imada found that American students referred directly to physical senses as experiences of anxiety, but this tendency was weaker among the Japanese students. Another finding was that when asked to write about specific anxiety situations they had experienced, American university students tended to link the experience of anxiety with not being able to attain the goals they were actively pursuing in contrast to Japanese students who often perceived the experience of *fu-an* (anxiety) as being “an uneasy expectancy of losing peace and comfort they have already attained” (p. 16). The Japanese students judged the Japanese experience of *fu-an* as being, among other things, weaker, ambiguous, and more inactive in contrast to the American students’ experience of anxiety as being stronger, more active, and more focused.

In a study of communication apprehension, Ishii, Cambra, and Klopff (1978) compared anxiety levels of Japanese and American college students. Seven hundred Japanese students and 727 University of Hawaii students were given the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension for College Students (PRCA-College) in their native language. The results indicated that Japanese scored higher than average on 75% of the PRCA-College items, suggesting perhaps that the Japanese students viewed themselves as significantly more apprehensive than confident. When compared with the American students, the Japanese students were more apprehensive.

In a cross-cultural study of university students, Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer, and Wallbott (1988) used seven separate questionnaires with closed-ended alternatives as a way to evaluate the emotional responses of joy, fear, anger, sadness, disgust, shame, and guilt between Japanese and Americans. Specifically, the goal of this study was to evaluate four aspects of the emotional process: “(1) the ecology of emotional experience; (2) the regulation and control of emotion; (3) the subjective evaluation of emotion-eliciting events; and (4) the verbal, nonverbal, and physiological reactions” (p. 271). Culture was used as a between-subjects factor and emotion as a within-subject factor. Their results are very rich and not all of them will be presented here. However, a number do stand out and should be considered significant. The American subjects reported experiencing emotions more intensely and for a longer period of time than the Japanese subjects. They also tended to attribute the cause of the event to other people, whereas the Japanese subjects tended to attribute it to chance or life. There were noteworthy differences in the cultures response to fear (anxiety), anger, disgust shame, and guilt. Most significant was more Japanese than Americans believed

that in the situations mentioned no action was necessary. Matsumoto et al. (1988) hypothesize that “this finding is consistent with the findings about attribution of responsibility for the event: if one is reluctant to make an attribution of responsibility, or attributes responsibility to other forces, then one’s coping ability is limited, and is reflected in the belief that no action is necessary” (p. 279).

Research Questions

The aim of the present study is not to replicate the study of Matsumoto et al. (1988) but to contribute new information on foreign language learning anxiety in Japanese learners by applying a modified version of their questionnaire to the EFL classroom. Specifically, the present study examines the following questions: (1) What is the relationship between anxiety and pair and small group work? (2) What are the characteristics of anxiety in terms of occurrence, duration, intensity, expectation, and degree of hindrance? (3) What are the physical, emotional, expressive, and verbal reactions to the anxiety-provoking situation?

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were non-English majors students at six universities in Japan enrolled in first- and second-year conversational English courses taught by native speakers of English.¹ Class sizes ranged from 20 to 30 students. Ages of the students ranged from 18 to 21. There were 132 males and 111 females.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this project was adapted for the Japanese foreign language learning context from the one Matsumoto et al. (1988) used to compare differences in emotional responses between Japanese and Americans. The first adaptation, written in English, was reviewed by several knowledgeable colleagues for evaluation of its overall structure and to see if the individual questions fit the desired goals for each section and the instrument as a whole. After this review, the questionnaire was revised and reviewed a second time as above. Revisions were again

1. This pool of participants was the same as the one used in Williams and Andrade, 2008.

made. Next, the questionnaire was translated into Japanese, and colleagues who were native Japanese speakers undertook the same review. Further revisions were made. The final version consisted of 12 items in the form of Likert scales and multiple-choice questions.

The Japanese version of the questionnaire was piloted on a target group of 50 first- and second-year university students in conversational English classes in Japan. In addition, randomly selected students were asked to give their views on the questionnaire regarding any difficulty in understanding instructions or other sections that were unclear or ambiguous. Revisions were made from this feedback. The final version was back translated to check for accuracy. The English version of the questionnaire items appears in the Appendix.

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered in 31 classes during class time midway through the first semester by six instructors. The students were informed that the survey would gather information about how they felt concerning various activities in their conversational English language class and would have no effect on their grade. They were asked to read each statement carefully and reflect on their experience before marking their response. The questionnaire was anonymous and did not reveal any information that could be used to identify individual students.

Data Analysis

From an initial pool of 780 questionnaires, one-third (260) of the original total were randomly selected for processing. After incomplete questionnaires were eliminated, 243 remained for analysis. Based on gender and the students' self-perceived ability level, the questionnaire data was divided into nine groups for analysis: (1) all students, (2) males only, (3) females only, (4) high ability, (5) low ability, (6) high males, (7) high females, (8) low males, and (9) low females. High ability students were considered to be those who rated themselves as above average in English ability (marking ranks 6-8 on the scale), and low English ability students were those who rate themselves as below average (marking ranks 1-3 on the scale). These ratings indicated the participants' perceived ability level, not their actual level. Objective measures of learner ability were not available to us. The descriptive statistics for the nine groups for the variables of pair (PRW) and

group work (GRW), occurrence (OCC), duration (DUR), intensity (INT), expectation (EXP), hindrance (HIN), and perceived ability (ABL) appear in Tables 1, 2, and 3. MANOVA and *post hoc* Scheffé tests were performed to determine any significant differences between the groups that could be attributed to perceived ability or gender. Significant differences among the groups appear in Table 4. Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated to find the degree of relationships between perceived ability and gender on the following variables: pair work, group work, occurrence, duration, intensity, expectation, and degree of hindrance. Descriptive statistics for physical, emotional, expressive, and verbal reactions appear in Table 5.

Results

Perceived ability level and gender

The results for the participants as a whole appear in Table 1, and the break down by gender and perceived ability level appears in Tables 2, 3, and 4. The lowest group (rankings 1-3) and the highest group (rankings 6-8) accounted for 60.91% and 8.23% respectively (1=poor, 8=excellent). Among the male students, 9.09% ranked themselves as high ability (rankings 6-8) and 65.91% as low ability (rankings 1-3). Among the female students, 7.21% ranked themselves as high and 54.95% ranked themselves as low. There were no significant differences between males and females in their perceived ability levels.

Previous research suggests that higher ability learners tend to underestimate their ability and lower ability learners tend to overestimate it (MacIntyre, Noels, and Clement, 1997). On the other hand, other studies have found that low perceived ability is associated with low achievement (e.g., Bailey, Onwuegbuzie, Daly, 2000; Kitano, 2001). If perceived ability does, indeed, work in these ways, then the overall actual ability level of students in this study may be higher than the data suggest. How perceived ability and gender are related to the other variables in this study is discussed below.

Pair and group work

Pair and small group work are believed to contribute to a low-anxiety classroom situation (e.g., Koch and Terrell, 1991; Price, 1999; Young, 1999). These two items asked to what extent the students participated actively when engaged in these activities. There were significant differences for nearly all

groups (Table 4), with females and lower ability students actively participating more in pairs or small groups than in a whole class situation. Same-gender comparisons, however, showed that high females participated more than low females. The difference between high males and high females was not significant, although the high females participated more. A strong correlation ($r = .76$) was found between pair and group work, suggesting that teachers who use these activities tend to use both in their classes. No correlations were found, however, between pair or small group work and the variables hindering, intensity, and duration of anxiety. The anxiety-provoking situations that the students described may or may not have occurred during these activities.

Occurrence of the situation

Reports of when the anxiety-provoking situation occurred varied widely. Only 18.52% reported a recent occurrence (a few days ago) or weeks ago (32.10%) in contrast to nearly half of the students (49.38%) who reported an incident happening months or years ago. There were no significant differences attributable to gender or perceived ability among the groups and no Pearson correlations exceeding $r > .30$ or $r < -.30$ between occurrence and the other variables, suggesting that these items were not strongly related. These findings are difficult to interpret because we do not know why the students reported the particular situation that they did. It could be the case that the students chose the strongest anxiety-provoking situation in their experience, or perhaps they chose one that was the easiest to recall. If hindering anxiety were a major factor in the classroom environment of a majority of these students, we suspect there would be more reports of recent anxiety-provoking situations. Nevertheless, with half of the students reporting cases that occurred within a few weeks or days of the study, it is clear that classroom anxiety is still a problem.

Duration and intensity

For 80.25% of the students, the anxiety lasted only a few minutes, and anxiety that lasted for several hours or more than one day affected only 7% of the students. There were no significant differences in duration among any of the groups. A weak to low-moderate intensity of anxiety (rankings 1-4) was reported by 59.26% of the students in contrast to 40.74% who reported a high-moderate to high intensity (rankings 5-8 in Table 2). About 8% of the students (rankings 7-8) were strongly affected, and 9% of the students reported no anxiety. These data suggest that a

negative emotional impact was not a problem for many of the students, but was potentially a serious problem for some. For females, the experience was slightly more intense than for males in general ($p < .001$). Specifically, low females reported more intense anxiety than low males ($p < .05$). These results contrast with those of Campbell (1999), who found the males in her study to be more anxious, and they are similar to those of Caprio (1986) and Pappamihel (2001).

Expectation

About half of the students (49.79%) expected an anxiety-provoking situation (rankings 5-8 in Table 2). We conjecture that based on their previous experiences in foreign language learning, many students may be coming to the classroom mentally prepared to experience some type of anxiety. This expectation may explain to some degree why the majority of students do not feel an intense, persistent, hindering anxiety that affects a small minority. There were no significant differences attributable to gender or perceived ability except for low females, who were more likely to expect anxiety than low males ($p < .05$). There were no correlations between expectation and the other variables.

Hindrance

About 25% of the students indicated that anxiety hindered their English learning (rankings 5-8 in Table 2), and a high degree of hindering affected 11% of the students (rankings 6-8). There were significant differences between the high and low ability groups in general ($p < .05$) and between the high and low females specifically ($p < .05$). The difference between low males and low females was also significant at $p < .05$. Those students with higher perceived ability were less hindered than those with lower perceived ability, a finding consistent with the results of other studies (e.g., Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986).

Physical and emotional reactions

The most common physical reactions (Table 5) were faster heartbeat (67.49%), feeling hot or burning cheeks (51.85%), perspiring (34.57%), and a lump in the throat (23.05%). The most common emotional reactions were having the mind go blank (42.35%) and inability to concentrate (27.05%). It is easy to see how these emotional reactions could relate to many of the anxiety-provoking situations reported in Williams and Andrade (2008), for example, remaining silent and not responding

quickly.

Expressive and verbal reactions

Anxiety associated with verbal and expressive reactions (output and mental planning rather than input) combined with fear of negative evaluation and loss of self-esteem accounted for the majority of the anxiety-provoking situations (Williams and Andrade, 2008). The most common expressive reactions cited (Table 5) were smiling or laughing (29.22%) and changes in the voice (23.05%). The open-ended category of “other reactions” (23.05%) included comments about using broken English, simplifying what one wanted to say and sounding childish, and making grammatical and pronunciation mistakes. We speculate that smiling to mask one’s true feelings is a characteristic of Japanese non-verbal communication (the so-called “Japanese smile”) and that accordingly such behavior would be an expected response to intense classroom anxiety in Japan. Concerning verbal reactions, speech disturbances (hesitation, mispronunciation, etc.) accounted for 59.26% of the verbal reactions, followed by speaking in short phrases (47.74%), shortening one’s comments to one or two sentences (34.57%), and silence (24.69%). In an oral performance course, such behavior would likely contribute to a lower final grade.

Conclusion

Overall, about 75% of the students in this study were weakly to strongly affected by anxiety to some degree. The debilitating effects did not last long for the majority but did strongly hinder about 11%. Other findings include significant differences between male-female and high-low perceived ability groups on a number of variables, especially between the low-males and low-females. The physical, emotional, expressive, and verbal symptoms of anxiety were similar to those reported in studies of non-Japanese students. One finding to bear in mind is that many students enter their university EFL classes expecting to experience an anxiety-provoking situation and that anxiety is likely to significantly hinder the performance of some students. Foreign language learning anxiety is not something to be ignored or considered a problem for the students to deal with on their own. To optimize learning for all learners, teachers should be aware of anxiety-provoking situations and take steps to minimize their negative impact. In addition, learners would benefit from being taught how to cope with these situations in a positive way. To this end, approaches

recommended in Young (1999), Campbell and Ortiz (1991), Crookall and Reitzel (1991), Foss and Reitzel (1988), McCoy (1979), and Vande Berge (1993) may be good places to start, and further research on the actual effectiveness of these approaches in a diversity of classroom settings would make a positive contribution to foreign language learning anxiety research.

One limitation of this study was that the students rated themselves after the anxiety situation, not before. Their self-ratings may reflect their experiences in the course, not the attitude they began the course with. Those who experienced strong anxiety may have rated themselves lower because of that anxiety. Thus, we cannot show that their perceived ability level had a causal role in their experience of anxiety. In fact, it may have been a result of those anxiety situations.

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Appendix

Questionnaire Items

1. During this English course, how often did you actively practice English in pairs with another student?
Never 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Always
2. During this English course, how often did you actively practice English in a small group with other students?
Never 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Always
3. When did an anxiety-provoking event happen to you in an English class?
1. A few days ago 2. Weeks ago 3. Months ago 4. Years ago
4. How long did you feel this anxiety?
1. A few minutes 2. An hour 3. Several hours 4. One day or more
5. How intense was this anxiety?
Not intense 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Very intense
6. Think back to the situation that caused your anxiety. Did you expect this situation to occur?
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Very much
7. Did this anxiety hinder or help your English learning?
It helped 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 It hindered.
8. How would you evaluate your English ability at the time this event happened?
Poor 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Excellent

Below is a list of reactions that often occur in anxiety-provoking situations. Check the ones you experienced during the event above.

9. Bodily reactions

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Lump in throat | 7. ___ Heart beating faster |
| 2. ___ Change in breathing | 8. ___ Muscles tensing, trembling |
| 3. ___ Stomach troubles | 9. ___ Muscles relaxing, restful |
| 4. ___ Feeling cold, shivering | 10. ___ Perspiring |
| 5. ___ Feeling warm, pleasant | 11. ___ Other symptoms |
| 6. ___ Feeling hot, cheeks burning | 12. ___ Do not remember |

10. Emotional reactions

1. ___ Mind went blank
2. ___ Had many unwanted thoughts
3. ___ Could not concentrate
4. ___ Other emotional reaction
5. ___ Do not remember

11. Expressive reactions

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ___ Laughing, smiling | 7. ___ Abrupt bodily movements |
| 2. ___ Crying, sobbing | 8. ___ Moving towards people or things |
| 3. ___ Other changes in facial expression | 9. ___ Withdrawing from people or things |
| 4. ___ Screaming, yelling | 10. ___ Moving against people or things aggressively |
| 5. ___ Other changes in voice | 11. ___ Other expressive reactions |
| 6. ___ Changes in gesturing | 12. ___ Do not remember |

12. Verbal reactions in English

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. ___ Silence | 6. ___ Speech disturbances |
| 2. ___ Short utterances | 7. ___ Speech tempo changes |
| 3. ___ One or two sentences | 8. ___ Other verbal reactions |
| 4. ___ Lengthy | (What were they?) |
| 5. ___ Speech-melody change | 9. ___ Do not remember |

Table 1. Response frequencies and percentages for the questionnaire items¹

Scale ²	PRW	GRW	OCC	DUR	INT	EXP	HIN	ABL
1	38	54	45	195	24	43	90	52
	15.64	22.22	18.52	80.25	9.88	17.70	37.04	21.40
2	28	36	78	31	33	17	28	51
	11.52	14.81	32.10	12.76	13.58	7.00	11.52	20.99
3	27	25	50	9	44	27	30	45
	11.11	10.29	20.58	3.70	18.11	11.11	12.35	18.35
4	28	30	70	8	43	34	35	43
	12.35	28.81	3.29	17.70	13.99	14.40	17.70	11.52
5	30	21	--	--	40	45	33	32
	12.35	8.64	--	--	16.46	18.52	13.58	13.17
6	34	26	--	--	39	34	18	11
	13.99	10.70	--	--	16.05	13.99	7.41	4.53
7	17	14	--	--	9	20	6	6
	7.00	5.76	--	--	3.70	8.23	2.47	2.47
8	41	37	--	--	11	23	3	3
	16.87	15.23	--	--	4.53	9.47	1.23	1.23
Totals	243	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>M</i>	4.52	4.04	2.60	1.31	4.07	4.34	2.96	3.11
<i>SD</i>	2.37	2.49	1.09	0.70	1.83	2.21	1.92	1.69

1. Top figures are frequency and bottom figures are percentages (rounded).

2. PRW = pair work (item 1), GRW = group work (item 2), OCC = occurrence (item 3), DUR = duration (item 4), INT = intensity (item 5), EXP = expectation (item 6), HIN = hindrance (item 7), ABL = perceived ability level (item 8)

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for the questionnaire items

	All	Male	Fem	HA	LA	HM	HF	LM	LF
<i>n</i>	243	132	111	20	148	12	8	87	61
Pair work (Item 1)									
<i>M</i>	4.52	4.08	4.95	6.15	4.25	5.17	7.12	3.70	4.80
<i>SD</i>	2.37	2.39	2.35	1.79	2.35	2.44	1.13	2.41	2.28
Group work (Item 2)									
<i>M</i>	4.04	3.77	4.31	5.53	4.03	4.67	6.38	3.61	4.44
<i>SD</i>	2.49	2.40	2.57	2.52	2.58	2.77	2.26	2.65	2.50
Occurrence (Item 3)									
<i>M</i>	2.60	2.52	2.68	2.75	2.59	2.75	2.75	2.53	2.64
<i>SD</i>	1.09	1.13	1.04	1.29	1.01	1.42	1.16	1.09	0.93
Duration (Item 4)									
<i>M</i>	1.31	1.29	1.32	1.13	1.36	1.25	1.00	1.32	1.39
<i>SD</i>	0.70	0.68	0.71	0.44	0.70	0.87	0.00	0.69	0.71
Intensity (Item 5)									
<i>M</i>	4.07	3.67	4.46	3.80	4.29	3.34	4.25	3.83	4.74
<i>SD</i>	1.83	1.80	1.86	2.40	1.78	2.19	2.60	1.73	1.82
Expectation (Item 6)									
<i>M</i>	4.34	4.08	4.59	4.15	4.40	3.42	4.88	4.02	4.77
<i>SD</i>	2.21	2.20	2.22	2.60	2.21	1.88	3.31	2.24	2.17
Hinder (Item 7)									
<i>M</i>	2.96	2.78	3.14	2.00	3.20	2.50	1.50	2.78	3.61
<i>SD</i>	1.92	1.79	2.04	1.57	1.93	2.07	1.07	1.77	2.08
Ability (Item 8)									
<i>M</i>	3.11	3.01	3.21	6.59	1.96	6.67	6.50	1.93	1.98
<i>SD</i>	1.69	1.76	1.62	0.77	0.80	0.78	0.76	0.79	0.81

Note. HA = high perceived ability, LA = low perceived ability, HM = high males, HF = high female, LM = low male, LF = low female

Table 3. Results of MANOVA for six groupings of gender and ability

	Wilk's lambda	Rao's R	df 1	df 2	p-level
High vs. low	0.216	72.18	8	159	.000
Male vs. female	0.922	2.48	8	234	.013
High male vs. low male	0.196	46.23	8	90	.000
High female vs. low female	0.242	23.51	8	60	.000
High male vs. high female	0.437	1.77	8	11	.118
Low male vs. low female	0.872	2.54	8	139	.013

Note: Calculated using *Statistic Release 4.0* software.

Table 4. Significant differences between groups on questionnaire items

	H-L	M-F	HM-LM	HF-LF	HM-HF	LM-LF
Pair	**	*	***	**	--	**
Group	*	--	--	*	--	*
Occurrence	--	--	--	--	--	--
Duration	--	--	--	--	--	--
Intensity	--	*	--	--	--	**
Expectation	--	--	--	--	--	*
Hindrance	*	--	--	**	--	**
Ability	***	--	***	***	--	--

Note: M = male, F = female, H = high perceived ability, L = low perceived ability

* $p < .05$ level ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ level (Scheffé test)

Table 5. Physical and psychological reactions to classroom anxiety

Sub-item	Body (Item 9)	Emotional (Item 10)	Expression (Item 11)	Verbal (Item 12)
1	56	119	71	60
	23.05	42.35	29.22	24.69
2	33	32	0	116
	13.58	11.39	0	47.74
3	7	76	43	84
	2.88	27.05	17.70	34.57
4	2	18	2	2
	0.82	6.41	0.82	0.82
5	4	36	56	5
	1.65	6.72	23.05	2.06
6	126	--	45	144
	51.85	--	18.52	59.26
7	164	--	15	19
	67.49	--	6.17	7.82
8	22	--	8	13
	9.05	--	3.29	5.35
9	1	--	17	13
	0.41	--	7.00	5.35
10	84	--	2	--
	34.57	--	0.82	--
11	16	--	18	--
	6.58	--	7.41	--
12	21	--	56	--
	8.64	--	23.05	--
Totals:	536	281	333	456

Notes: (1) See Appendix for sub-item referents. (2) Respondents could choose multiple items in each category. (3) The top figure is the frequency, and the bottom figure is the percentage of respondents out of 243 who chose this item.

Assessing Lexical Production in NNS-NNS Casual Conversations: A Mini-Corpus Approach

Timothy Gould

This paper is a general introduction to and rationale for the construction of a linguistic corpus based exclusively on casual L2 English conversations between female L1 Japanese junior college students. As an English teacher to this narrow population of learners, my motivation is to try to gain a deeper understanding of how our students use their verbal English skills when they are not speaking in a classroom environment or guided by learning oriented tasks. In other words, I want to begin to address the question, “Of all the English our students have learned, what are the words and constructions they use when they are on their own?” Although I refer to the data gathered and prepared thus far as a corpus, it might more accurately be called an interim, or “mini” corpus. As such, this is a work in progress and the data presented below is an exploratory precursor to analysis using the larger and more representative corpus pointed to here. One of my main goals is to illustrate to other teachers who work with these students the nature of a corpus and to attempt to show how they might find this to be a valuable resource helpful in their own teaching and research efforts. Additionally, simply browsing the corpus may lead to a better sense of our students’ knowledge and provide insights into how better to approach teaching them. To this end, the paper proceeds as follows.

In the first part I lay out the basic design and methodology being used to capture and transcribe the data that makes up the corpus. In the second section I detail the preparation of the transcripts that provide the raw data of the corpus and I discuss some of the issues and theoretical decisions that have been made in this effort. In the third section I present some basic statistics extracted from the corpus and I also give a brief overview of some concordance capabilities available to assist in analyzing the corpus. Let me make two comments about the nature of this paper. Since I intend to make this corpus available for use by other teachers, I think its construction should be documented in a way that allows anyone to clearly see how it is being put together. I hope that this detailed view of the process will generate some constructive comments and criticism that will form the starting point for further discussions to help guide its development as the corpus grows. Secondly, in the third section I have included quite

a bit of raw, unanalyzed data. This data is offered as an initial glimpse into the kinds of words our students employ and may help trigger questions that teachers might want to use the corpus to help answer.

Data Collection and Methodology

In gathering the data, I have tried to simulate, as closely as possible, the conditions of a ‘natural’ conversational environment in order to capture the type of free form conversation the participants might be called upon to join in the wider, non-pedagogical ‘real’ world. The general notion behind this methodology is essentially that if we can witness our students using their L2s when they are not guided or influenced by us (their EFL teachers), we can target our own pedagogical interventions much more specifically and to greater effect. The main problem we encounter, however, when we try to ‘witness’ our students’ use of language, is that our presence during a conversation removes precisely the spontaneity of interaction and naturalness we are interested in capturing. This issue is known as the ‘observer’s paradox,’ and to escape its influence, the conversations that comprise this corpus were videotaped without the presence of a teacher. Specifically, students in my required English classes were allowed to self-select from among their classmates into groups of three participants each. Since students in these required English classes engage in other activities and classes together, the students knew each other and were easily able to divide themselves into small groups. They were then given ‘free conversation’ time in class to help get them used to talking to each other in English before the actual videotaping.

When it came time to videotape the individual groups, I started the video camera recording and immediately left the room for the ten-minute duration of the taping. Although the presence of a video camera may have had a slight effect on the naturalness of the conversational environment, I attempted to put the students at ease and alleviate any nervousness they may have felt. They were informed that their performance during the videotaped conversation would not be part of their course grade and that I was not going to use the tape to evaluate them in any way. Viewing the results, the students, if they appeared anxious at all, were more likely to express concern about their English skills and choosing conversation topics than about the presence of the video camera, and they soon ceased to take any notice of the camera at all and seemed to be comfortable and at ease.

As stated earlier, I refer to the work here as a mini-corpus approach. This is meant to indicate that the corpus I have constructed here is in its nascent stages and has been purposefully limited in size and scope in order to be just large enough to test some of its potential uses, determine directions for future research, fine tune the nature of the corpus itself, and expose and remove as many weaknesses and limitations as possible before committing the necessary time and effort to building a larger and more robust corpus. The mini-corpus utilized in this paper is based on the transcripts of six of the above-mentioned videotaped sessions. The transcripts themselves were produced and linked to the videotapes following the conventions of CHAT (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts) (MacWhinney, 2000), and subsequently modified for analysis. Details of the preparation and modification of the transcripts will be taken up in the next section.

While a corpus of this nature has many potential uses for investigating language across a wide spectrum of disciplines, in this paper I focus specifically on the construction of the corpus and its usefulness in helping to determine the nature and frequency of our students' vocabulary production. At this early stage of corpus building, I will offer some rudimentary statistics, but future research will subject the data to more sophisticated analysis. Now, I am particularly keen to establish a perspective whereby we can generate a basic profile and initial analysis of each student's lexical diversity and place their performance along a continuum ranging from the specific details of their individual contributions to the conversation, out to a global view of their performance in relation to the corpus as a whole.

In the next section, then, I will lay out in detail the process of constructing this small corpus, provide some provisional results, and set the stage for future work which will attempt to provide a resource for research and pedagogical questions to mine this ever-growing corpus for additional insights into how our students use their English skills while conducting free conversations.

Corpus Construction

The original meaning of "corpus" is, of course, "body." Generally, then, we understand a linguistic corpus to be a "body," or collection, of words. Putting aside the non-trivial issue of precisely how to define a word, for our purposes here we will consider a word as simply a string of letters separated from other strings by spaces. Even this oversimplified definition, however, belies a host of complexities for second

language corpus construction, some of which I will now describe.

Preparation of a linguistic corpus from transcripts involves the making of decisions that can have both theoretical and statistical implications on the findings gained from them. In this section I will detail some of the relevant choices that were made and provide, to the extent possible, the rationale for them. The first issue that was dealt with was that many of the words spoken during the videotaped conversations were uttered in Japanese. This presented problems on a number of fronts. As detailed in Gould (2008), a common occurrence by the participants was to handle administrative issues related to the conversation in Japanese. For example, students would often converse in English about, say, what they did last weekend, but then switch to Japanese to determine what topic they would broach next or to work out conversational troubles.

Since the transcripts being made from these conversations are also used in other areas of research, an accurate account of all utterances, including the Japanese, must be maintained. It is not a possible option to simply leave out the Japanese lexical items and discourse markers during the transcription process, so they must be included in the transcript, yet excluded from the frequency analysis of the English vocabulary. To accomplish this, an “exclude” file containing all of the Japanese words found throughout all the transcripts was compiled and entered into the frequency analysis software. In this way, when the software program analyzes the transcripts, it ignores the Japanese words. On its face this seems like an unremarkable and straightforward process, but there are a surprising number of Japanese words and discourse markers which, when transcribed in Roman script, have the same form as English words. In order to find instances of these, a trial run of the frequency software was conducted on the original transcripts. The output of this process takes the form of an alphabetical list noting the frequency of each item and indicating where it appears in the transcript.

Each possibly ambiguous item between Japanese and English, then, must then be manually verified to make sure it is a legitimate English word. A problem here for native English speakers checking these files, and hence an area where much time is required to prevent mistakes, is that when reading an item, it is very difficult to look at L1 (English) words and read them as L2 (Japanese) lexical or discourse items. For clarity I will provide some illustrative examples.

The orthographic form which constitutes the English word “made” can also appear as a Japanese word, as in “itsu made.” Once the frequency list has been

generated, however, each item appears on an individual line and is thus stripped of its context, so if a speaker used the English word “made” in a sentence, and the Japanese “itsu made” elsewhere in the conversation, the output list produced by the software will contain an entry that looks like this:

* made: 2

Indicating that two occurrences of the form “made” were found. When orthographic ambiguity of this type is discovered, we cannot merely enter the ambiguous string into the exclude file, because doing so would also exclude the legitimate English word—an unacceptable outcome. The solution in this case has been to scour the transcripts for these “double agents,” and temporarily mark the Japanese words and then to add the new, altered word, “jmade,” for example, to the exclude file.

Some of the other orthographically ambiguous strings which were discovered include:

- * “men” as found in “ramen” looks like the English word “men.”
- * The Japanese possessive “no” has the same orthographic form as the English negative “no.”
- * The Japanese deictic marker “sore” is the same as the English pain indicator “sore.”

Even forms that are not lexical items in Japanese can present problems when they appear in the form of English words. The first run of the trial frequency program produced a number of instances of the form “a.” This was initially assumed to be the English determining article, but further investigation revealed that “a” had been used as a type of pause filling device during the conversation. Here are two examples from different speakers in different conversations:

- * ST2: #1_1 a #2_0 (laughs) u:n I was junior high school student.
- * ST1: #3_2 a #1_6 what will you #2_0 do ζ #1_1 christmas #1_5 day?

In the example from student 2, the phonetic form “a” qua article would have been correctly placed before “junior high school student,” but as it was uttered, it is obviously not a lexical item but, as stated above, a pause-filler. In the entire corpus, a total of forty-five instances of “a” were found, of which less than half were uttered as the English article. Given the amount of time and ink spent by second language educators trying to teach the correct usage of determiners, this points to an interesting area that can be easily researched and analyzed using a corpus approach.

Another modification of the original transcripts for corpus use concerns the manner in which non-standard English pronunciation is preserved. Some Japanese students maintain in their English speech patterns an L1 rule from Japanese which requires a vowel ending for each syllable. The manifestation of this Japanese rule (which is of necessity perpetuated by Japanese-English dictionaries published in Japan) in English speech results in “katakana” English, where a vowel is uttered at the end of every word, but it is especially prominent after full stops. Examples of this behavior from the current transcripts include “watched-u,” “good-o,” and “watch-i” among many others. If these forms are left in their original state, frequency counts applied to the corpus consider “watched” and “watched-u” as two different word types, which they are not. We are interested here in collecting evidence of vocabulary items that the speakers have used correctly, and “watched-u,” although not adhering to prescriptive English pronunciation rules, is an unambiguously correct and meaningful use of the word “watched,” so we must count it as such. As it relates to the preparation of the corpus, then, a decision was made in this case, to alter the original speakers’ pronunciation to match the accepted orthography of each word in question. So while some accuracy, in terms of the transcripts’ portrayal of real world speech events, has been lost, the trade off, which improves our ability to analyze correct lexical usage, has been determined to be acceptable. This solution, however, is considered ad hoc and a more elegant solution, while not available now, will be incorporated into future versions of the corpus. The solution lies in tagging certain words and families, which will be automatically altered before being submitted to the corpus for analysis.

In addition to changing non-standard orthography in order to capture correct usage, as detailed above, there are some cases in the transcript where actual English words are spoken by participants, but they are phonetic repetitions of a previous speaker’s utterance and do not seem to carry the semantic load that would allow us to consider them instances of the word whose form they resemble. Consider the following exchange, which occurred during the conversation conducted by Group 5:

- * ST1: Chikuabu is fish.
- * ST3: raw fish?
- * ST1: [rawfish]?

Student 1 is explaining about a certain type of fish, “chikuabu,” and Student 3,

understanding that it is a type of fish, or a way of preparing fish, asks a clarifying question to determine if “chikuabu” is raw. Student 1’s response, however, presents us with a problem; how do we treat utterances which appear to be English words, but, based on the context, do not seem to contain semantic content? In the excerpt above, I have transcribed her answer within square brackets to indicate that her utterance appears to be a phonetic approximation, repeating what she heard, not an additional clarification question. I do, however, want to maintain the connection with the previous utterance, so it has not been transcribed as [roffish], which is actually how this utterance sounds. In this case, the term ‘rawfish’ was added to the exclude file so the frequency software would ignore it.

This type of situation opens another avenue for possible research using a corpus-based approach. Namely, is the strategy by an interlocutor of repeating the phonetic shape of an item that has not been understood an effective one? And how common is this strategy? Despite teachers exhortations to persuade them to use set-piece phrases such as “Could you repeat that please?” or “I’m sorry could you say that again,” do students really use these phrases when left to their own devices? Again, preparation of the transcripts has exposed an issue which may spur further corpus-based research, and one which will be taken up in future work.

A similar situation but with a different resolution arises when a participant fails to understand part of a previous speaker’s utterance, and in their effort to clarify the trouble, they produce a word of English, but not the one that had just been spoken. Here is an example of this phenomenon, which occurred during Group 6’s conversation:

* ST3: do you like this school?

* ST2: disk?

Without diverging too far afield into a discussion about pronunciation, suffice it to say that Student 3’s question appears to have been initially interpreted by Student 2 as “do you like disk-u?” Since this question comprises a topic initiating turn by Student 3, in which she is closing the previous topic about the cuteness of someone’s daughter, there is no previous context against which Student 2 can gauge the relevancy of her interpretation, hence her clarifying question, ‘disk?’ So to return to the issue of preparation of the transcript for corpus use, the question arises as to whether or not this word should be counted as an occurrence of the English word

“disk.” In this case, unlike the situation above concerning “rawfish,” I believe that the Student 3’s question activated a real lexical item which is part of Student 2’s vocabulary, so it was decided to count this particular instance of “disk” as legitimate word use by Student 2. This decision notwithstanding, I also recognize that “disuku” is a loan word from English to Japanese, so there are plausible arguments against my choice. Before closing this discussion, however, let me introduce another example with a different outcome. In the following excerpt, Student 3, in answer to a question about what traditional Japanese food she likes, introduces the word “radish,” which seems to be an unknown word for the other participants.

1. * ST3: e: radish.
2. * ST1: tanish?
3. * ST2: rashu?
4. * ST3: radish.
5. * ST1: radish?
6. * ST3: Daikon.
7. * ST1: a:::
8. * ST2: a:::

I have included the entire exchange because I think that it reveals the nature of the participants strategy for dealing with lexical troubles, but the focal point for this discussion is Student 2’s use of the form “rashu” in line 3. Student 1’s “tanish” cannot be considered in any light an English word, so “tanish” was simply added to the exclude file. “Rashu,” on the other hand, as uttered by Student 2, does realize the phonetic form of an English word when stripped of it final “u.” In this case, I took advantage of my access to the audio and video context surrounding Student 2’s lexical output during the conversation to make a determination about how to treat this item. While I cannot entirely discount the possibility that Student 2 knows the word “rash” in English, it seems more likely to me that she is simply repeating the basic phonetic shape of Student 3’s utterance of “radish.” Part of my decision rests on Student 3’s initial pronunciation of “radish,” which is produced with a very lightly flapped “d.” This light flapping makes Student 2’s hearing it as the phonetic “rash” very plausible. Unfortunately, at this time the video is not accessible to the reader. To remedy this, however, as the current corpus grows, I would like to make it available online so that others can watch the interactions themselves and come to their own

conclusions about my decisions. This access can possibly even provide a forum for discussion, which would add to the general knowledge base about how our students deploy their English skill as they interact in free conversation.

I will now briefly discuss the difficult issue, hinted at earlier, about how best to handle loan words from English to Japanese which appear during the conversations. Despite earlier claims that loanwords were a hindrance to L1 Japanese learners acquiring English (Simon-Maeda, 1995), research by Daulton (1999, 2007) found that, “English loanwords in Japanese greatly enhance the acquisition of the English basewords on which they originate.” In light of this, I am allowing most loan words to remain in the frequency count if they were used during an English utterance. Many of these words, however, are substantially modified from their original English forms, as in utterances such as, “I watched terebi last night,” or “on terebi.” Instead of changing the transcription to inaccurately portray the clearly distinct phonetic form “terebi” as “television,” then, I have allowed both “terebi” and “television” as distinct lexical items. This move is also considered an ad hoc solution, but at this time I am not sure how best to consistently handle this issue. On the one hand, “terebi” will appear on the frequency list, which is not accurate, but I will also be able to search out the use of loan words. Although there are good arguments to disallow Japanese derived forms of English words, I am not closing the theoretical door against future change, but for now most loan words in English contexts, even with Japanese pronunciation, will be counted. This caveat about context is intended to disallow English loanwords spoken in Japanese contexts, such as the following utterance from Student 2, Group 1:

* ST2: kino mita terebi toka.

Because “terebi” and other loanwords are allowed or disallowed based on context, each one must be checked individually. This process will become unwieldy as the corpus grows, so in the future a coding system will have to be employed during the transcription process. As an aside, it goes without saying that loanwords such as “baito,” which originate in languages other than English, have not been included in the corpus used here.

Although a smaller issue, the converse of the English to Japanese problem also obtains when participants use Japanese words that are loanwords to English. Again, a determination about whether to include the word must be made on a case by case

basis, but here the theoretical line defining which word belongs to which language becomes even fuzzier and is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, let me lay out two illustrative cases. Here is a brief exchange concerning a participant's part-time job.

- * ST2: oh baito.
- * ST3: part time job?
- * ST1: part time job.
- * ST1: yes.
- * ST3: mmhmm.
- * ST2: sushi?
- * ST1: sushi.

We have here two instances of the word Japanese word “sushi.” The context in which this word appears also contains a German loanword which, when uttered, prompts an English translation by the other participants. The example here of double confirmation by Students 3 and 1 of the English translation of “baito” – “part time job,” is an interesting phenomenon in its own right and an issue for later study, but here we must determine how to handle “sushi.” The context of this conversation, including the parts before the excerpt included here show that this first instance of “sushi,” uttered by Student 2, really carries the illocutionary force of the question, “you work in a sushi restaurant, don't you?” To which the second utterance by Student 2, means “yes, I do work in a sushi restaurant.” In this case, however, the semantic implication of these two sentences could also have been expressed in Japanese. So while the meaning is clear, the language expressing that meaning remains ambiguous, so I have chosen to disallow these utterances of “sushi.” Elsewhere in the transcripts, the word “sushi” appears in the sentence, “I like sushi.” In this case I have accepted it into the corpus as an English word.

In the interest of space, I will briefly introduce some other issues and their resolutions without a full explanation. Some speakers display a tendency to repeat a single word a number of times as part of the same utterance, as in the excerpt below:

- * ST1: a: do you have Christmas plan?
- * ST3: yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah.
- * ST3: no no no no no no no boyfriend no.

This hyper-repetition has the effect of inflating the frequency of the words in question. To resolve this issue, I used a convention available in CLAN which lists the number of repetitions of an item in square brackets. So Student 3's utterance of "no" seven times would appear as "no [x7]" in the transcripts. This maintains the correct lexical usage and allows us to see the affected repetition, yet ignores the repetition when calculating word frequencies.

Other areas of difficulty include Japanese band names, which often use low frequency words, and if counted as part of a participant's lexicon, artificially inflate her lexical diversity. For example, Japanese band names that were excluded from the transcripts for this reason include, "Bump of Chicken," "Exile," "Boa," and "Mr. Children." Song lyrics present another area of difficulty because the lyric can be quoted by a participant without necessarily understanding the lyrics. For example, a well known phrase such as "I love you" would be accepted, but "whispering sweet nothings," without clarifying context, would not. In general, place names, brand names, and other referential items not used contextually have been excluded.

In this section, I have detailed some of the issues that became apparent during the preparation of only six transcripts for use in our mini-corpus. Many of the issues have been solved in an ad hoc fashion and await further investigation to find clearer and more efficient ways to handle them. It seems that no matter how the transcripts are prepared, however, the process is labor intensive and requires a great deal of planning and coordination if it is to be done on a larger scale. Part of my goal in articulating the task of preparing the transcripts has been to elicit comments from other potential users who might have ideas on how to streamline the entire process. In the next section I will introduce and explain some of the preliminary statistics available from the corpus.

Corpus Based Data

This section is devoted to presenting some of the basic output and information available from our mini-corpus. I begin by talking about frequency counts and then move to one of the most often used, yet still controversial, analytic devices for evaluating lexical diversity—the type-token ratio. First, frequency measures, which simply list and count the number of words in a text, provide a useful way of initially taking stock of a corpus. Frequency counts take as input a text, along with instructions about which strings should be ignored (see previous section), and output a list of words

sorted alphabetically or by the frequency with which each word appears in the text.

Starting with West (1953), frequency lists based on large corpora have been used by teachers (and others) in an attempt to determine the core second language vocabulary necessary for language learners. Additionally, frequency counts provide the input for determining some basic measures of lexical diversity, which are meant to indicate the ‘richness’ or variety of a speaker’s or group’s vocabulary. Below I explain the calculation of the type-token ratio followed by the results for each student participant in the corpus under discussion here. In presenting this data, I have listed the students by the conversation group they participated in and I also give the cumulative type-token for the ratio entire group. This exhaustive listing exposes some of the weaknesses of the type-token ratio that I will also discuss.

Let me use one student as an example to explain the type-token ratio. Student 1 from Group 1 spoke a total of 92 words during the ten-minute conversation. From this performance, we can calculate the lexical variation in her speech by dividing the total number of words uttered by the number of word types used. For example, Student 1’s frequency profile shows that she said “do” three times. If these were the only words she spoke during the conversation, we would figure her type-token ratio by dividing 1, the number of types, by 3, the number of instances of that type, to arrive at a type-token ratio of .33. The type-token ratio can range from infinitely small (x repetitions of one word) to one (no words repeated by a speaker) and is best used as a comparative tool to analyze samples of relatively similar sizes. While all of the conversations making up our corpus are ten minutes long, the nature of each conversants’ input varies according to the distinct dynamics of that particular conversation. Some groups in general are more talkative than others, and while some distribute the conversations equally among themselves, there are cases when a dominant speaker emerges and contributes the bulk of lexical items. This distribution of speaking can be analyzed using the corpus and is an area for future research.

As stated above, Student 1 uttered a total of 92 words. Within these 92 words there are 51 types, which gives us the following:

Student 1, Group 1 type-token ratio: $51 \text{ types} / 92 \text{ tokens} = .554$

Now let us look at the type-token ratios for all of the groups and students comprising the corpus. Each underlined heading below details the input to the type-token calculation, the type-token ratio for each participant, and the cumulative type-token ratio for the entire group’s conversation. After these, we have the cumulative type-token profile for the corpus as a whole.

Type-token ratios for Group 1; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 51 types / 92 tokens = .554

Student 2: 49 types / 93 tokens = .527

Student 3: 55 types / 108 tokens = .509

Group: 98 types / 293 tokens = .334

Type-token ratios for Group 2; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 27 types / 39 tokens = .692

Student 2: 110 types / 296 tokens = .372

Student 3: 48 types / 76 tokens = .632

Group: 124 types / 411 tokens = .302

Type-token ratios for Group 3; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 53 types / 85 tokens = .624

Student 2: 40 types / 67 tokens = .597

Student 3: 73 types / 125 tokens = .584

Group: 106 types / 277 tokens = .383

Type-token ratios for Group 4; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 88 types / 180 tokens = .489

Student 2: 81 types / 161 tokens = .503

Student 3: 63 types / 103 tokens = .612

Group: 138 types / 444 tokens = .311

Type-token ratios for Group 5; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 52 types / 105 tokens = .495

Student 2: 28 types / 55 tokens = .509

Student 3: 79 types / 144 tokens = .549

Group: 100 types / 304 tokens = .329

Type-token ratios for Group 6; 3 participants and cumulative

Student 1: 101 types / 269 tokens = .375

Student 2: 94 types / 174 tokens = .540

Student 3: 83 types / 187 tokens = .444

Group: 154 types / 630 tokens = .244

Type-token ratio for all participants across all 6 Groups

395 types / 2359 tokens = .167

I mentioned earlier that the type-token ratio is best used to compare lexical diversity between similar sample sizes. This dependence on sample size can be seen when we compare the results for the different levels of analysis. In Group 1, for example, the three participants each obtain similar type-token ratios between .509 and .554. From this we can see that they seem to have divided the conversational 'labor' between themselves relatively equally. When we look at Group 2, however, we see that Student 1 and Student 3 both obtain comparatively high type-token ratios, but surprisingly, Student 1, with the lowest total number of spoken word types, has the highest type-token ratio of all eighteen students included in the corpus. With 27 types of words used across 39 tokens, we can safely conclude that hers is not the most lexically rich conversation, so we see the caveat about sample size is well deserved. Additionally, we can see that as the sample size increases, the type-token ratio decreases, so that when we calculate the type-token ratio for the entire corpus, we obtain a .167.

Although the type-token ratio has its weaknesses, it can help us find and develop research questions in areas we might not otherwise be inclined to look. Take Group 1 again, for example. As noted, the three students have very similar type-token ratios, showing an apparently equal division of the conversation, but when looking at the video and transcripts it is quite clear that Student 2 is the weakest English speaker in the group. So how does she obtain a type-token ratio similar to the other students? While I believe that her performance is based on a strategy of repeating the other students' utterances, the important point is that again we see how corpus analysis can reveal, and then help us to explore, questions about our students' linguistic performance. It should also be noted that other measures of lexical diversity which attempt to overcome the weaknesses inherent in the standard type-token ratio have also been developed, but since here I am only introducing some basic features of corpus study, those will have to be detailed elsewhere. In the remainder of this paper I will introduce another tool which makes use of corpus based word lists, the lexical frequency profile.

Lexical Frequency Profiles

The Lexical Frequency Profile (Laufer & Nation, 1995), is a measure which displays “the percentage of words a learner uses at different vocabulary frequency levels” (p. 311). This means that a text, in our case the spoken production of L2 English speakers, is compared against frequency lists compiled from large (over 1 million words) corpora and the results give an indication of that speaker’s general vocabulary. In the tables below I have included the lexical frequency profiles for each student in Group 1 and also the cumulative profile for all six groups, essentially the entire corpus as it now stands. Although I do not intend the reader to slog through all of the data I have included here, I do think that it would be worthwhile for teachers who work with this population to peruse the output to get an idea of the types of words our students are using in unguided conversations.

The profiles below list “K1” words, which are those words spoken by a student that are also contained in the corpus-generated first 1000 most frequent words. The types and tokens are separated according to the list they appear on, so looking at Student 1’s profile, we see that she uttered 92 tokens of 47 words that appear on the list of 1000 most frequent words, which represents 94.85% of her total production. The K1 words are further broken down into function and content words with the number of each placed in parentheses in the “token” column. Next, we see the words that the student used from the “K2,” or second 1000 most frequent words. In the case of Student 1, she used three 2K words, which represent 3.09% of her total lexical production. The next row gives a total percentage of words used from both the 1K and the 2K lists – 97.94% for Student 1. AWL in the next row stands for the “Academic Word List,” developed by Coxhead (1998). The inclusion of the AWL is not absolutely necessary for participants in casual conversations, but I have included it here to give an idea of the types of words our students use that are found on that particular list. We see that Student 1 used one word from the AWL, which represents 1.03% of her total production. The final row shows the statistics for words that do not appear on any of the word lists, hence “off-list.”

For ease of reference, I have placed beneath each lexical profile the complete type or token list, which lists the words referred to in the corresponding lexical profile table. So beneath Student 1’s profile, for example, we find the token list of her total production, which is further broken down by the most frequent 500 function and content words. For Students 2 and 3 and the cumulative profile, I have included the

type list, which presents each type along with its frequency in square brackets. In the cumulative chart, which represents the entire corpus, we see that 92.22% of all the words spoken were from the 1K and 2K most frequent lists.

Again, I want to reiterate that any comments and suggestions are welcome about how this data might be used to better understand and accommodate our students and improve the way we approach teaching them English. This paper has only scratched the surface in mining the data that is already available here, and future investigations, along with a larger, more robust corpus, are sure to yield additional insights.

Appendix

Lexical Frequency Profile Group 1 Student 1

	<u>Types</u>	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>Percent</u>
K1 Words (1-1000):	47	92	94.85%
Function:	...	(52)	(53.61%)
Content:	...	(40)	(41.24%)
K2 Words (1001-2000):	3	3	3.09%
1k+2k	...	...	(97.94%)
AWL Words (academic):	1	1	1.03%
Off-List Words:	1	1	1.03%
	52	97	100%

0-1000 about always am am am another ate bad because been country day did do do do do eat ever go good good have house how how how i i i i i i i i i i is is it last long long me me me me me morning morning on on part real september stay that thirty this time to to to too too too too too too want want watch watched what what where where why will will yes yes yes yes yes yes yes yesterday you you you you

First 500 function: about always am am am because been did do do do have how how how i i i i i i i i i i is is it me me me me me on on that this to to to what what where where why will will you you you you

First 500 content: another bad country day ever go good good house last long long morning morning part real time too too too too too too want want yes yes yes yes yes yes

Second 500 content: ate eat september stay thirty watch watched yesterday

1001-2000: christmas dinner grandfather

AWL: job

OFF LIST: pasta

Lexical Frequency Profile Group 1 Student 2

	<u>Types</u>	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>Percent</u>
K1 Words (1-1000):	42	84	89.36%
Function:	...	(52)	(55.32%)
Content:	...	(32)	(34.04%)
K2 Words (1001-2000):	4	6	6.38%
1k+2k	...	...	(95.74%)
AWL Words (academic):			0.00%
Off-List Words:	3	4	4.26%
	49	94	100%

1k types: about_[1] and_[2] bad_[1] been_[1] come_[1] did_[3] eat_[2] event_[1] go_[3] good_[2] have_[3] high_[1] how_[1] i_[10] interesting_[1] is_[2] it_[2] last_[1] laughs_[1] me_[4] morning_[2] on_[2] school_[1] student_[1] that_[1] this_[1] to_[5] too_[4] two_[1] very_[1] want_[1] was_[2] watched_[1] weeks_[1] went_[1] what_[1] when_[1] where_[1] will_[4] yes_[4] you_[4] your_[1]

2k types: birthday_[1] christmas_[2] dinner_[2] tomorrow_[1]

AWL types: 0

OFF types: homestay_[1] illumination_[2] junior_[1]

Lexical Frequency Profile Group 1 Student 3

	<u>Types</u>	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>Percent</u>
K1 Words (1-1000):	47	100	91.74%

Function:	...	(62)	(56.88%)
Content:	...	(38)	(34.86%)
K2 Words (1001-2000):	2	2	1.83%
1k+2k	...	...	(93.57%)
AWL Words (academic):	1	1	0.92%
Off-List Words:	5	6	5.50%
	55	109	100%

1k types: about_[2] always_[1] and_[2] august_[1] bed_[1] been_[1] but_[1] country_[2] days_[1] did_[1] do_[5] early_[1] english_[1] foreign_[2] four_[1] friend_[1] go_[5] good_[1] have_[5] how_[4] i_[14] long_[1] morning_[1] my_[1] part_[1] plan_[1] seven_[1] so_[2] speak_[2] study_[2] there_[1] time_[1] to_[7] too_[1] twenty_[1] want_[4] was_[1] watch_[1] watched_[1] went_[1] what_[1] when_[1] will_[3] winter_[1] with_[1] yesterday_[1] you_[8]

2k types: during_[1] tomorrow_[1]

AWL types: job_[1]

OFF types: british_[1] french_[2] headache_[1] nhk_[1] vacation_[1]

Lexical Frequency Profile Groups 1 - 6

	<u>Types</u>	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>Percent</u>
K1 Words (1-1000):	271	2104	87.56%
Function:	...	(1156)	(48.11%)
Content:	...	(948)	(39.45%)
K2 Words (1001-2000):	41	112	4.66%
1k+2k	...	...	(92.22%)
AWL Words (academic):	6	28	1.17%
Off-List Words:	51	159	6.62%
	369	2403	100%

1k types: about_[33] actor_[3] after_[1] ago_[1] all_[1] alone_[2] always_[2] am_[30] and_[25] another_[4] answer_[4] anyway_[1] are_[11] ask_[3] at_[4] ate_[1] august_[1] back_[3] bad_[2] beautiful_[3] because_[5] bed_[3] been_[7] best_[8] big_[4] brother_[7] but_[17] by_[4] can_[5] change_[1] children_[1] choose_[1] class_[4] classes_[4] cloudy_

[1] cold_[4] college_[7] come_[3] comes_[1] could_[1] country_[5] course_[1] daughter_[1] day_[3] days_[2] december_[1] did_[15] difficult_[3] do_[82] dream_[3] drinking_[1] early_[4] eat_[5] egg_[3] eighteen_[1] english_[5] event_[1] ever_[4] everyday_[1] everything_[2] example_[3] famous_[2] far_[1] favorite_[4] february_[1] fifteen_[1] fifth_[1] figure_[1] fine_[6] finish_[2] fish_[6] five_[7] food_[4] foods_[1] for_[5] foreign_[3] forty_[2] four_[14] fourteen_[2] friend_[7] friends_[4] from_[9] future_[1] game_[2] gentleman_[1] get_[9] go_[30] going_[2] good_[9] has_[3] have_[48] he_[4] head_[1] heavy_[2] help_[1] her_[2] here_[5] high_[8] him_[7] his_[2] home_[8] hot_[3] hour_[2] hours_[4] house_[1] how_[42] hundred_[1] I_[183] if_[2] in_[11] interesting_[1] is_[55] it_[17] january_[4] kind_[6] know_[23] land_[7] last_[10] late_[1] laughing_[5] laughs_[1] let_[2] life_[1] lights_[1] like_[44] listen_[2] little_[2] live_[3] ll_[1] long_[4] look_[1] love_[22] many_[6] march_[2] married_[2] maybe_[7] me_[39] money_[2] more_[2] morning_[5] mountain_[1] much_[4] music_[2] must_[2] my_[19] name_[5] near_[1] new_[4] next_[3] night_[7] no_[21] not_[21] nothing_[2] now_[5] of_[9] old_[5] on_[6] one_[9] only_[3] or_[5] part_[9] party_[1] people_[3] plan_[12] player_[3] please_[1] pretty_[1] question_[2] real_[1] really_[10] recently_[1] red_[4] remember_[1] report_[2] reports_[2] rest_[1] right_[1] same_[8] school_[11] sea_[2] see_[5] september_[1] seven_[1] she_[8] show_[1] singer_[6] singing_[3] sister_[2] six_[3] sleep_[2] sleeping_[2] sleepy_[5] small_[5] smile_[1] so_[18] something_[1] sometimes_[3] song_[1] soon_[1] speak_[2] spend_[1] spring_[4] stay_[5] story_[2] student_[4] study_[3] summer_[2] system_[2] takes_[2] ten_[2] test_[2] tests_[1] than_[2] that_[8] the_[10] there_[3] they_[2] think_[9] third_[4] thirty_[1] this_[11] thousand_[1] three_[10] time_[11] times_[3] to_[54] today_[12] too_[48] train_[3] twelve_[2] twenty_[10] two_[12] university_[2] use_[4] very_[20] voice_[2] walking_[1] want_[16] was_[4] watch_[4] watched_[3] watching_[2] we_[9] wednesday_[1] week_[3] weeks_[1] well_[2] went_[6] what_[38] when_[9] where_[11] which_[3] who_[5] why_[9] wife_[1] will_[23] win_[1] winter_[13] with_[11] woman_[1] won_[3] work_[1] working_[2] year_[6] years_[2] yes_[85] yesterday_[2] you_[136] young_[2] your_[7] yours_[2]

2k types: abroad_[1] band_[1] bicycle_[4] birthday_[4] bitter_[4] boiled_[1] busy_[1] chain_[3] christmas_[10] coffee_[2] cooking_[2] cool_[5] dinner_[3] during_[2] engineer_[2] exciting_[1] funny_[1] grandfather_[1] hello_[7] hi_[2] holiday_[2] holidays_[1] hungry_[3] lunch_[6] match_[3] nice_[10] plane_[2] quickly_[1] raw_[3] recommend_[1] rice_[3] shop_[5] shopping_[2] shops_[1] sorry_[2] thank_[1] ticket_[1] tired_[1] tomorrow_[4] toy_[2] weather_[1]

AWL types: adult_[1] job_[22] professional_[1] topics_[1] traditional_[2] transfer_[1]

OFF types: bakery_[1] baseball_[5] boyfriend_[6] british_[1] career_[3] cd_[1] choo_[4] comedy_[2] concert_[4] curry_[2] cute_[11] delicious_[2] disk_[1] eve_[6] everytime_[1] french_[1] handsome_[3] headache_[1] hobby_[1] homestay_[2] hometown_[1] homework_[3] illumination_[2] ipod_[4] japanese_[5] junior_[4] linguistic_[2] linguistics_[1] movie_[2] movies_[1] nervous_[1] nods_[1] noodle_[1] oclock_[5] okay_[2] pasta_[1] piano_[2] prefecture_[2] radish_[3] romance_[1] skate_[2] skiing_[1] soccer_[2] spicy_[3] talent_[1] tv_[2] unbelievable_[1] vacation_[13] versus_[2] yeah_[29]

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Kokusaika, Revisited: Reinventing “Internationalization” in Late 1960s Japan

Chris Oliver

This paper addresses what one anthropologist characterized, a little over a decade ago, as one of the “most compelling and ubiquitous catchwords used in Japan today” (Robertson 1997, p. 97): *kokusaika*, or internationalization. While *kokusaika* appears to be losing its stature as a catchword in recent years as it is being supplanted by terms like “globalization” and “multicultural coexistence” (*tabunka kyōsei*), *kokusaika* was in fact highly prominent in public-sphere discourse for roughly three decades. Drawing largely upon a survey of newspaper articles going back to the 1950s, here I examine how *kokusaika* first emerged as an important catchword in Japan in the late 1960s, and how the meanings that came to be invested in the term were linked to political-economic tensions and transformations that Japan was facing at the time.

Introduction

The term *kokusaika* – internationalization – is one that can hardly have escaped the attention of those of us who have spent significant periods of time in Japan over the past few decades. As Mannari Hiroshi and Harumi Befu commented on the term in the early 1980s, *kokusaika* “is one of the most potent and significant words in the contemporary vocabulary of Japanese intellectuals, academicians, politicians and journalists” (1983, p. 9). Nearly a decade and a half later, Jennifer Robertson could still find it fitting to depict *kokusaika* as perhaps one of the two “most compelling and ubiquitous catchwords used in Japan today” (1997, p. 97). While *kokusaika* is in decline today as a public-sphere catchword in Japan as it is being supplanted by terms such as “globalization” and “multicultural coexistence” (*tabunka kyōsei*), *kokusaika* nonetheless enjoyed a discursive currency in Japan for a period of roughly three decades. As a term that was used frequently to frame everything from economic policy to education reform (Lincicome 1993, Ehara 1992) in ways that shifted over the

years, it affords no simple reading.

In this paper, I attempt to sketch out the manner in which *kokusaika* emerged as such a “potent and significant” word in the first place, focusing especially on the late 1960s. For it was from this time that *kokusaika* – a word that had already had a place in the Japanese lexicon – came to be invested with values and meanings that turned it into an ideologically charged catchword. I draw most of all on a survey of Japanese newspaper articles, going back to the mid-1950s, in order to gauge how the term “*kokusaika*” was utilized in public-sphere discourse. I also examine how the term was used in a 1967 report issued by the Japanese government’s Economic Planning Agency as an index of how the state itself was involved in facilitating adoption of the term and investing it with significance.

Writing from the vantage point of the 1990s, Robertson provides the intriguing claim that *kokusaika*, rather than focusing on “hard” economic and political linkages, was used most often in regard to a “soft,” affective realm (1997, p. 100). There is much evidence to show that *kokusaika* was indeed very much concerned with matters that were “soft” in this sense. A pair of 1987 government reports, for instance, were devoted respectively to “the internationalization of the lifestyle of the nation’s people” and “the internationalization of the consciousness of the nation’s people” (Keizai Kikakuchô Kokumin-seikatsu-kyoku 1987a & 1987b). Yet, what my research suggests is that this was more true of *kokusaika* discourse at a particular stage in its development. When that discourse was first taking shape in the late 1960s, *kokusaika* was in fact tied explicitly to political-economic tensions and transformations that Japan was facing and could scarcely be understood outside of that context.

Internationalization domesticated

Although the word *kokusaika* first appeared in Japanese in the 1920s, it did not really come into its own – following the Second World War – until the late 1960s (see Itô 1990, Kitamura 1990). Newspaper headlines from the 1950s to the mid-1960s suggest that if *kokusaika* had not yet become a full-fledged catchword, it had nonetheless attained a certain consistency or regularity in its usage. In particular, it was used to denote situations elsewhere in the world that were poised at a period of transition – most often involving war, armed conflict, or other turbulence. *Kokusaika* was used in this way to depict the emerging conditions of upheaval or conflict in other regions of the world, such as Cuba, Algeria, the Congo or – somewhat closer to home –

Laos and Vietnam. Here kokusaika was used to convey the sense of a political-military situation in the process of escalation, one that had become or was threatening to become “international” either by spilling beyond the borders of the nation in which it had heretofore been contained, or through the incursion of an outside force. Whether used to denote eruption or intrusion, kokusaika announced forceful impingements of one nation-state upon another, and domestic matters being transformed into turbulent, international contests of power and control. It is perhaps not surprising that in such instances the word kokusaika was often used in conjunction with terms like *osore* (fear), *kenen* (anxiety, fear), or *kiken* (danger) (see, for instance, AS 1954a, 1954b, 1958, 1960a, 1960b).

By the end of the 1960s, however, kokusaika seems to have undergone a dramatic change in referential usage. Unlike the above examples, where kokusaika referred to processes, states of affairs, and events unfolding elsewhere in the world, it came to be used almost exclusively with regard to Japan itself. Quite suddenly, in the late 1960s, internationalization emerged as a process that Japan itself was enmeshed in and preoccupied with; instances of internationalization that might be occurring elsewhere in the world essentially ceased to be considered under the heading of kokusaika. Instead, phrases like “the internationalization of Japan” (*nihon no kokusaika*) and “the internationalization of the Japanese economy” (*nihon keizai no kokusaika*) became commonplace, and remained so through the 1970s and 80s and on into the 90s. This is not to say that countries other than Japan were not involved in their own processes of internationalization, but that, insofar as kokusaika discourse in Japan was concerned, explicit attention to internationalization as it might have pertained to any country but Japan virtually evaporated. By the early 1970s, at the latest, “kokusaika” as such had become a thoroughly domesticated thing.

Economic liberalization

What brought this about, it seems, was the rising discourse in government, economic, and business circles about changes underway that would significantly affect Japan’s national-economic interests: the liberalization of trade and capital. The Japanese state of course played no small part in bringing about these changes, and to an extent also in attaching the name “internationalization” to them. In one relatively early use of the term, the Economic Planning Agency (EPA) made internationalization a key focal point of its Economic and Social Development Plan

of 1967. In this Plan, the EPA refers to “complete internationalization” (*zenmenteki kokusaika*) as having two aspects: trade liberalization and capital liberalization. It presents trade liberalization as something that has, to a significant degree, already been accomplished; what Japan must now confront to bring about complete internationalization is the liberalization of capital (see Keizai Kikakuchô Sôgô Keikakukyoku 1967, pp. 13-17). This EPA Plan, like others, was more a compilation of projections for economic growth and a vision of how this growth ought be channeled rather than a master blueprint for managing the economy. It nonetheless did promote its own vision of internationalization in terms of liberalization, and in so doing it helped grant currency to kokusaika as an explicitly national-economic concern. Other deployments of the term in this period reflected a similarly economic focus. A 1968 article in the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper, for instance, characterized the government’s intention of liberalizing the import of cars and car parts as making way for “the age of full-fledged internationalization” (*honkakuteki na kokusaika jidai*) (AS 1968).

The EPA certainly did not single-handedly put this new discursive spin on the term kokusaika, but such usages by the EPA are nonetheless significant because of the agency’s position as an organ of the state. This is not to say that there was a singularly unified view of liberalization and kokusaika from the Japanese government. The Ministry of Agriculture, for instance, was strongly opposed to liberalization on the grounds that it would be harmful to Japan’s farming populations and agricultural interests. The EPA, for its part, was a consultative body attached to the Prime Minister’s Office, and given that Japan’s post-war “developmentalism” emphasized the growth of the economy above all else (Gao 1997), the EPA and other economically-minded parts of the Japanese state in the end had more influence in defining the terms of Japan’s national interests. Through its regular economic reports and assessments, its “plans” for the short-term growth of the country, and its surveys and prescriptive reports, the EPA helped define the national interest in decidedly pro-liberalization terms, and its pronouncements on kokusaika thus carried the added weight of this authority.

Economic liberalization, rather than bursting rapidly onto the scene in the late 1960s, was a piecemeal process of change that – for Japan – unfolded throughout the 1960s. Prompted by the postwar movement to build a unified European market, economic liberalization had become an “irresistible trend” in the world’s major industrialized countries by the end of the 1950s (Gao 1997, pp. 263-4), and in connection with this, Japan faced increasing pressure to adopt a similarly open stance

toward liberalization. As Bai Gao notes: “When Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke visited the United States [in 1959] to renew the U.S.-Japan security treaty, the U.S. government demanded that Japan proceed with the liberalization of trade. At the annual meetings of the IMF and GATT, U.S. representatives strongly criticized Japan for its restrictions on imports” (1997, p. 264). The following year, despite domestic opposition and anxiety, Japan adopted its outline Plan for the Liberalization of Trade and Currency Exchange, which sought to liberalize trade to 80% over three years (Gao 1997, p. 266; Kô sai 1988, p. 522). Under continuing criticism and pressure from foreign countries, particularly the United States, Japan adopted additional liberalization measures throughout the remainder of the 1960s. In 1963, Japan became an IMF “Article 8” country, which required that it not place restrictions on foreign trade; in 1964 it joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an entity devoted to the liberalization of trade and capital and to whose principles Japan was expected to adhere; in 1967, Japan took yet another liberalization step in adopting its Fundamental Plan for Capital Liberalization (Kô sai 1988, p. 522).

Fear

To be sure, there was a great deal of concern in Japan about the effects that liberalization would have on Japan’s national-economic interests. Prior to the liberalization measures taken in the 1960s, Japan’s foreign trade, foreign exchange, and capital movements had all been under the control of the state; Japan had been enjoying a period of high economic growth since about 1955, and many felt that the loosening of state controls on imports and the movement of capital would have a detrimental effect on the country’s industries and enterprises (Kô sai 1988, pp. 522-3). In Chalmers Johnson’s view, the liberalization of capital was of special concern: the very thought of it, he writes, “struck terror in the hearts of MITI [Ministry of International Trade and Industry] officials and Japanese industry leaders” (1982, p. 276). According to Johnson, the fear was that “the United States had for all intents and purposes ‘bought’ Europe – and was about to buy Japan as well” (Johnson 1982, p. 276).

In this context, the term *kokusaika* served to help galvanize attention and mobilize responses to the apparent threats posed to the nation’s economic interests. A newspaper article on the auto industry thus referred to *kokusaika* in terms of the

elimination of two “moats” – trade (import) liberalization and capital liberalization – that had heretofore surrounded and protected Japanese automakers (AS 1968). Another article addressing kokusaika depicted the Japanese economy as becoming “naked” (*hadaka ni naru nihon keizai*) (AS 1967a). Also covered in the press was a 1969 report by the Economic Planning Agency which, playing upon the sense of fear for the nation’s economic interests, urged that “‘internationalization’ should not be dealt with passively, but should be actively put to use... for the building of long-term prosperity” (AS 1969). Later the same year, a memorandum issued for public consumption by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry proclaimed that in the “age of internationalization,” Japanese businesses could not be complacent simply to export, but should also expand their production activities overseas (AS 1969). Moreover, because liberalization was widely seen as being forced upon Japan by outside powers, especially the United States, it was often likened to the forced opening of Japan to commerce in 1853 at the hands of Commodore Perry and the steam ships under his command (Komiya & Itoh 1990, p. 13). As the EPA’s 1967 Plan bluntly put it: “...capital liberalization is indeed a coming-again of the black ships” (1967, p. 17).

Concluding thoughts

From the above, it thus becomes apparent that kokusaika did not simply describe processes of economic transformation. It instead pointed to a highly charged political-economic terrain in which Japan was seen as pitted against impinging foreign forces, with the future economic well-being of the nation at stake. It is thus no surprise that before kokusaika became a catchword anywhere else in Japanese society, it became one in governmental, economic, and business circles. Imaginatively linked to another coming of the “black ships,” kokusaika was – in these early years – still envisioned as something to be dealt with by government ministries, economic forecasters and planners, and corporate strategists. It did not yet involve the nation’s people in any substantial way; the Japanese people were, for all intents and purposes, not seen as having a direct role to play as subjective actors vis-à-vis kokusaika.

This would eventually change, particularly over the course of the much talked-about trade friction with the United States during the 1980s, which gave rise to no small degree of anxiety in Japan about how Japan was being seen in the eyes of its primary trading partner. This in turn stimulated interest in working toward better

understanding and communication between Japan and the United States, and in regard to this the nation’s people certainly were considered to have a key part to play. That change would entail an important and unmistakable shift in kokusaika discourse toward “culture” (Oliver 2007) and thus toward the “soft” realm of human subjectivity.

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ポライトネス・ストラテジーとしての聞き手のうなずき

宮崎 幸江

日本語の対面会話における聞き手の行動は、言語・非言語の選択において、話し手との力関係や親しさの程度等の社会的要因の影響を受ける。聞き手のうなずきは、単独で使われた場合は「身振りのあいづち (杉戸 1989)」として言語のあいづちと同じ機能を持ちうる。また、うなずきは間接的で話し手の邪魔にならないという特徴から、話し手のネガティブ・フェイスを守るストラテジーとしての機能も持つ (Miyazaki 2007) と考えられる。本研究は、話し手とは年齢及び親疎の程度の異なる日本語母語話者女性15組の対面会話におけるうなずきの使用を分析し、聞き手は初対面で話し手が年上の場合、音声のあいづちより、非言語行動のうなずきで相手の話への支持や理解を表すが、同世代で親しい相手の場合には、言語的手段を用いる傾向があることを発見した。さらに、異なるコンテキストにおけるうなずきの使用に着目し、ポライトネス・ストラテジーとしてのうなずきの機能についても考察する。
キーワード:うなずき、敬語行動、聞き手の行動、年齢、親疎、ポライトネス・ストラテジー

Listeners' nodding as politeness strategy

Sachie Miyazaki

The present study explores listeners' use of nods in face-to-face conversation. Japanese listening behavior is known by its pervasiveness of verbal expressions. However, non-verbal behavior, such as nodding also plays an important role for the successful communication in Japanese conversation. In this paper, I examine how native speakers of Japanese in different ages listen to 2 minutes instructions given by the same speaker. I found that younger participants reacted more non-verbally compared with the older participants when listening to the instructions spoken by an unknown researcher who was older than them.

While younger participants reacted similarly to older participants when listening to the instructions given by a speaker who was peer. Findings show that young participants employ nods as positive politeness strategy when they want to show respect to the speaker or save speakers' negative face.

Key words: nods, politeness strategy, listening behavior, power, solidarity

1. はじめに

日本語の聞き手の行動は、話し手の話を支持する態度や、話者との調和を重んじる姿勢、協力的な態度、話し手への感情移入などが特徴であると言われている (Maynard 1989; Watanabe 1993)。井出 (2006) によれば、あいづちやうなずきの頻度の高さは日本語のモダリティの一種で、聞き手の心的状態を示すので、日本語母語話者にはコンテキストによっていつでもだけあいづちやうなずきを使用するかについて、共通の認識が存在する。

本稿の目的は、日本語母語話者の女性が「聞き手」としてどのように会話に参加するかを非言語行動のうなずきに焦点をあてて分析し、聞き手のうなずきが話し手に対する敬意を表すポライトネス・ストラテジーとしての機能を持つということ、指示会話における聞き手の行動を分析し提案する。

2. 先行研究

日本語における聞き手の行動は、あいづちに代表される言語行動とうなずき等の非言語行動に分類できる。あいづちなどの聞き手の言語行動に関する研究の豊富さに比べると、非言語行動の研究は今後の発展が期待される分野である。聞き手の行動の研究にとって、非言語行動の重要性は常に指摘されてきた (喜多 1996; 杉戸 1989; 西原 1996; Maynard 1989; Szatrowski 2000) が、言語行動に比べて非言語行動は、実証的研究を行う場合の方法論や技術的な問題から、言語研究において二次的な扱いを受けることが多かったことがその理由と考えられる。

この章では、最初に聞き手の言語行動と非言語行動の先行研究を概観し、敬語とポライトネス理論を聞き手の行動との関連から紹介する。

2.1 聞き手の言語行動

近年、あいづちは「話し手が発話権を行使している間に聞き手が送る短い表現 (非言語行動を含む)」(メイナード 1993: 58) と定義されるように、ある特定の言語形式についてだ

けでなく、談話レベルでの機能も考慮にいれ、広義に定義されることが一般的になってきた。例えば、杉戸（1989: 50）は、あいづちを「実質的な内容」を含まない言語形式としたのに対し、メイナード（1993: 58）は、聞き手のあいづちに続いて発話順番が入れ替わったものはあいづちとはみなさないとした。このように、言語形式や内容で捉えるか、相互作用で捉えるかで見方が変わる。

あいづちを機能の面から定義することを提案した堀口（1997: 42）は、あいづちを話し手が発話権を行使している間に「聞き手が話し手から送られた情報を共有したことを伝える」表現とした。具体的な機能についても、研究者により見解が異なるが、聞いているという信号、理解しているという信号、否定の信号と感情の表出は最も広く合意を得ている機能（堀口 1997）であるといえる。

日本語と他言語の対照研究では、日本語のあいづちの頻度の高さがしばしば指摘されてきた（Lebra 1976; LoCastro 1987）。Maynard（1989）によれば、日本語のあいづちはアメリカ英語の約3倍使用される。また日本語での会話の習慣は、日本語母語話者が他の言語を話す時にも転移する（White 1989）と指摘されるように、日本語母語話者が英語を話す場合アメリカ人の約2倍のあいづちを使う（Yamada 1992）という結果も報告されている。

あいづちの起こるコンテクストについて、音声的な弱まり（水谷 1988）、音節の切れ目、文末、イントネーションの下降するあたり、ポーズ、終助詞の後（Maynard 1989）などが考えられるが、日本語の会話においてあいづちはそれらの文法または音声的な境界以外でも起こることが報告されている。話し手の発話への重なりについては、日本語の特徴として他の研究者（Hinds 1982; Lebra 1976）にも指摘されている。Clancy et al（1996）は、日中英の3言語を比較分析した結果、日本語の聞き手は他の言語に比べ文末などの文法上の切れ目ではない箇所でも反応する率が高く、その比率は日本語64%に対し、英語28%、中国語20%と日本語が最も高い。つまり、日本語における聞き手のフィードバックのタイミングは英語、中国語の場合とは異なり、日本語独自の合の手を入れるタイミングのルールがあることになる。

そのような日本語特有の話し言葉の構造について、水谷（1988, 1993）は、英語が話し手と聞き手の発話のキャッチボールで成り立つ会話（ダイアログ）であるのに対し、日本語は話し手と聞き手が一緒に一つの談話を作り上げる「共話」であると主張する。話し手と聞き手の区別はあいまいで、聞き手も「話の流れを作る作業に参加する（水谷 1988: 10）」と考えれば、頻繁なあいづちや相手の発話への重なりも理解することができる。

2. 2 聞き手の非言語行動

杉戸（1989）は、うなずきを「身振りのあいづち」と名付け言語のあいづちと身振りのあいづちの関係を分析し、うなずきの内言語のあいづちと共起するものは個人差が小さく言語のあいづち全体の79%である一方、言語のあいづちを伴わない無言のうなずきは個人差

が大きいことを発見した。Maynard (1989) は、話し手・聞き手双方の使用するうなずきの頻度と機能を分析し、日本語は英語の会話の約2倍の頻度でうなずく他、話し手の方が聞き手より多くうなずく（聞き手 67%；話し手 33%）と述べている。うなずき使用の性差について Kogure (2003) は親しい日本人大学生男女（18歳～25歳）の同性同士の会話ではあいづちの頻度や種類について男女差はほとんど見られないが、うなずきは女性の方が多く使用していると報告している。

宮崎 (2001) は日本語母語話者女性3人（25歳、30歳、37歳）が、別々に同じ話者（35歳）から話を聞いた際の会話の録画（各15分）を分析した。その結果、あいづちとうなずき（言語のあいづちを共起しない）のうちどちらを多く使うかは個人差があるが、あいづちとうなずきの時間当たりの総数は近いことを発見した。つまり、日本語の聞き手の行動において言語のあいづちを伴わないうなずきは、あいづちと同じ機能を果たしており、そのどちらを選択するかは個人によって異なる解釈できる。また、3人の被験者の内、年齢が一番若い被験者が最もうなずきを多く使用し、最年長の被験者が最も言語のあいづちを多用したことから、言語、非言語の選択には聞き手の年齢や、その他の要因も影響している可能性を示唆している。

2.3 うなずきの機能とコンテキスト

Maynard (1989) は、対面会話における話し手と聞き手の頭の動きを分析し、その機能を7つに分類した；①同意 affirmation, ②発話順番の終わりや交替を告げる claim for turn-end and turn-transition, ③発話順番の主張 pre-turn and turn claim, ④発話権交代に伴う間を埋める filling turn-transition period, ⑤あいづち back channel, ⑥リズムとり rhythm taking, ⑦否定（横ふりの場合）negation in the case of horizontal head movement。これらの頭の動きの内、聞き手に見られる動きは、⑤のあいづちと④の埋め草としての機能が主な機能であるとした。

では、言語のあいづちと非言語のうなずきの機能にはどのような違いがあるのだろうか。またどちらか一方にしかない機能は存在するのか。宮崎 (2002) は、対面会話と電話の会話における聞き手のあいづちを分析した。その結果、電話の会話では聞き手は約1.5倍多く相槌を打つが、使用される相槌の種類には差はないことがわかった。視覚情報に頼ることができない電話の会話では、聞き手は相手の話を聞いているという信号を送るために、あいづちを多用すると考えられる。つまり、うなずきの機能は基本的には、言語手段によって置き換えが可能であると言える。

Maynard (1989) は、聞き手のうなずきは、あいづちと共起する他、発話順番が変わる間に観察されると報告したが、うなずきと他の非言語行動の関係も次第に明らかになって来た。Szatrowski (2003) は、日本語の話し手は、発話の中盤から聞き手に視線を移し最後の述部に差し掛かったあたりで、直視とうなずきを聞き手に向け、聞き手のあいづちとうなずきを喚起するという相互作用の構造を発見した。さらに、坊農・片桐 (2005) は、話し

手は聞き手に向け発話終了直前に視線配布を開始し、聞き手はそれに対応してうなずき等の応答を行うという対面コミュニケーションの構造を、叙述的視点と相互行為的視点からの説明を試みた。聞き手のうなずきが起こるコンテクストは、言語だけでなく視線などの非言語表現が関係することが実証された。

Kita&Ide (2007) は、うなずき、あいづちの使用されるコンテクストに終助詞が絡み、日本語特有のモダリティ表現や話し手と聞き手の調和を生む共話的構造に、重要な役目を果たすと述べている。また、うなずきとあいづちが、次のあいづちとうなずきを引き起こす構造をループシークエンスと名付けた Kogure (2007) の研究は、今後の聞き手の行動研究にとって分析の対象を言語形式としての相づちからうなずきや視線まで広げて捉える必要性を示唆している。

2. 4 聞き手の行動と社会的要因

2. 4. 1 日本語における敬語

井出 (2006) によれば、敬語は「上下、親疎関係を区別し、場所の改まりを示すもの」であり、上下関係は通常年齢や社会的地位などで表わされ、親疎関係は知り合ってから長さや親しさ、または「ウチ・ソト」の関係でも表わされるとしている。近年、伝統的な敬語に対して「敬意表現」という新しい言葉遣いの枠組みが国語審議会 (2000) によって提案され、21世紀社会の都市化・国際化・情報化などを考慮して提言された (井出 2006)。

敬意表現は「コミュニケーションにおいて、相互尊重の精神に基づき、相手や場面に配慮して使い分けている言葉遣いを意味する (国語審議会答申 2000)」と定義された。

聞き手の行動における敬意表現は、言語形式としては「はい」「そうですね」などの選択が挙げられるが、それらの言語形式の選択の他にも、表現の頻度や、言語行動か非言語行動かという選択も含め相互行為全般として捉えることによって、敬意表現の構造が明らかにできると考えられている。

2. 4. 2 聞き手の行動とポライトネス

Brown & Levinson (1987) のポライトネス理論は、人間の言語行動の普遍性を特徴とする。ポライトネス理論では、人間の持つ欲求をポジティブ・フェイスとネガティブ・フェイスに分け、それぞれを「発話することにより理解されたいという欲求 want to be understood by saying something」と「邪魔されたくない欲求 want not to be disturbed」と説明した。

井出 (2006) によれば、敬語使用は敬語を使うことによって相手への敬意を表現するポジティブ・ポライトネス・ストラテジーとしての機能を持つ。また、敬語というよりフォーマルな言語形式を選択することによって、相手との距離をおく、つまり間接的な手段を取ると解釈すれば、敬語使用はネガティブ・ポライトネスとしても機能する。

日本語のように話し手と聞き手が談話の中で交差する「共話 (水谷 1993)」的な構造を持

つ言語の場合、会話参加者が互いのフェイスを守りながらコミュニケーションをとる必要がある。

聞き手のフェイスとは相手に良く思われたい、好意的な態度を示したいという欲求である。一方、話し手には、自分の話を理解してもらいたい、またその反応を得たいという欲求（ポジティブ・フェイス）と、自分の発話権を保持したいという欲求（ネガティブ・フェイス）が働くと考えられる。聞き手が相づちなどの言語的な手段で応答することは、話し手のポジティブ・フェイスを満たすことになり、間接的な方法として相手を邪魔しない非言語の手段を用いて応答すれば、ネガティブ・フェイスを守ることになる（Miyazaki 2007）。

Nakane（2006）も、非言語行動をポライトネス・ストラテジーであると主張する。Nakane は日本語母語話者が英語話者と英語で会話をする際に使用した沈黙を、ポライトネスの観点から分析した。日本語話者は沈黙を双方のフェイスを守るためのポジティブ・ポライトネス・ストラテジーとして使用するが、文化の異なる英語話者からそのような日本語話者の態度は思いやり（rapport）の欠如であると解釈されると分析している。英語圏と日本では、沈黙に対する文化的価値が違うためにポライトネス・ストラテジーの解釈が異なるという Nakane の発見は興味深い。

井出（2006）も、日本文化におけるコンテキストの意味は西洋のそれとは大きく異なるということを主張しているが、沈黙に関して言えば、ポライトネス理論の普遍性は、日本語の文化的背景には応用できないと考えられる。

2. 4. 3 聞き手の行動バリエーション

図1は、複数の社会的要因の程度によって構成されるコンテキスト（Tannen 1993）をもとに宮崎（2007）が修正した図である。図1の縦軸はパワー、横軸は親疎関係を表わす。B面はパワー差が著しく、会話参加者の間に心的距離がある関係、例えば教師と学生の関係に代表されるコンテキストである。一方、パワー差があるが心理的に近いA面のコンテキストの代表的なものとして、親子の会話が例にあげられている。図では、A面B面が、パワーの差が大きく、下（C面・D面）に行くほど、対等な関係を意味する。Tannen によれば、ある対話者の関係がどのコンテキストに位置づけられるかは、文化によって異なるとした。例えば、雇用主と雇用者の関係は、米国の文化ではB面に位置づけられるが、日本文化におけるウチとソトの関係から見れば、A面に位置づけられる。もちろん、親子の親しさと同じ会社の一員であるという親しさは、本質的に異なることは言うまでもないが、現実の言語使用の裏には、通常複数の要因が絡み合う。会話参加者は、会話の流れの中で、参加者との力関係や親しさを相対的に判断し最も適切な言語行動をとると考えられている。宮崎（2007）は、話し手と聞き手の間に存在する力関係（＝上下関係）を、年齢とその会話における役割という異質の条件が相対的に考慮された結果構成される4つのコンテキストに分けて、聞き手の行動バリエーションを説明しようとした。

初対面の研究者（41歳：話し手）と被験者（19～61歳：聞き手）の対面会話のコンテク

ストを図1にあてはめると、それぞれのコンテキストに分類される聞き手の行動の特徴は以下のように表される。

B面（フォーマル、話し手の方が聞き手より年上、年齢差約20）

聞き手の行動の特徴：言語のあいづちは少なく、うなずきを多用。

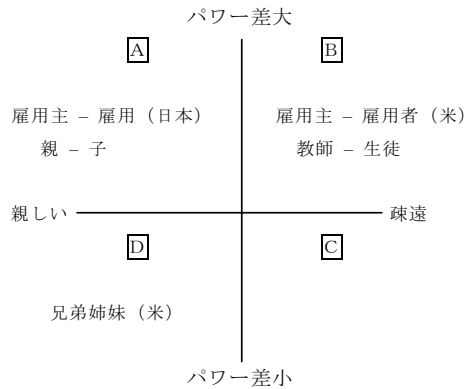
C面（フォーマル、初対面、話し手より聞き手の方が年長）

聞き手の行動の特徴：言語のあいづち多用し、うなずきが少ない。

D面（インフォーマル、親しい、話し手と聞き手は同世代）

聞き手の行動の特徴：言語のあいづち多用し、うなずきが少ない。

図1：パワーと親しさによるコンテキスト



宮崎（2007）の分析について方法論上の問題を指摘するとしたら、会話データとして使われた会話の種類が一種類に統一されていないことが挙げられる。フォーマル会話(B面C面)として集めた会話データが、初対面の研究者から聞き手（被験者）が、研究参加のための説明を受けるいわゆる「指示会話」であるのに対し、インフォーマル会話（D面）の会話は親しい同世代間の雑談（話題：修学旅行）であるため、パワー差と親しさ以外に会話の目的の違いが聞き手の行動の差に影響を及ぼしている可能性がある。

2.5 本稿の目的

本稿は、日本語母語話者女性が聞き手として会話に参加する際に非言語行動のうなずきをどのように使用するかを、話し手と聞き手の関係（パワー・親疎）によって構成されるコンテキストでの、比較を行なう。比較を行なうコンテキストは、上記の図1におけるB面、C面、D面とする。宮崎（2007）のB面及びC面については実験結果「話し手（研究者）と聞き手（被験者）が初対面コンテキストでは、被験者の年齢が高い程、言語表現の頻度が高く、年齢が若い程うなずきが多い」から、親しい間柄の同世代から指示をうける会話において、どのような言語行動を

とるかを分析し、うなずきがポライトネス・ストラテジーとして、機能する可能性について論じる。

3. 方法

3.1 被験者

初対面会話に協力した被験者は、話し手（研究者41歳）と聞き手として日本語母語話者の女性10人（2グループ各5名：19～21, 47～61）である。参加者は「東京、神奈川、千葉、埼玉のいずれかの出身であること」を条件とし、知り合いの紹介で集め、研究者とはデータ採取の際に初対面となるようにした。友達会話の被験者の女性は、話し手（20歳）1名と聞き手（19～20歳）5名で同じく関東出身で関係は同じゼミナールに在籍する同世代の親しい間柄である。

表1. 被験者と世代グループ

	人数	年齢 性別	話し手	話し手との 関係
初対面会話 グループ1	5	19～21歳 女性	研究者（41歳）	初対面 年上
初対面会話 グループ2	5	47～61歳 女性	研究者（41歳）	初対面 年下
友達会話 グループ3	5	19～20歳 女性	クラスメート（20歳）	親しい 同世代

3.2 手順

初対面会話は、話し手となる研究者（41歳）がそれぞれの被験者と1対1で事前に設定された場所で会い、自己紹介と実験への参加方法について約2分間の指示を与えた。その際の会話を斜め前方から録画しデータとした。

友達会話は、クラスメートの1人が他のクラスメートに対しゼミ教員から指示された内容を、個別に伝える会話を初対面会話と同じ方法で録画した。指示の内容は、予め研究者が用意し、話し手となる被験者が、それを暗記し練習した後、5人に同じように説明した。しかし、実際の会話では、極力自然の会話に近づくためにスクリプトの文を言葉どおりに伝えるよりも内容を重視するように指示した。

3.3 データ

本実験のデータは、指示会話を初対面の人物から聞く初対面会話（グループ1, 2）と親しい同世代の友人から聞く友達会話（グループ3）のビデオ録画である。初対面会話は、録画の内10人の被験者全てにほぼ同じ指示を出している2分間を選び、計20分間の会話を非言語行動（うなずき）も含めて文字化し、言語・非言語行動に分け種類別に数量化した。

同世代会話（グループ3）は、2分間のスクリプトを使ったが、話す速度や聞き手の反応が5組の間で異なり、実際の録画データの長さに95秒から144秒（平均94.6秒）とばらつきが出たため、数量データを2分間あたりに計算して他のグループとの比較を行った。

3. 4 分析方法

宮崎（2007）、Miyazaki（2007）と同様に、聞き手の行動をいわゆるあいづち詞（堀口 1997）と、その他あいづちと同じ機能を持つ表現、そして身振りのあいづち（杉戸 1989）としてのうなずきとした。これらの行動を包括する概念としてリアクティブトークン（reactive token Clancy et al. 1996, 以下RTとする）を用いた。

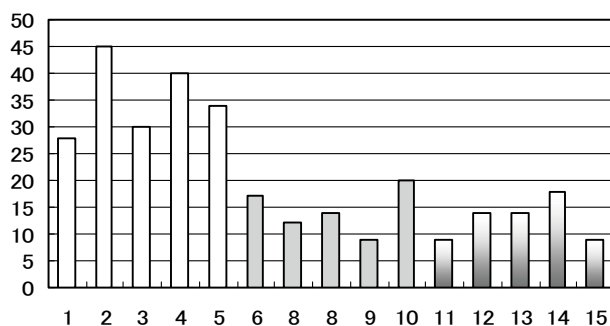
本稿で分析対象としたRTは、「はい」「うん」のような音声的表現以外に、①あいづち詞、②リアクティブ表現（そう・ほんとう・すごい他）、③繰り返し、④先取り、⑤ターンのはじめのあいづち、⑥笑い、⑦コメント、⑧言い換え、⑨うなずきを含む。①から⑧までを言語のRT、⑨を非言語のRTと呼ぶ。

言語のRTは、うなずきと共起することが多いと言われている（杉戸 1989;メイナード 1989）が、本稿では、うなずきが言語のRTと共起した場合は、聞き手の言語行動を強調する二次的な行動と考える。例えば、同意の機能を持つ「はい」がうなずきと共起する場合は、聞き手がより強く話し手の意見に賛同していることの表れであると解釈し、分析の対象に含まなかった。

4. 結果

4. 1 うなずきの頻度

グラフ1は、15名の個々の被験者が2分間に使用したうなずきの総数を表す。世代グループとしては、被験者1～5（グループ1：19歳～21歳）の使用頻度が総数177と最も高く、最も低いのは、被験者11～15（グループ3：19歳～20歳）の総数64である。うなずきの頻度を、グループ総数及びグループの属性について比較すると、以下のようになる。



グラフ1. 個々の被験者の使用したうなずきの頻度

グループ順

グループ1 (177回) > 2 (72回) > 3 (64回)

グループの属性

[-親しい, +年齢差, +役割差] > [-親しい, -年齢差, +役割差] > [+親しい, -年齢差, +役割差]

グループ総数は、初対面学生グループが最も多くうなずきを使用し、次に初対面年上グループ、親しい同世代グループの順となったが、後の2グループの差は小さいことがわかる。グループの属性を表すために、親しさ、年齢、役割を用いた。[+年齢差] は話し手の方が聞き手より年上、[-年齢差] は話し手と聞き手の年齢差がないか、若しくは話し手より聞き手の方が年上の場合をさす。[+役割差] は、実験の場での役割をさす。話し手は、聞き手に対して指示を出すと言う意味でも、研究者という意味でも、実験の場において、力を持つと考える。年齢も考慮した訳は、初対面の被験者にとって話し手（研究者）が自分より年上かどうかは、日本社会の慣習として聞き手との力関係に影響を与える要因であると考えた。グループ属性に関する比較では、話し手に対して親しくない（初対面）場合は、年齢差が大きいほどうなずきは多く使用され、年齢差や役割差が同じ場合は、親しくない場合（初対面）の方が親しい間柄の場合よりうなずきの使用が多いことがわかった。

4. 2 言語行動と非言語行動の関係

表2は、2分間に使用された言語のRTとうなずきを世代グループ別にまとめたものである。初対面の研究者から、指示を与えられるという指示会話のコンテキストにおける聞き手の行動は、言語のRTと年齢は正の相関関係にあり (r=0.49)、うなずきも弱い負の相関関係 (r=-0.37) がある。ところが、初対面ではなく親しい同世代の話し手から指示を受ける場合、初対面の場合の聞き手の年齢が最も高いグループの型に近いことがわかる。

表2. 2分間に使用された言語のRTとうなずきの世代グループ別総数

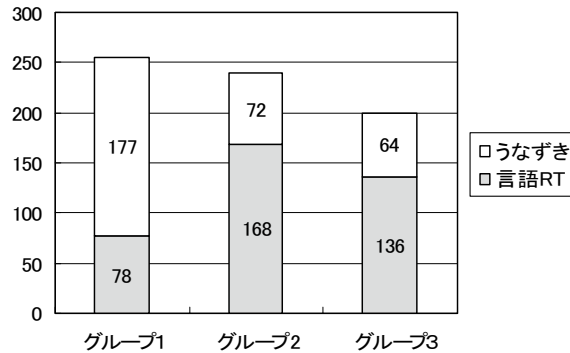
	聞き手	言語のRT	うなずき	計
グループ1 (19歳～21歳)	初対面・年下	78	177	255
グループ2 (47歳～61歳)	初対面・年上	168	72	240
グループ3 (19歳～20歳)	親しい・同世代	136	64	200

言語RTとうなずきの総数はグループ順では、

グループ1>2>3

以上の結果は、うなずきと同様のパターンを示すことがわかる。つまり、指示会話を聞くという言語行動においては、「聞いている」ということを第一に示すうなずきが最も重要な聞き手の行動であるということが出来る。

グラフ2. 世代グループ別言語RTとうなずきの総数



グラフ2は、聞き手の使用したRTの合計をグループ別にしたものである。初対面会話では、聞き手の年齢によって言語と非言語RTのバランスが異なるが、親しい若者同士の会話では、初対面で聞き手の方が話し手である研究者よりも年上であるコンテキストの場合と類似している事実は興味深い。次章では、以上の実験結果をもとに、うなずきの機能について考察し、日本語の指示会話における聞き手の行動のバリエーションを親疎と上下関係から考察する。

5. 考察

5.1 うなずきの使用頻度

話し手（研究者41歳）から指示を聞く会話において、年齢差が最も大きい世代グループ1の被験者（19歳～21歳）が、研究者より年齢が上のグループに比べて最もうなずきを多く使用し、しかも話し手との上下関係が存在しない同種の会話ではうなずきの使用頻度が低かった。

うなずきの多用は若者の世代的な特徴というよりも、本実験のコンテキストに適切な聞き手の行動バリエーションであると言うべきであると考えられる。なぜなら、同じ世代の被験者（グループ4）が、同世代から指示を受けるというコンテキストにおいては、言語行動を多用するという全く異なる行動パターンをとっているからである。次節でうなずきの持つ機能について考察する。

5.2 うなずきの機能

うなずきには、言語のRTと共に起るものと音声を伴わない無言のうなずきが存在する。Maynard (1989) も指摘するように、本実験においても、言語のRTと共に起るうなずき

の機能は、言語のRTの強調であり、言語のRTと同じ機能を持つと解釈した。

その理由は、うなずきが言語のRTと同時に起こる場合、言語のRTとは別の機能を持つとは考えにくいということと、言語のRTにうなずきが付随して起こる率は、グループ4の会話が一番高かったからである。グループ3は親しい同世代の話し手の話を聞くと言う会話なので、4つのコンテキストの中で相手への共感や感情を最も表わすべきコンテキストである。指示を聞くという目的がある以上、聞き手としていわゆる雑談とは違い「共話」的な応答をすることは適切とは言えない。話し手との親しさを示す手段は、言語手段を多用することと、インフォーマルな言語表現（例：うん）の選択と、ジェスチャーや微笑みなどの他の非言語行動を使うこと等である。うなずきを言語RTと共起させることも、その手段の一つであると考えればグループ間の差が説明できる。実際の談話データから見てみよう。

会話1はグループ3の会話からの抜粋である。被験者15は、計39のRTの内、言語対非言語は31対8で、言語のうち70%はうなずきと共起した。Nは言語RTと共起したうなずきを示し、Nは無言のうなずきを示す。

会話1

- 1 S: なんか自分の修学旅行についてでもいいし
- 2 L: あああ
- 3 S: その家族のだれかのでもいいんだけど
- 4 L: うんうん
N
- 5 S: 取りあえず修学旅行のをしてもらって
- 6 L: うん
N
- 7 S: 途中で会話のネタが尽きちゃったら
- 8 L: うん
N
- 9 S: なんか、これから行く旅行の話とか
- 10 L: うん
N
- 11 S: 今までいった旅行の思い出とか
- 12 L: うん
N
- 13 S: 取りあえず旅行に限定してほしいのね
- 14 L: うん
N

次の会話の被験者17は、計39のRTの内、言語対非言語は31対8で、言語のうち70%はうなずきと共起した。

会話2

- 1 S: だから自分の修学旅行についてでもいいし
- 2 L: うん
N
- 3 S: お母さんのでもいいし
- 4 L: N
- 5 S: 家族の誰かのでもいいのね
- 6 L: うーん
N
- 7 S: で 話題がちょっと尽きちゃったら
- 8 L: うーん
N
- 9 S: これから行く旅行の話とか
- 10 L: N
- 11 S: 旅行の思い出とか、とりあえず何か旅行に限定してもらいたいのね
- 12 L: うんうん
N

会話1と2では、それぞれ6回ずつうなずきを使用した。会話1はそのすべてが言語RTの相づち詞と共起したものであったが、会話2では6回のうち2回は言語RTを伴わずうなずきのみが観察された。会話1と2の例に見られる言語RTと共起したうなずきは、うなずきがなくても話し手の発話には影響はないと考えられる。機能的には言語RTの機能を補足、または強化していると考えられる。

では、非言語行動のみの無言のうなずきはどのような機能を持つのか。無言のうなずきも会話1と2の出現場所を見る限り、基本的には言語RTと同じ機能を持つと言えるのではないだろうか。井出（2006）が指摘するように、あいづちやうなずきが、聞き手の心的状態を表すモダリティを持つと考えるなら、言語RTとうなずきを共起するものが最も強い聞き手のモダリティ表現であると考えられる。逆に、うなずきのみは最も消極的なモダリティ表現ということになるのであろうか。筆者は、うなずきには最も消極的な表現としての機能と同時に、コンテキストによってはポライトネスの表現としての機能を持つことを提案する。次節で、本実験のコンテキストにおいて、うなずきがどのように使われたかを検証し、敬語行動としての機能について考察する。

5.3 ポライトネスとうなずき

本実験において、なぜグループ1の若い世代はうなずきを多く使ったのであろうか。LoCastro (1987) は、日本語における聞き手のあいづちは、ポジティブ・ポライトネス・ストラテジーであると分析している。ポライトネス理論における人間の欲求のうち、ポジティブ・フェイスは自ら発話し参加することによって達成される。うなずきも同様に聞き手にとってはポジティブ・フェイスを満たす。あいづちとうなずきの違いは、うなずきは話し手のネガティブ・フェイス（邪魔されたくない欲求）を守ることができるという点にあると考える。年齢の若い被験者が初対面の自分より年齢年齢や社会的地位が高いいわゆる「目上」話し手の話を聞く際に、うなずきを多用する理由は、双方のフェイスを守りつつ丁寧さを失わないという理由からであると分析する。

一方、同世代から指示を得るという会話において、若い世代はうなずきという非言語行動ではなく、言語RTの方を多く選択している。これは、非言語のうなずきによる間接的な会話参与ではなく、より直接的な手段で相手に「聞いている」ということを表そうとしているポジティブ・ポライトネス・ストラテジーと言えよう。

ところで、日本語における敬語は、ポライトネス理論の普遍性とは異なる枠組みで議論されるべきであると指摘されてきた (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989)。筆者も、ポライトネス理論がそのまま全ての言語に普遍的に応用可能かどうかについて、疑問の余地はあると考える。しかし、聞き手が言語と非言語のどちらの応答を使用するかを選択は、日本語の敬語使用に見られる儀礼的な要素というより、コンテクストに適切な手段を選択するというストラテジ的な要素が強いと考える。それ故、聞き手のうなずき自体は、話し手に対する敬語行動または、敬意表現の表れであるとも言えるが、言語・非言語の選択は個人の自由な選択の範囲にあり、コミュニケーション・ストラテジーの一種であると考えられる。

5.4 社会的要因とバリエーション

最後に、本実験の結果をもとに指示会話における聞き手の行動バリエーションをまとめる。図2に、指示会話を聞くという言語行動における聞き手の行動を、パワー差と親疎関係で表わされる4つのコンテクストに分けてそれぞれの特徴を記載した。初対面会話の話し手と聞き手の関係は全員右の面 (B/C面) に位置し、グループ1 (19歳～21歳) と話し手 (41歳) の関係は、最も上下関係が大きいのでB面の上部に、グループ2 (47歳～61歳) の被験者は話し手より年齢が上になるが、研究者と被験者と役割上の力関係が存在するため、年齢差と役割差が相殺されてC面の下方に位置すると考えられる。

そして、グループ3 (19歳～20歳) が、クラスメートである話し手 (20歳) から指示を受ける友達会話は、D面の下方に位置すると考えられる。以上の上下関係と親疎関係の査定は、個人差があるだけでなく、同じ話し手と聞き手であっても話の内容や会話の流れの中で常に変化するという意味で相対的な関係である。

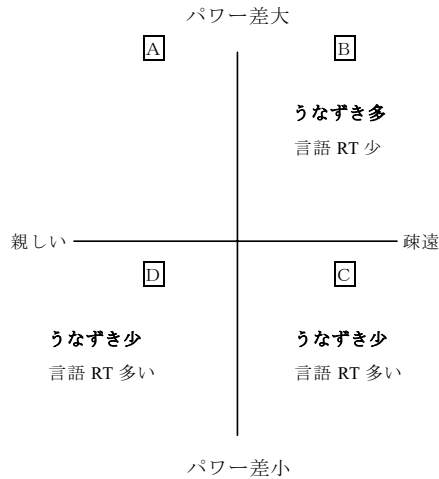


図2：うなずき使用と上下関係と親疎によるコンテキスト

図2は、聞き手の行動の特徴を示している。年齢が若いほど、非言語を多く使うが、それは会話の種類（指示会話）のためでも、聞き手の年齢のためではないことが判明した。しかし、うなずきの多用が話し手との年齢差によるものか、疎の関係に因るものか、またはその両方によるものかは、今回の実験では明らかにすることはできなかった。

また、日本語母語話者の指示会話を聞く際の行動は、年齢に関わらず話し手との上下関係と親疎関係が似ているコンテキストでは、聞き手の行動に世代差はないことを示唆することが明らかになった。

6. おわりに

本稿は、対面の指示会話を上下関係・親疎の程度から4つのコンテキストに分け、それぞれにおける聞き手の行動のバリエーションを非言語行動に焦点を絞り分析した。その結果、初対面で目上の話し手から指示を受ける場合と、親しい同世代の話し手から指示を受ける場合に、言語・非言語の選択の差が最も顕著であることが明らかになった。初対面の場合、話し手との年齢が離れる程聞き手はうなずきを使用する率が高くなる。逆に親しく年齢差が小さくなる程、言語行動の比率が高くなる。

この実験結果を元に、聞き手のうなずきは、言語のあいづちの代替としてだけでなく、間接的に敬意表現を行うポジティブ・ポライトネス・ストラテジーとしての機能を併せ持つと提唱した。

本稿では、被験者は全て女性のみの実験であったため、果たして男性がうなずきをポライトネス・ストラテジーとして使用するかどうかは、確認できなかった。男性の聞き手の行動

については、今後同様の方法で調査を続けて行きたい。

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