The Conceptualizations of English and English Education of Japanese University Students

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This paper tries to examine how Japanese university students conceptualize English and Japanese ELT by analyzing their interview texts. As an analytical approach, I used Critical Discourse Analysis in order to identify how the students' conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT were established in the discursive structures constituting Japanese ELT discourse, such as power relationships between teachers, students, other institutions (schools and universities) and systems (educational system and examination system) by linguistically analyzing their language use in the interview texts. Two characteristics of the students' conceptualizations have surfaced: (a) students' passive and receptive attitudes towards English and Japanese ELT; and (b) students' inferiority complex towards their English speaking ability along with the former characteristic of their idea of English. The Japanese university students' conceptualizations seem to oppose the Ministry of Education's aim of English education "to foster a positive attitude towards communication, and to develop the foundation of practical abilities of communication" (cited in Shibata, 2003). Rather, the student interviewees appear to claim that their passive and receptive learning attitudes were constituted through the examination and the Japanese ELT systems, and their English teachers.

English has gained a position as the predominant common language for global communication through its wielding of historical, political, economical and technological superiority (Brumfit, 1982; Pennycook, 1994, 2001; Phillipson, 1992). Fishman (1996) indicates that "the world of large scale commerce, industry, technology, and banking, like the world of certain human sciences and professions, is an international world and it is linguistically dominated by English almost everywhere, regardless of how well established and well-protected local cultures, languages, and identities may otherwise be" (cited in Bamgbose, 2001, p. 357). Because of this trend, English is no longer necessarily regarded as being representative of the culture and nationality of a native speaker, such as British or American; instead, it has become an international *lingua franca*, which serves to facilitate communication in various contexts such as politics, economics, media and culture among people from all over the world. In addition, English has been localized and pluralized as *Englishes* including English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as an International Language (EIL[1]) (Honna, 1999; Kachru & Nelson, 1996). This is because of the instability of language, the fact that, as Widdowson (1997) says, "it is not transmitted without being transformed" (p. 136).

The conceptualizations of English have also changed over time in Japan. Whereas English was previously considered as a mother tongue for its native speakers, it is now increasingly seen as an international language. Suzuki (1999), Ike (1995) and other sociolinguists, for example, argue that the current international position of Japan as well as global business opportunities require Japanese people not only to receive but also to produce

information and opinions as a responsible nation. This requirement should be incentive for Japanese to learn how to express themselves in *English as an international language*. Such a social requirement concerning English ability may cause the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (henceforth, the Ministry of Education) to shift the aim of Japanese English Language Teaching (ELT) from merely understanding American or British cultures to acquiring communicative competence in English for international communication. The governmental curriculum guidelines and English textbooks for secondary schools now explicitly emphasize this as a primary goal of Japanese ELT (Shibata, 2003; Taniguchi, 1998). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education promotes a more practical English teaching, which was particularly geared towards the objectives of speaking and listening. The governmental curriculum guidelines for junior high schools shows this movement, saying that "the purposes of foreign language learning are to deepen the understanding of language and culture through the target foreign language, to foster a positive attitude towards communication, and to develop the foundation of practical abilities of communication, *such as listening and speaking*" (cited in Shibata, 2003). The Ministry also revised English textbooks for Japanese secondary schools "with more dialogues and vocabulary items situationally controlled" (Ike, 1995, p. 9) in order to focus on oral activities. These movements seem to show how Japanese ELT interrelates with and is affected by its social needs and situation so that it comes to prioritize the ideas of English as an international language and of English education for the acquisition of oral skills in English for international communication.

Despite this change, Japanese ELT seems not to have succeeded in raising Japanese students' communicative competence in English. This problem may be attributed to many and complicated causes, but one of the reasons, I think, comes from Japanese people's receptive attitudes towards English learning, which may produce their lack of confidence especially towards English speaking. When interviewing university students in Japan, I heard from most of the interviewees that they were not confident with speaking in English. This may also affect their passive participation in the English speaking class at their university. I heard their opinions during the interviews and came to the idea that such a lack of confidence seems to integrate with their ELT background: how they have learnt English in secondary schools.

In this study, therefore, I will identify the university students' conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT by linguistically analyzing their interview data. I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analytical approach because it enables us to realize the discursive structure governing and internally structuring the targeted discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 2004). In this sense, CDA helps for linguists to see what lies behind people's way of using language. By applying CDA in my study, thus, I try to manifest how Japanese university students have constructed their ideas towards English and Japanese ELT through their personal educational experiences, how they integrate their opinions with the social and educational contexts, and how and why they have an inferiority complex towards English for communication especially in speaking, which interferes with their active participation to international communication in English, which is one of the aims in the governmental curriculum guidelines of Japanese ELT.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. The definition of the term "discourse" is various and ambiguous according to disciplines such as cultural theory, mainstream linguistics and CDA (Blommaert, 2005; Mills, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The meaning of this problematic term in CDA is eclectic between cultural theory and general linguistics; it is based on Michel Foucault's idea of discourse with linguistic theory as an analytical framework, such as functional grammar (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Kress, 1990; Mills, 2003, 2004). Discourse, according to Foucault, is defined as follows:

> Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word "discourse", I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements. (Foucault, 1972, p. 80)

Mills (2004) explains three characteristics of Foucault's definition of discourse in this quotation: (a) *the general domain of* discourse, which indicates "all utterances or texts which have meaning and which have some effects in the real world, count as discourse" (p. 6); (b) *an individualizable group of statements*, which exhibits particular kinds of discourse structures consisting of groups of utterances "which seem to be regulated in some way and which seem to have a coherence and a force to them in common" (p. 6) and (c) *a regulated practice which accounts for a number of statements*, which shows Foucault's interest not in the actual statements or texts but in "the rules and structures which produce particular utterances and texts" as the "rule-governed nature of discourse" (p. 6).

Based on this definition of discourse mentioned above, CDA practitioners do discourse analysis "as 'oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and the 'order of discourse'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3), based on the idea that language "is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2; Foucault, 1972; Kress, 1990). In his early work, Fairclough (1995, p. 2) constructs a three-dimensional approach of Critical Discourse Analysis: (a) "analysis of (spoken or written) language texts"; (b) "analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption)" and (c) "an analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice." The first step focuses on linguistic analysis, not considering social and cultural contexts. The second step analyzes discourse and "intertextuality" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84, p. 101-136), which look at the relationship between a text and the discourse, and different types of texts within a text. The final process analyzes the discursive practices structuring the discourse. These three processes, Fairclough claims, enable CDA practitioners to identify discourse not only as a linguistic representation, but also as a social practice within a text. Thus, the CDA practitioners analyze texts, referring to any product in both spoken and written language (Fairclough, 1992; Halliday, 1978), *as the data of social events* by analyzing particular utterances to identify rules and structures governing a discourse internally.

Concerning linguistic features, Fairclough (1992, p. 36) explains that texts should be analyzed "in terms of a diverse range of features of form and meaning (e.g. properties of

dialogue and text structure as well as vocabulary and grammar) appertaining to both the ideational and interpersonal functions of language." The ideational and interpersonal functions of language derive from Halliday's idea of the metafunctions of language: the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. According to Fairclough (1992), the ideational function of language is "the construction of systems of knowledge and belief," which relates to "ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations" (p. 64). He also explains the interpersonal function of language by dividing it into identity and relational functions of language. The former function is "the construction of what are variously referred to as 'social identities' and 'subject positions' for social 'subjects' and types of 'self,'" which relates to "the ways in which social identities are set up in discourse" (p. 64). The latter function of language is the construction of "social relationships between people," which relates to "how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated" (p. 64). The difference between the ideational and interpersonal functions of language seems to be the target of construction: the former constructs the worldwide system whilst the latter concerns personal identity and human relationships. CDA, thus, needs to analyze various linguistic features which belong both to these ideational and interpersonal functions of language.

CDA in This Study

Based on the definitions of discourse, discourse analysis, and metafunctions of language mentioned above, I applied Critical Discourse Analysis for my study. In order to analyze the Japanese ELT discourse through Japanese university students' interview texts in the focus of their perceptions towards English education in Japan, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with six university students (three male and three female students). The reason why I interviewed university students was that they have already passed all the secondary level English education and the university entrance examination. By looking at their interview texts, thus, it was possible to see how they conceptualize Japanese secondary school English education based on their own experience.

All of the students, Keiko, Takashi, Ai, Tomoki, Nobuyuki and Sawako[2], were born in Japan and took Japanese ELT in secondary schools. What is common among them is that they began to study English as an official subject at junior high school. All of the students except Ai took English tests as part of an entrance examination at some point: Nobuyuki took the exams for entering senior high school, and the rest for university. Another similarity is their English learning situation at university. All of the students are in the same course, International Politics and Economics. However, notwithstanding the nature of their major, the students have few opportunities to speak English except in English classes, where they communicate in English with fellow students and sometimes with a native English speaking teacher. These similar backgrounds, as we shall see further on, seem to have resulted in their similar views towards English and English education.

Linguistic Features for CDA: Modality and Transitivity

Analyzing the university student interview texts, I mainly focus on two linguistic functions in Japanese language: modality and transitivity. According to Halliday (1985),

modality expresses "intermediate degree[s], between the positive and negative poles" (p. 88). The sphere of modality is also explained by Kress & Hodge (1979): "the dimension of the grammar of the clause which corresponds to the 'interpersonal' function of language," which a producer of a text implies "a degree of 'affinity' with the proposition" by using modality (cited in Fairclough, 1992, p. 158). This interpersonal function of modality has both subjective and objective faces. On the one hand, when it is used explicitly, modality shows the text producer's strong feelings and opinions such as "I think/suspect/doubt that the earth is flat" although, on the other hand, the proposition can be objective by using modality implicitly: "the earth may be/is probably flat" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 159). In the latter case, "the use of objective modality often implies some form of power" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 159).

Modality even shows different degrees of people's affinity: low affinity and high affinity (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 159-160). Fairclough (1992) illustrates one sentence, "I think she was a bit drunk, wasn't she?" to explain low affinity by using modal expressions: "I think" (subjective modality marker), "a bit" (hedging) and "wasn't she" (tag question) (p. 159). These expressions show the producer's moderate way of making their proposition. High affinity, on the other hand, sometimes implies another meaning: solidarity. The example, "isn't she beautiful!" is explained as a way of "expressing solidarity with whoever one is talking to" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 160). Fairclough explains that "[q]uestions of this type (a negative question, and a positive assertion with a negative tag question, both of which anticipate a positive answer) presuppose that high affinity with the proposition is shared between speaker and addressee" (1992, p. 160). The example, "isn't she beautiful!" shows that the producer is asking agreement from the recipients about his/her strong opinion that she is beautiful.

Modal expressions exist in Japanese language. Modal adverbs such as "tabun" (perhaps), "kitto" (certainly, surely), "akiraka ni" (obviously) are examples. One interviewee, Tomoki, for instance, used an adverb, "zutto (for a long time)" several times in an extract below to emphasize the fact that he did not study English *for a long time* as follows:

> ***Koukou*** (senior high school) ***wa*** (particle)***, zutto*** (adverb: for a long time) ***daigaku*** (university) ***wa*** (particle) ***iku*** (go) ***ki*** (feeling) ***nakattande*** (there was no because)***, zutto*** (adverb) ***yattenakute*** (was not studying)***, akaten*** (red score: critical score to pass the test) ***made*** (until) ***ato*** (from the point) ***1-ten 2-ten*** (1 or 2 points) ***toka*** (combined particle: like that) ***zutto*** (adverb) ***samayottetandesu*** (wandered about) ***kedo*** (but)***…*** [At high school, for a long time I didn't feel like going to university. So for a long time I was not studying. I was hovering between pass and failure in exams for a long time. But…]

Modal auxiliary verbs in Japanese are the words to be used after other words. They express mainly the speaker's judgment (*Koujien*, Japanese dictionary): "-nai" (negation), "-tai" (desire), "-masu" (politeness, modesty), "-nara" (subjunctive mood), "-u" (will, supposition, possibility, and suggestion) and so on, are the auxiliary verbs. Here are some examples of the use of these auxiliary verbs:

> *Kyou wa gakkou ni ikanai.* (I am not going to school today.)
> *Aisukuriimu ga tabetai.* (I want to eat an ice cream.)

*Kyou no gogo tenisu o shiyo*u. (<u>Let's</u> play tennis this afternoon.)

In Tomoki's interview, he used the expression, "*setsumeisareru*" (be explained) to explain how English teachers at senior high school taught English. "-reru" at the end of this word is an auxiliary verb, showing receptivity that he *was explained* the grammatical features by the teachers:

> *"kono* (this) *'it' wa* (particle)*, kono* (this) *koto* (thing) *o* (particle) *sashiteimasu* (indicating)*" tte* (particle) *iu* (like) *no* (thing) *o* (particle)*, kokuban* (blackboard) *ni* (particle) *kaite* (write) <u>*setsumeisareru*</u> (be explained) *tte* (particle) *iu* (like) *no* (thing) *deshita* (was)*. ne* (particle)*. Nihon-go* (Japanese) *de* (particle)*.* [(Then in a lesson, <u>we were explained by the teacher</u>) something like "'it' here indicates this" by writing on a board in Japanese.]

In addition to these grammatical features, there are some more linguistic features to express a text producer's affinity in Japanese: for instance, particles such as "-yo" (used to show the producer's judgement, to make others agree with his/her idea, and to confirm something), "-ne" (used for confirmation and showing emotion), "-no" (having a function as a hedge, to soften a sentence and show the producer's emotion which considers the receiver) and so on. For example, "Ano sensei wa ii hito da *yo*." (That teacher is a nice person, [*I think*]), "Sono sukaafu, kirei *ne*!" (That scarf is *really* beautiful!), and "Watashi wa kore de ii *no*" (I am fine with it [with a consideration of other people's opinions]).

Transitivity, which is defined as "[t]he ideational dimension of the grammar of the clause in systemic linguistics" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 177) needs to be analyzed because it "deals with the types of processes which are coded in clauses, and the types of participant involved in them ('participant' here means elements in clauses)" (p. 177-178). There are four types of process coded in clauses: "action," "event," "relational" and "mental" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 180). In the *action* process, "an agent acts upon a goal where there are directed and non-directed actions" (p. 180). Directed action is recognized "as a transitive (subject – verb – object) clause," while non-directed action "involved an agent and an action but no (explicit) goal," which is realized as "an intransitive (subject – verb)" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 180). The second process of transitivity is *event*. It is recognized as intransitive, which involves an event and a goal. The *relational* process, on the other hand, involves "relations of being, becoming, or having (possession) between entities" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 160). The final process, the *mental* process, includes "cognition (verbs such as 'know,' 'think'), perception ('hear,' 'notice'), and affection ('like,' 'fear')" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 160). Mental process is generally realized as transitive, which includes the "sensor," "the entity that experiences the mental process" and a "phenomenon," "the target or source of that experience" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 160). Fairclough illustrates these four processes as follows:

The police shot 100 demonstrators. (directed action, transitive)
The police were shooting. (non-directed action, intransitive)
100 demonstrators died. (event, intransitive)
100 demonstrators are dead. (relational, intransitive)

The demonstrators feared the police. (mental, transitive [sensor: the demonstrators, phenomenon: the police]) (1992, p. 180)

Fairclough (1992) points out the importance of this analysis of transitivity from a social point of view, that "[a] social motivation for analysing transitivity is to try to way to work out what social, cultural, ideological, political or theoretical factors determine how a process is signified in a particular type of discourse (and in different discourses), or in a particular text" (p. 179). This means that not only the text producer's personal idea or feeling but also social factors surrounding the text will be identified by analyzing transitivity.

Transitivity is also seen in Japanese grammar. For example, there are transitive and intransitive verbs to show an action and an event such as "*wareru*" and "*waru*" (break):

Kabin ga wareta. (event, intransitive) [The vase was broken.]
Kabin o watta. (action, transitive) [(I) broke the vase.]

The meaning of both verbs is "break" although the former is intransitive and the latter is transitive. The first sentence emphasizes the *event* as if the vase was broken naturally. The second sentence, however, shows the speaker's *action* that s/he broke the vase. There are several verbs of this kind of transitive/intransitive pair, such as "*kiru*" and "*kireru*" (cut), "*kowasu*" and "*kowareru*" (break/destroy), and so on.

In the interview, Takashi used an intransitive verb, "*natteru*" to describe the examination and education systems in Japan, as if these systems had been generated as a matter of course. By emphasizing these systems as *events*, it seems that there is no space to rethink whether these systems of Japanese ELT should or can be changed:

Souiu (such) **fuu** (way) **ni** (particle)**, jyuken** (examination) **shisutemu** (system) **toka** (combined particle)**, gakkou** (school) **no** (particle) **kyouiku** (education) **shisutemu** (system) **ga** (particle) _natteru_ (as it is) **kara** (because) . . . [. . . because the examination system and school education system are in such a way]

Aims of This Study

In this study, thus, firstly I will linguistically analyze Japanese university students' interview data especially by focusing on modality and transitivity in order to identify their conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT. Modal expressions may reveal interpersonal aspect of the student interviewees' thoughts towards English and English education, whilst transitive/intransitive words will identify the ideational dimension of their perception towards English and Japanese ELT. Secondly, I will argue how their conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT were constituted in the discursive constituents in Japanese ELT discourse, such as the relationship between students, teachers and schools, and the Japanese education system including school or university entrance examinations. Finally, I will point out their lack of confidence towards their own English ability, which seems to interrelate their conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT.

Passive Motivation to Receptively Study English at Secondary Schools: Only for Exams

When analyzing the interview texts linguistically, I found one characteristic of the university students' ways of conceptualizing Japanese ELT: they studied English in a receptive stance with a passive view towards Japanese ELT when they were in secondary schools. They tended to study English by receiving every task and information from English teachers; therefore, they did not think autonomously about what to do to learn English. This was manifested many times in the interview texts concerning their motivation to study English, their ways of learning English in secondary schools, and their views towards secondary school English teachers.

Looking at the interview texts concerning the motivation to study English at secondary schools, it is seen that the interviewees are passive towards English learning at school. The students answered the question, "Why do you think you decided to study English?" as follows:

Daigaku (university) *yappa* (adverb: after all) *ikokkana* (wonder to go)**,** *tte* (particle) *omotta* (thought: verb) *toki* (when) *ni* (particle)**,** <u>*doko* (everywhere) *mo* (particle)</u> <u>*Eigo* (English) *ga* (particle) *hitsuyouni* (necessary) *natterunde* (have become</u> <u>because)</u>**,** *"aa* (oh)**,** *kore* (this) *toriaezu* (adverb: first of all) *yaru* (do) *shika* (only) <u>*nainda* (there is nothing but) *na* (particle)</u>*" to* (particle) *omotte* (think) [When I thought that after all, I wanted to go to university, <u>English turned out to be necessary</u> <u>for every university. So, I thought, "oh, in this case, there is nothing but studying</u> <u>English first of all"</u>].

Eigo (English) *o* (particle) *hajimeta* (started) *kikkake* (reason) *wa* (particle) *shaberitai* (want to speak) *toka* (combined particle) *yorimo* (more than)**,** *"toriaezu* <u>(adverb: to begin with)</u> *daigaku* (university) *ni* (particle) *hairu* (enter) *ni* (particle) *wa* (particle)**,** *yaru* (do)**,** <u>*yannakyaikenainda* (must do) *na* (particle)</u>*" tte iu* [The reason for starting (studying) English was not to want to speak English, but, "<u>to</u> <u>begin with</u>, in order to enter university, study. <u>I must do so</u>"].

The intransitive verb, "*natterunde*" in this extract shows his view of the importance of English for the university entrance exam as a natural *event*. This present perfect form of "*naru*" (to become) sounds as if English *has become* necessary as a matter of course; whereas the fact is that other agencies, such as entrance examination makers at Japanese universities and the media, and the social requirement of communicative competence in English that Japanese people should have English ability for international communication, which was mentioned previously in this paper, have contributed to positioning English as an important subject. This verb seems to show that in their minds, the students take for granted the edict that English is a necessary subject.

In the second part of the extract, there appears to be Tomoki's passive feeling that there is no other way but studying English, as he says "*aa, kore toriaezu yaru shika nainda na.*" The adverb, *toriaezu* has several meanings such as (a) for the time being, (b) at once, and (c) first of all. Although there are three meanings for this adverb, they are interrelated and inseparable. This interrelatedness shows the coexistence of the three meanings of the adverb which cumulatively gives a subtle nuance to the sentence. Tomoki's first use of this adverb in

159

the second part of the extract also embeds his affinity towards studying English. In the same expression, Tomoki also said "*shika nai*." "*Shika*" is a particle to be combined with an auxiliary verb, "*nai*" (negation), meaning "there is no…but…" "*Yaru*" is a verb, meaning "to do," in this context "to study." This means that for Tomoki, there was no way to go to university without studying English. Because he effectively did not have a choice in the matter, he therefore *toriaezu* studied English. In this case, the adverb "*toriaezu*" may show his feeling that he studied English for the time being as a means to an end: only for passing an exam. The expression, "*aa, kore toriaezu yaru shika nainda na*" also shows that Tomoki was not eager to study English; because there was no other way to get into university, he simply had to study it.

In the third part of the extract, there is also the same adverb together with "*yannakyaikenai*." This expression consists of "*yan*" (euphonic change of the verb, "*yaru*": to do), "*na*" (shortening of the auxiliary verb, "*nai*" [negation]), "*kya*" (euphonic change of the combined particle "*kereba*," meaning "if" to make a conditional clause), and "*ikenai*" ("*ike*" [a verb, meaning "be able to"] and an auxiliary verb, "*nai*" [prohibition]), meaning "must do." This seems to imply an obligation to study, also showing his passive attitude towards English studying. It seems as if he was commanded by somebody or some entity (in this case the university entrance requirements) to study English. Specifically, if the university had not required him to study English for passing the exam, he would not have studied English by choice.

Ai, who did not take the university entrance exam, answered the same question as follows:

> *A)* ***Tada*** (just) ***hisshuu*** (compulsory subject) ***datta*** (was) ***kara*** (because) [Just because it was a compulsory subject].
> *Q)* ***Koukou*** (senior high school) ***wa*** (particle) ***dou*** (how about) [How about in senior high school]?
> *A)* ***Koukou*** (senior high school) ***mo*** (particle)**,** ***hisshuu*** (compulsory subject) ***datta*** (was) ***kara*** (because)**.** ***Sono*** (that) ***toki*** (time) ***wa*** (particle) ***zenzen*** (not at all) ***jibun*** (myself) ***kara*** (from) ***nannimo*** (nothing) ***shiyou*** (try) ***towa*** (combined particle) ***omotteimasendeshita*** (did not think) [Same with senior high school, because it was a compulsory subject. At that time, I didn't think that I tried to do something with my own will at all].

Her reason for studying English was "*tada hisshuu datta kara*." The adverb, "*tada*" means "only/just something and nothing else." By using this adverb, Ai emphasized the fact that this was the *only* reason for her to study English as an obligatory subject at junior and senior high schools. Following this, she also said, "*Sono toki wa zenzen jibun kara nannimo shiyou towa omotteimasendeshita*." "*Wa*" in this sentence is a particle to show a new topic, meaning that what she did in senior high school was different from her current thinking. She tried to differentiate her present feeling towards English learning from the previous one: although she is now motivated to learn English at university, she was not at all motivated to do so in senior high school. "*Zenzen*" is an adverb, used in conjunction with the verb, "*omotteimasendeshita*," meaning "did not think at all." By using this adverb, Ai seems to have emphasized the fact that she did not do anything at all actively out of her own

enthusiasm. Again, like Tomoki, this shows her passive attitude towards English learning at secondary schools.

    Takashi clearly revealed his passive attitude towards studying English in his answer to the question, "What is English education for you?"

> **A)** *Ammari* (not so much) *ii* (good) *omoide* (memory) *naidesu* (there is not) *ne* (particle)**. (laugh)** *Shou* (way) *ga* (particle) *naku* (no) *yattekitatte* (have done) *kanji* (like) *desu* (is) *ne* (particle)**.** *Iyaiya* (adverb: against my will) *yattekimashita* (have done) [There is not so much good memory. <u>It is like, because there was no way. I have studied (English) against my will</u>].
> **Q)** *Demo* (but) *yattekita* (have done) [But (you) have done].
> *A) Hai* (yes) [Yes].
> **Q)** *Doushite* (why) [Why]?
> **A)** <u>*Souiu* (such) *fuu* (way) *ni* (particle)**,** *jyuken* (examination) *shisutemu* (system) *toka* (combined particle)**,** *gakkou* (school) *no* (particle) *kyouiku* (education) *shisutemu* (system) *ga* (particle) *natteru* (as it is) *kara* (because)**,** *sonna* (not so much) *ni* (particle) *ichiichi* (one by one) *hampatsusuru* (oppose) *hitsuyou* (need) *mo* (particle) *naishi* (no and)**,** *betsuni* (particle: particularly) *nagare* (stream) *ni* (particle) *sottekita* (have followed) *dake* (only) *desu* (is)</u> [Because examination system and school education system are in such a way. There is no need to oppose one by one particularly, and <u>I have just followed this stream</u>].

    The expression "*shou ga naku*" indicates that "there is no way." By using this expression, he showed his unwillingness to study English. In addition, he also said the adverb, "*iyaiya*." "*Iya*" shows someone's dislike. This seems to show his strong hatred (double "dislike") towards English learning.

    Although he hated studying English, he had done so and is still doing so. There are two avowed reasons for him to study English: one is the examination system and the other is the school education system. Takashi explained these systems by an intransitive verb "*natteru*" to show its ideational function as if studying English *had become a natural system and belief* due to these institutions. This is the same as Tomoki's view that it is a matter of course to consider English as an important subject for university entrance examinations. Because of this *taken-for-grantedness* to study English, there was no way for Takashi to avoid studying English, although he did not like it at all.

    The last part of this extract also showed his passive attitude towards English learning. He said, "*nagare ni sottekita dake desu*." "*Nagare*" is a noun, meaning "stream." When English education is described metaphorically as a stream, it seems as if there was one direction and it was hard to reverse it like a river. Because it is difficult to oppose its course, he just followed this stream like everybody else. The verb, "*sottekita*" is a present perfect form of "*sou*," implying "to have been forward or followed something for a long time without being apart." The particle "*dake*" shows the limitation of a thing or an action. In this context, Takashi seemed to emphasize that what he has done regarding learning English was *purely following the stream*.

    The interview data concerning the university students' ways of studying English in secondary schools also show their passivity and receptivity towards English and Japanese

ELT at secondary school. The question was "What were English lessons like in junior/senior high school?" Interestingly, Tomoki and Nobuyuki both used the expression, "*futsuu no jyugyou*," meaning "orthodox lessons." The noun "*futsuu*" means orthodox, ordinary and general that everyone thinks of in the same way. Here is an extract from Nobuyuki:

> *Q) Goku* (very) *futsuu no* (ordinary) *jyugyou* (lesson) *tte* (particle) *iu* (say) *no* (thing) *wa* (particle)**,** *douiu* (what kind of) *no* (thing) *desu* (is) *ka* (particle) [What kind of lesson is called 'a <u>very</u> ordinary lesson']?
> *A) Kyoukasho* (textbook) *ni* (particle) *sotte* (following)*, hoka no* (other) *jyugyou* (lesson)**,** *shakaika* (social studies) *toka* (combined particle) *rika* (science) *to* (particle) *douyou* (same) *ni* (particle) *kokugo* (Japanese) *toka* (combined particle) *to* (particle) *issho* (same) *de* (particle) *sono* (its) <u>*kyoukasho* (textbook) *no* (particle) *naka*</u> (content) <u>*dake* (only) *o* (particle) *tantan to* (monotonously) *konashiteiku* (deal with)</u> <u>*mitaina* (look like)</u>**.** *Sorede* (then)**,** <u>*"koko* (here) *wa* (particle) *yoku* (often) *kenritsu*</u> <u>*no* (prefectural) *nyuushi* (entrance exam) *ni* (particle) *deruwayo* (be out)*" tokatte*</u> (something) *kanji* (like) *deshita* (was) [Following a textbook. Like other lessons, such as social studies, science, and Japanese, <u>only deal with the content of the</u> <u>textbook monotonously</u>. Then, (a teacher said) <u>"this point will be often pointed out in</u> <u>entrance examinations for prefectural high schools"</u> something like that].

The interviewer used the word, "*goku*" meaning "very" because Nobuyuki used it previously to emphasize that the English lessons in his junior high school were *very* orthodox. Nobuyuki also pointed out the fact that the English class dealt only with the contents of the textbook by saying "*kyoukasho no naka <u>dake</u> o tantan to konashiteiku.*" "*Dake*" is a particle that limits a thing or an action. In this context, he may have wanted to show his feeling that the contents of English lessons were only from a textbook and nothing more. The verb "*konasu*" (*konashiteiku* is a progressive form) means "to finish/deal with a task/job." On the whole, it seems that English lessons are monotonous and unchanging because all the students have to do is *only to deal with tasks only in the textbook*. This is an image of *a very orthodox English lesson* for Nobuyuki.

It seems that the idea of an ordinary English lesson for Nobuyuki is teacher-centered. English teachers instruct students to study from page to page, explain grammar and give some information about the entrance examination. All the students have to do is to follow what the teachers dictate. In this way, a receptive attitude to study English will have been nurtured ineluctably in the system of education.

As a result of these receptive English lessons, some students struggle to be active in learning English at university. For example, Takashi feels difficulty in studying freely at university because not everything is given clearly, as was the case in his experience in senior high school:

> *A) Shoujiki* (to be honest) *shindoi* (hard) *desu* (is) *ne* (particle)**.** *Sono* (well)**,** *yappa* (you know) *nante* (what) *iundarouna* (can I say)**,** *yappa* (you know) *atae* (give/given)**,** *nante* (what) *ieba* (say) *iikana* (wonder)**,** *sugoku* (very much) *omomittsuuka* (burden like)**,** <u>*koukou* (senior high school) *to* (particle) *chigatte*</u> (different)**,** <u>*yarubeki* (should do) *koto* (thing) *o* (particle) *zenbu* (all) *meikaku ni*</u>

(clearly) *arawashite* (show) *kurenaishi* (not let)*,* *sugoi* (very much) *nanka* (well) *jiyuu* (freedom) *ga* (particle) *omomi* (burden) *ni* (particle) *natteirutte* (becoming) *iu* (say) *ka* (particle)*.* *Ataerareru* (be given) *mono* (thing) *o* (particle) *yaru* (do) *dake* (only) *janainde* (not because)*.* *Jibun* (myself) *kara* (from)*,* *jibun* (myself) *kara* (from)*,* *ja* (particle) *nakya* (particle) *umakuikanai* (not going well) *mono* (thing) *nande* (because) [To be honest, it is hard. Well, how can I say, yeah, compared with (English teachers) at high school, (teachers at university) don't give me what I should do clearly. Freedom to study is the burden. (Studying at university) is not only to study what is given. It won't work well unless I have my own initiative].

Q) Jaa (then)*,* *gyaku ni* (on the contrary) *koukou* (senior high school) *no* (particle) *toki* (time) *wa* (particle) *zenbu* (everything) *ataeraretemashita* (was given) *ka* (particle) [Then, on the contrary, when you were in senior high school, everything was given]?

A) Sou desu ne (that's right)*,* *hotondo* (most) *mou* (already) *ataerareteta* (was given) *to* (particle) *ittemo* (say) *ii* (ok) *desu* (is) *ne* (particle)*.* *Sore* (it) *o* (particle) *yaru* (do) *ka* (if) *yaranai* (not do) *ka* (if) *wa* (particle) *betsu* (different) *ni* (particle) *shite* (particle) [That's right. It can be said that most of them were already given although it is a different story whether I worked on them or not].

Takashi showed the difference between senior high school and university, saying "*yarubeki koto o zenbu meikaku ni arawashite kurenai.*" The verb used in this expression was "*arawashite kurenai,*" which is a combined verb consisting of "*arawasu*" (show) and "*kureru*" (give, affirmative). This combined verb with "*-kureru*" implies that a person receives benefits from another's action. For example, "*Otouto* (younger brother) *ga* (particle) *kuruma* (car) *o* (particle) *aratte kureta* (washed for me)" [(my) younger brother washed a car for me] implies the benefit of the speaker from the younger brother by his action to wash the car. In Takashi's case, therefore, he cannot gain any benefit from his university English teacher through her/his action because s/he does not show everything that Takashi has to do. This verb may show Takashi's *dependence on teachers*, as was his old custom developed through English education at senior school.

Takashi also used the expression, "*ataerareru,*" which is a passive form of the verb, "*ataeru*" (give) with an auxiliary verb, "*-reru,*" showing passivity. The second sentence, "*Ataerareru mono o yaru dake ja nainde*" indicates that Takashi has to do some extra work in addition to what he was given from the teachers at university. He also said, "*hotondo mou ataerareta to itte mo ii desu ne*" to describe his receptive attitude as well as his English teachers to have given almost every task in secondary schools.

While it is manifested that the students are passive and receptive in learning English with everything given by the English teachers, it is also important to uncover how the students think about the teachers' way of teaching English in the classroom. The question asked of all the student interviewees was, "Looking at English teachers objectively, what and how do you think they teach in English lessons?" Here is an extract from Ai:

Yaku (translation) *o* (particle) *oshiete kuremashita* (taught for us)*.* *Doredake* (how much) *kantanni* (simple)*,* *doredake* (how much) *sono* (well)*,* *teiki tesuto* (term tests) *no* (particle) *ten* (score) *ga* (particle) *torerukatte* (can get) *iu* (like) *koto* (thing) *ni*

163

(particle)**,** *minna* (everybody) *hisshi* (desperate) *deshita* (was)**.** *Yaku* (translation) *o* (particle) *oboete* (memorize)**,** *desouna* (may be out) *tango* (vocabulary) *dake* (only) *oboete* (memorize) [(They) taught translation for me. Everybody was desperate for how easily and how much they can get higher scores at term tests. So, we memorized the translations and only the vocabulary items which might be in the tests].

Ai's answer to this question is based on her experience at senior high school. This is shown by her use of the past tense for all verbs. First of all, she said, "*yaku o oshiete kuremashita*." She used a noun "*yaku*" (translation), not a phrase such as "*yaku no houhou/shikata*" (how to translate). This also shows that what she thought she gained from the teacher was *the* translation (what has been translated by the teacher), not the way or the tools by which to translate for herself. Furthermore, she used the combined verb with "-*kureru*," which implies that the speaker has gained something from somebody's action. In this context, Ai *has received* a translation from her English teacher.

She also explained her classmates' enthusiasm to get a high score in the exams. In order to accomplish their aim (to get good marks in tests), what the English teacher gave them was important because all they needed to do was memorize what the teacher translated. This relationship between the students' need and the teacher's supply is seen in her remark, "*yaku o oboete, desouna tango dake oboete*." The repetition of the verb, "*oboete*" (to memorize) and the particle "*dake*" (only/merely) emphasized the fact that the students *simply need to memorize* the translation *given by* the teacher.

Sawako also answered the same question based on her personal experience, that her English teacher just followed the English textbook, as Tomoki and Nobuyuki had pointed out in their definitions of *an ordinary English lesson*:

A) *Chuugaku* (junior high school) *no* (particle) *toki* (time) *no* (particle) *sensei* (teacher) *wa* (particle)**,** *maa* (well) *youwa* (in short) *tekisuto* (textbook) *o* (particle) *yondeiru* (reading) *dake* (only)**,** *to* (particle) *iu* (like) *ka* (particle)**.** *Un* (Well)**,** *sou desu ne* (let me think)**,** *tekisuto* (textbook) *sonomamma* (exactly as it is) *no* (particle) *sensei* (teacher) *deshita* (was) *ne* (particle)**,** *kihontekini* (basically) [The English teacher at junior high school was, well, in short, only reading a textbook. Well, let me think, the English teacher (taught) exactly the textbook as it was].

Q) *Koukou* (senior high school) *wa* (particle) *dou* (how) *deshou* (is) [How about senior high school teachers]?

A) *Koukou* (senior high school) *no* (particle) *sensei* (teacher) *wa* (particle)**,** *onaji* (same) *tekisuto* (textbook) *o* (particle) *kaisetsusuru* (explain) *ni* (particle) *shitemo* (even if)**,** *umakatta* (was skillful)**.** *Nani* (what) *o* (particle) *kijyun* (criterion) *ni* (particle) *umakatta* (was skillful) *to* (particle) *itterunokamo* (if am saying) *jibun* (myself) *demo* (even) *yoku* (well) *wakannaindesu* (not know) *kedo* (but)**,** *demo* (but) *kekkou* (quite) *wakariyasukatta* (easy to understand) *desushi* (is and)**,** *benkyousuru* (study) *ki* (feeling) *ni* (particle) *narimashitashi* (became)**.** *Hai* (Yes) [The English teachers at senior high school were, even if it was the same as in junior high school to explain a textbook, skillful. I myself do not know so much how I am saying "skillful" based on what criterion, but (the teacher's explanations at senior high school) were quite easy to understand, and I felt like studying English, yeah].

Sawako emphasized her feeling that her teacher at junior high school was *just* reading out of a textbook by using the phrase, "*youwa tekisuto o yondeiru dake*." The particle "*dake*" (only/just) emphasized this fact. The verb, "*yondeiru*" (progressive form of "*yomu*," meaning "to read"), highlights her critique of the limitations of the teacher's way of teaching English that the teacher was just reading a textbook, not teaching. This feeling seems to be underlined in the next expression, "*tekisuto sonomamma no sensei deshita ne*." The Japanese expression, "*sonomamma* (a colloquial form of '*sonomama*')," a thing or a situation unchangeable, as it is, implied her complaint that the teacher's method was simply to read the textbook *exactly as it was*.

Concerning the English teacher at senior high school, she admired him compared with the English teacher in junior high school, as evinced in her expression, "*onaji tekisuto o kaisetsusuru ni shitemo, umakatta*." In this expression, she used a verb "*kaisetsusuru*" (to explain in order to make someone understand by analyzing a thing) not "*yomu*" (to read), which was used for describing the junior high school teacher. These verbs differ about her evaluations of both teachers according to their comprehensibility by using an adjective, "*wakariyasukatta*" (easy to understand). Although she admires the senior high school teacher's skill to explain a textbook, in the end what both teachers gave her was little more than a dictation of the textbooks screened by the Ministry of Education.

Nobuyuki similarly differentiates between his teachers. His teachers in junior high school aimed to make students pass the exams for senior high schools, while the teachers in senior high school did not have to do so because the school was attached to a university:

A) Chuugaku (junior high school) *no* (particle) *Eigo* (English) *no* (particle) *sensei* (teacher). *Toriaezu* (first of all)**,** <u>*zenin*</u> (every students) *koukou* (senior high school) *ni* (particle) *ukarasenakyaikenai* (must make them pass) *mitaina* (look like) *gimukan* (obligation) *ga* (particle) *aru* (there is) *mitai* (like) *nan* (particle) *desu* (is) *yo* (particle). *Sono* (it) *tame* (for) *no* (particle) *saiteigendo* (the least) *no* (particle) *chishiki* (knowledge) *o* (particle) *oshieteru* (teaching) *mitaina* (look like) *kanji* (impression) *de* (particle)**,** *sono* (that) *saki* (after) *ni* (particle) *tsunagaru* (connect) *komyunikeeshon* (communication) *toka* (combined particle) *wa* (particle) *ammari* (not so much) *yattenai* (not doing)**.** <u>**Jyuken Eigo**</u> (English for entrance examination) <u>*desu*</u> (is) <u>*ne*</u> (particle) [The English teachers at junior high school. First of all, <u>it seems that there is a kind of obligation that they must make all students pass entrance exams for senior high schools. Therefore, (they are) teaching the minimum knowledge necessary for the exam</u>, rather than that which is useful for communication. <u>It is Jyuken Eigo</u>].

Q) Koukou (senior high school) *wa* (particle) *dou* (how) *deshou* (is) [How about English teachers in senior high school]?

A) Koukou (senior high school) *wa* (particle)**,** *daigaku* (university) *de* (particle) *okurenai* (not to be dropped out) *teido* (amount) *no* (particle) *Eigo* (English) *o* (particle) *yaru* (do). *Kekkyoku wa* (after all) *jyuken Eigo* (English for entrance exam) *ni* (particle) *tsunagatteru* (relating) *no* (particle) *ga* (particle) *arundesu* (there are) *kedo* (but)**,** *mouchotto* (a bit more) *dakkyakushiteite* (slough off)**,** <u>*"neitibu*</u> (native speaker) <u>*dattara*</u> (if) <u>*koko*</u> (here) <u>*o*</u> (particle) <u>*kou*</u> (like this) <u>*kaku*</u> (write) <u>*yo*</u> (particle)*"* *mitainano* (something like this) *o* (particle) *oshietekuretari* (teach) *toka*

(combined particle**)**, ***mouchotto*** (a bit more) ***jitsuyoutekina*** (practical) ***mono*** (matter) ***o*** (particle) ***oshietekureru*** (teach) ***kanji*** (impression) ***ga*** (particle) ***atta*** (there was) ***kana*** (combined particle) [In English lessons at senior high school, (we) studied English in order to be able to follow the English classes when going to university. After all, some (of the things which English teachers taught us at senior high school) related to Jyuken Eigo, but some were different. (The teachers) taught us (how native speakers of English write in English) by saying, "if a writer were a native speaker, s/he would write here in this way." (I have) an impression that (the teachers) taught something a bit more practical].

Nobuyuki's remark seems to be based on his own observation towards English teachers as well as his actual experience in English classrooms. Concerning English teachers in junior high school, he said, "*zenin koukou ni ukarasenakyaikenai mitaina gimukan ga aru mitai nan desu yo*." A suffix "*-mitai*" in this sentence shows his uncertain judgment or recognition. Here, he thinks that among English teachers there is a certain kind of obligation to make all the students pass the entrance exam. Such a perception seems to derive from his personal observation, however, and not from the facts. This intimation is seen in the expression "*ukarasenakyaikenai*." This is a combined expression consisted of a verb "*ukaru*" (to pass), an auxiliary verb "*-seru*" (functions as a causative verb, "make"), an auxiliary verb, "*-nai*" (negation), a particle "*kya*" (but), a particle "*ba*" (subjunctive mood), and a negative form of a verb "*ikeru*," "*ikenai*" (consists of a verb "*ikeru*"+ an auxiliary verb, "*-nai*" [negation]). This expression means that if the teachers do not make the students pass the exam, it is not good. In other words, the teachers *must* make them pass the exam. An auxiliary verb, "*-seru*" functions as a causative verb, showing that the teachers have a responsibility to ensure the success of the students in passing their English examinations.

The next expression is "*sono tame no saiteigendo no chishiki o oshieteru mitaina kanji de*." It is interesting that Nobuyuki used a word "*saiteigendo*" (minimum) to emphasize the fact that the teachers have taught the students the *least necessary* amount of knowledge only for the purpose of the exam. This is the purpose of teaching English for junior high school English teachers in the eyes of Nobuyuki.

Lack of Confidence

Thus far, I have identified Japanese university students' passive and receptive conceptualizations of English and English education based on some discursive factors such as the education or examination systems and the relationship between students and teachers. In this section, I will find out the interplay between such conceptualizations of English and Japanese ELT with their lack of confidence towards their English communicative competence, especially speaking ability: how they interrelate with, reinforce, and reproduce their lack of confidence towards their English ability.

Looking at the attitudes of the student interviewees as well as the contents[3] of their interviews, they appear to struggle with an inferiority complex towards their English ability. Keiko, for example, looked nervous before the interview started because she wondered if the interview would be conducted in English. She looked relieved when it was known that the language for the interview would be Japanese. This shows that Keiko was not confident

enough with her English speaking ability even to conduct an informal interview. This lack of confidence towards her own English was seen throughout her interview. She also showed her lack of confidence because her English score in the university entrance exam "was the worst of all subjects." This may illustrate how she evaluates her English ability as bad according to the result of the exam only. In this sense, there will be a connection between the inferiority complex and Japanese examination system: the university entrance examination seems to control people's way of assessing their English ability. This may also cause their passivity towards international communication in English even though the Ministry of Education aims to foster the students' positive participation in the international communication in the guidelines.

Takashi also showed his lack of confidence towards his English ability by describing his English as "useless" in answering the question, "What do you think about your own English?" This view was contextualized by his own experience that he could not understand what a native speaker lecturer said in his speech although most of the students, in his eyes, seemed to understand it. He said, "I was the only one who did not catch up." Further on, he showed his passive attitude towards brushing up his English for more communicative situations as follows:

> Well, of course, *I wanted to be able to speak English*. For eight years, in my case, I have been studying English and it is completely useless. Really, *I am a good example, an example of the failure of Japanese English education*. Honestly, I think that English education should aim for students to be able to use it, listen and speak it.

The use of the past tense seems that Takashi already gave up thinking that he will be able to own English. This disappointment to his English, thus, may deter him from any motivation to learn English. His remark will show a serious problem inherent in the Japanese ELT system: inferiority complex towards English depletes students' motivation and hope of being able to acquire communicative competence in English through English language education.

Takashi also described himself as "a good example, an example of the failure of Japanese English education" in the same extract. "Japanese English education" in this comment may show the connection with Japanese students' receptive and passive attitudes towards Japanese ELT in secondary school identified in the previous section. In the previous section, Takashi showed his strong hatred towards English learning by using the expression, "*iya iya*" (unwillingly). He also explained the reasons why he studied English even though he hated it: the examination and the school education systems. By following these systems existing in the Japanese ELT context, he thinks that he represented himself as an unsuccessful example of English education in Japan. In addition, for Takashi Japanese ELT at secondary school was teacher-centered. He described his senior high school English teacher as the one who gave every instruction for learning English. This receptive English learning may also have generated his inferiority complex towards his English ability.

There seems to be an interrelationship between Japanese students' lack of confidence towards their English ability and their conceptualizations of English and English education. Because English is not a language of their own but merely a subject for secondary school education or examination by simply following *the stream* of teacher-centered English teaching, the students may not be able to find out the connection between expressing

themselves in English in normal social intercourse and what they have studied in the classroom. This may foster their lack of confidence towards their English ability even after six years' learning English, which ironically opposes the aim of English education suggested in the governmental guidelines mentioned in the beginning of this paper. This tendency may also enlarge the gap between social needs and English classrooms: although outside the classrooms Japanese people are required to be able to communicate in English (Suzuki, 1999), inside the classrooms students are still learning English only for exams. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the feeling that it is deemed shameful for students to practice speaking in English between them in the classrooms. Ai points out this tendency in her English classroom at university, saying, "[f]or example, when it goes to discussion in English, *everyone in my class*, because my class is the lowest maybe, *are not motivated*. *Is it all right? I think*." This seems to show Japanese students' hesitation to speak English in the classroom. This sentiment of embarrassed reluctance to practice English speaking activities in the classrooms is endemic to the situation that today's Japanese ELT has created: because they may separate English required in social context (English as an international language for communication) from English in educational context (English as a subject of examinations), Japanese university students feel uncomfortable about expressing what they want to say in English in their classrooms. With such a disconnection between social and educational contexts, it is almost impossible to raise students' communicative competence of English as well as their active attitudes towards international communication. I would argue that there is a critical necessity for a revision and reconsideration of Japanese ELT, so that this current tendency, which benefits neither the student nor the Japanese society, does not become so thoroughly ingrained, and so that the students can begin to enjoy learning English as a real language for communication through English education.

Conclusion

This paper tries to identify the Japanese university students' conceptualizations of English and English education, and the relationship between these conceptualizations and their lack of confidence towards their English ability. By Critical Discourse Analysis of the interview texts, it was seen that the students tend to consider English as a subject for examinations and English learning as receptive and passive just by following the stream of teacher-centered Japanese ELT, which seems to be firmly-established by the examination and education systems. Power relations between English teachers and students as well as between the Japanese ELT system and students may increase their lack of confidence towards English for communication and, as a result, prevent them from connecting English for communication with English in the classrooms and, as a result, developing the ownership of English, to consider English as their language. It would be necessary to explore ways to bridge the gap in further research.

Notes

[1] Honna (1999) replaced EFL (English as a Foreign Language) with EIL as the category of English in the Expanding Circle because EFL cannot signify the functions of English in the Expanding Circle. Seidlhofer (2002) uses the terminology 'ELF' (English as a Lingua Franca)

in order to indicate English in the Expanding Circle like Austria, France, Italy etc. In this research, however, EIL is mainly used because it has been adopted in Japanese educational discourse.

[2] The names are pseudonyms.

[3] This section tries to identify how little they are confident with their English speaking ability by focusing on the content of what they said in the interviews. Therefore, I translated the data in English.

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