

Standardization and Japanese People's Perception Toward Languages

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1. Introduction

A state is a central entity to implement language planning and policy (LPP), which has been particularly linked to the modern nation building in Europe since the 19th century. Today, not only European countries but also many other states exercise LPP: for example, Canada has a bilingual policy which declares that English and French are the official languages of Canada and encourages its citizens to be competent in both languages; and Singapore designates four languages, English, Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin as official languages, and promotes English for its national development. Language *policy* is different from language *planning*. Language policy refers to “the goals of language planning” (Cooper, 1989, p.29). More specifically, language policies are “political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process” (Mesthrie, et al., 2000, p. 384). In some cases, a state implements LPP to accomplish “political goals rather than for linguistic or communicative goals,” since it is a political unit organized for “maintaining order in the society and assuring the legitimacy of its institutions, methods, and personnel in the minds of the society. ... [It] tries to protect its independence” (Weinstein, 2016, p. 349). In other cases, many states have been implementing LPP purely for linguistic purposes to solve language problems and to control language use and conditions within their territory.

As a modern state, Japan has adopted LPP to change language conditions and promote a particular language variety since the Meiji Period (1868-1912). During the Meiji Period, one of the important LPP exercised by the Japanese government was standardization of the Japanese language to modernize the state itself (Twine, 1991). As a result, Standard Japanese was created. Today, this standard variety serves as an important tool for the Japanese government in various ways. This paper assumes that one of the influences that Standard Japanese has had upon society can be seen in people's perception of languages/varieties. In order to demonstrate such influences on languages/varieties, this paper will examine first how Standard Japanese has been used in Japan and how people perceive it as well as other Japanese varieties. Then, how people's perception toward Standard Japanese influences another language, English, will be analyzed. Why English? In Japan, many people recognize English as prerequisite to live in the current globalized era, so that English is

considered as an important foreign language to acquire (Torikai, 2005). Since this thinking is widely spread in society, it can be assumed that English in Japanese society has been affected by the implementation of the standardized variety of Japanese. Hence, this paper will argue it by looking at the influence of standard language in Japanese society.

In the interest of discussing the issues above, this paper includes five sections. First, concepts of standardization in LPP will be introduced in detail. Second, the use of Standard Japanese and people's perception toward this variety will be illustrated. Third, people's perception toward English will be examined by introducing the results of my questionnaire survey conducted in 2015 in which the popularity of American English was revealed among survey participants. In order to examine reasons of its popularity, this paper will illustrate the current condition of English language education in Japan in association with American English. Finally, by analyzing the findings from the examination of perception toward Standard Japanese and the results from my questionnaire survey as well as the condition of English language education, this paper will demonstrate how standardization conditions people's attitudes toward languages in society in a certain way, together with describing some effects derived from the implementation of standardization.

2. Concepts of Standardization

Standardization is one of the operations in language planning, and the language planning itself is commonly categorized into two types, status planning and corpus planning. Status planning attempts to give or change the status of a language or its variety in a society. In particular, it provides a language with new functions "such as using the language as medium of instruction or as an official language" so that the role of a language is changed in a society (Mesthrie et al., 2000, p.386). Corpus planning is designed to change the internal conditions of a language or its variety. Corpus planning generally involves the implementation of standardization, the development of orthography, the adoption of vocabularies from new sources, and the compilation of dictionaries and grammar books, so that the use of the language is extended in a society to a greater degree (Wardhaugh, 2010). Status planning and corpus planning are the basic strategies for language planning, and both can be exercised not in a mutually exclusive way but simultaneously.

Among various functions of corpus planning, standardization of a language is frequently adopted by a state to solve a communication problem caused by the use of different languages/varieties within its territory. A standard variety makes it possible for people from various linguistic backgrounds in society to interact with each other smoothly and for a government to communicate information to its citizens efficiently, since translation of the information becomes an unnecessary task. Furthermore, the standard variety has an instrumental role of an authority that offers "membership in the nation, an identity that gives one entrée into a new kind of group, which is not just kinship, or government, or religion, but a novel and peculiarly modern brew of all three" (Haugen, 1997, p.359). Due to the presence of the standard variety, people are able to identify themselves definitely as a citizen of the state, which helps consolidate the unity of the state. Thus, many states have promoted the standardization of language, and this is counted as a process of national development in modern

times. And yet, standardization is also implemented to suppress other varieties of a language by identifying the written language as an ideal model (Wiley & Lukes, 2016), which is promoted in society through education and the mass media.

While a standard variety is disseminated its use, other varieties become suppressed varieties, which are produced as a consequence of the promotion of a standard variety and which are not visible to the majority of people in a society. The standard model of a language is the one which was intentionally created as “a hypothetical, ‘pure’ variety of a language having only one spelling and one pronunciation for every word, one word for every meaning, and one grammatical framework for all utterances. For purposes of efficient communication this is obviously the ideal code” (Haugen, 1997, p.348). Accordingly, this variety is considered as “primarily symbolic, a matter of the prestige (or lack of it) that attaches to specific forms or varieties of language by virtue of identifying the social status of their users” (Labov, 1964, as cited in Haugen, 1997, p.359). Since the standard variety is an ideal, symbolic, and prestigious code, people perceive it as correct and legitimate; in contrast, suppressed varieties are turned to be incorrect and illegitimate ones. Standardization makes people perceive languages in a certain way while solving a communication problem effectively in society. The adoption and promotion of a standard variety by a state provides the evidence that the state intentionally functions to control the language use and its conditions in society.

3. Standard Japanese and People's Perceptions of Language Varieties

The previous section introduced general concepts of standardization and people's perceptions toward language varieties. It was revealed that people are likely to be affected to perceive language varieties in society in a certain way due to the implementation of standardization. By utilizing the general concepts of standardization, this section will examine why Standard Japanese was created and how people perceive the standard and other varieties in Japan.

During the Meiji Period (1868-1912), the Japanese government engaged in corpus planning by initiating two projects: (1) vocabulary expansion by borrowing a large number of vocabulary items from European languages and by creating new Sino-Japanese words in Chinese characters, and (2) compilation of grammar books. In conjunction with these projects, the Ministry of Education implemented standardization because the Meiji government viewed the facilitation of communication as a necessary factor to modernize Japan. This facilitation was considered to make it possible to spread the knowledge and technology introduced from the West throughout its realm, and to transmit information efficiently between the centralized modern government and its citizens (Twine, 1991). Moreover, the standard variety has been functioning as a tool to help people recognize their identity as the Japanese, because a standard variety is viewed as the important instrument to consolidate people's identity, solidarity, and belongingness to the nation. By creating the standard variety, the government wanted to assure the unity of state. A standard variety of Japanese which the government adopted in the Meiji Period was educated middle- and upper-class Tokyo dialect. This was served as the standard spoken variety as well as a standard written language.

The standard variety was spread through the newly established, nationwide education system where the standard has been used as the medium of instruction ever since, and it has been used for writing all textbooks since 1900 (Twine, 1991). Because of possessing a view that the implementation of universal and egalitarian nature of education is only possible by using the standard national language (Twine, 1991), the Meiji government took advantage of this education system to implement Standard Japanese. The strategy of using the standard variety in education adopted by the Meiji government has been continuously used to date, so that Standard Japanese is perceived as the language which should be used in education in Japan. Currently, a “common language,” or *kyootsuugo* in Japanese, is used, instead of the standard language in educational settings. This language was introduced after WWII, which is “heavily influenced by the standard language but retains dialect traits, such as accentual features” (Shibatani, 1990). Thus, *kyootsuugo* has a lot of variations due to the influence from local dialects, “but have sufficient standard features to render them mutually intelligible” (Shibatani, 1990, p.187). Because of these characteristics of *kyootsuugo*, some people perceive it as Standard Japanese, and in some occasions, *kyootsuugo* is interchangeably used to indicate Standard Japanese today. Although *kyootsuugo* is not identical to Standard Japanese, it is a variant of standard. Thus, this paper regards *kyootsuugo* as Standard Japanese.

The standard variety has been used since the Meiji Period, and today this is particularly recognized its use in the following two areas. First, this is used in education, since it is the place where students learn it by encountering standard written language in textbooks. They acquire the standard variety, regardless whether they want to acquire it or not, by being given many opportunities to use it for producing writing and making presentations and speeches. Through the education system, people acquire the standard variety, and this process also provides people with an opportunity to develop a sense that Standard Japanese is an appropriate and correct variety to use in public spheres. In other words, people are socialized into affirming and perpetuating the standard variety. Second, the mass media such as TV, radio, and newspaper play a crucial role to promote the use of Standard Japanese. TV, radio, and newspaper is the media to convey news and important information. People generally trust what are given in news on TV and by radio, so that they tend to perceive that the language variety used by the media, which is usually the standard spoken/written Japanese, is an appropriate and correct variety to use in public. As a result of going through the education system and watching/hearing/reading the media, people acquire Standard Japanese with the communicative competence, necessary skills and rules to communicate appropriately in society (Romaine, 2000), and develop the perception that the standard variety is legitimate and correct in Japan.

The establishment of the standard variety means that suppressed varieties also emerge in society. In fact, the Japanese government actively suppressed other dialects and languages (Lee, 2010, Heinrich, 2012), while promoting the standard variety. For example, students were punished when they spoke their local dialect at school before WWII. In addition, to speak Ainu was prohibited, and eventually the language died out under a language assimilation policy, since no one speaks it as his/her mother tongue today. Meanwhile, the standardization of language also means that the standard variety is given status by a

government and this affects people's perception toward dialects in society: people see Standard Japanese as correct and legitimate; in contrast, they view other dialects and languages as inferior (Twine, 1991), and speaking them as embarrassing (Noguchi, 2001). Although the implementation of standardization was useful for facilitating efficient communication within a territory and for achieving national unity successfully with one standard language, it also created a negative effect that people perceive non-standard varieties as inferior and embarrassing. This indicates that people's perception toward languages in society was largely influenced by standardization.

Standard Japanese was given status and viewed prestigious, correct, and legitimate by people, while other dialects were soon perceived as inferior and embarrassing. However, this perception appears to be increasingly changing. Today, speaking local dialects is easily recognized on TV, so that the sense of embarrassment by speaking a local dialect seems to be greatly reduced. In fact, a study conducted by Watanabe & Karasawa (2013) illustrated that people perceived local dialects as friendly and pleasant while they felt Standard Japanese as beautiful, polite, and correct. The result of this study provides the evidence that people have positive perception toward local dialects. Other studies found another interesting result that people chose to speak either Standard Japanese or a local dialect depending on domains and interlocuters. For example, Tanaka, Hayashi, Maeda, & Aizawa (2016) found that over 60% of study participants answered that they use a local dialect to talk to their family members and local friends. Murakami (2008) described that his subjects used Standard Japanese when they talked to non-local people outside their community; they speak their local dialect when they talk to non-local people in their community. These findings suggest that people use a local dialect to show their solidarity and belongingness to a local community, as pointed out by Kobayashi (1996). Today, as claimed by Preston (2004), local dialects play an essential role in relation to solidarity in many countries; thus, they thrive in their own speech community which is defined as a social group claiming a variety of language as its own and maintains its distinctiveness from the varieties spoken by its neighbors (Romaine, 2000). When speakers of a local dialect use it, this definitely shows that they want to demonstrate their identity and belongingness to their community. The consolidation of people's identity and belongingness to the community is an advantage of having local dialects. Another advantage is that as long as speakers of a local dialect are able to securely establish their own speech community, language shift and maintenance would not be their concern. In contrast, when speakers of a local dialect cannot construct their own speech community, they face a high risk of language shift and ultimately language death that happened to Ainu speakers in the past, who eventually found their language to be non-existent.

Japan has officially identified itself as a bidialectal society because the use of Standard Japanese is easily observed in public spheres; at the same time, a local dialect is used in a speech community, which has been recently encouraged by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). The Japanese government once actively suppressed the use of local dialects; however, in 2010, MEXT unmistakably shifted their attitude toward local dialects from suppressing to promoting. Interestingly, it also encourages people to acquire the standard variety. This is clearly illustrated in the Explanation for

the Course of Study of 2010 stating that the Japanese need to understand positive characteristics of dialects as well as Standard Japanese, and that they should be able to use either variety depending on situations (MEXT, 2010). This fact indicates that the Japanese government expects people to be bidialectal of a local variety and Standard Japanese (Kobayashi, 1996). Indeed, Japan has officially become not only a bidialectal but also a diglossic society where each variety has an appropriate function and place to use: a local dialect is used at home and with community members; and a standard variety is spoken in public domains, as found by Murakami (2008) and Tanaka, Hayashi, Maeda, & Aizawa (2016).

By having established a solid diglossic society, the status of local dialects is confirmed as essential varieties to construct a linguistically complex community in Japan in which the importance of Standard Japanese is also emphasized. In this society, the Japanese are expected to be competent in Standard Japanese, so that they need to acquire it at school where they also learn “English,” which is recognized as a necessary language under globalization. The Japanese government encourages its citizens to acquire English, and its citizens are convinced to equip it with themselves for their social and economic advancement. The language learning environment where both Standard Japanese and English are promoted is thought to affect how people perceive Standard Japanese as well as English. In case of Standard Japanese, people learn it in educational settings in which they develop a sense that Standard Japanese is correct and legitimate; as a result, they tend to use it in public domains, as described in this section. In case of English, the language learning environment may also contribute to shaping how they perceive English. In the next section, this paper will exhibit people’s perception of English found by my questionnaire survey. After illustrating their perception of English, English language education in Japan will be examined to identify how people have formed such perception toward English, since this paper assumes that their perception will be likely to be developed partially by going through the English language education.

4. Survey Results

The previous sections introduced the concepts of standardization, and illustrated the effects of standardization in Japan together with explaining the historical development of Standard Japanese. This section will introduce results of a questionnaire survey which describe Japanese university students’ perception toward English.

4.1 The Data Collection Method and Study Participants

Before illustrating the survey results, the data collection methods and survey participants will be explained here. I conducted a questionnaire survey in April 2015 wherein 86 Japanese students at a university in western Japan participated. They are students of the 1st year, all of whom belong to the Department of English where not only regular classes for improving basic English skills but also classes for literature and linguistics are offered. All the students had just started to study in the Department of English in April, so they had not taken any classes relevant to linguistics at university. Moreover, they had never lived

abroad, although they may have been exposed to some extent to foreign culture at middle and/or high school through English textbooks and Assistant Language Teachers, who are usually from countries where English is spoken by most people as their mother tongue.

Data of my survey was collected by students filling a questionnaire form in Japanese, and the students answered questions in Japanese. There are three questions in total in the questionnaire as shown below:

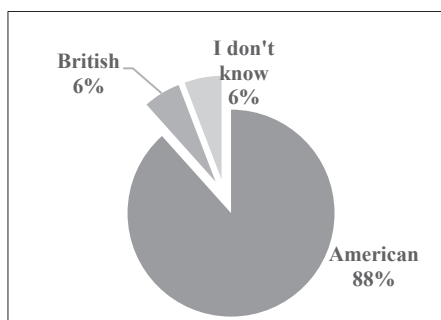
- 1) What variety of English has been generally taught in Japanese schools?
- 2) Should teachers teach Standard English (SE) at school?
- 3) What type of English would you like to be proficient in?

As for Question 1, students are asked to choose one among several given choices. Question 2 is a yes/no question, and Question 3 asks to name an English variety. All of the answers were inputted into an Excel worksheet. Note that Question 2 asks students a controversial issue in sociolinguistics since the concept of SE has been discussed extensively. It is very difficult to define what SE is, as Morrow (2004) states. English does not have the definite standard variety because British English is generally seen as one of the English varieties even though English was historically spread from Britain to other parts of the world. In sociolinguistics, British English is treated as an English variety among many. It has Received Pronunciation which is considered as a standard “pronunciation,” but not a standard “variety.” In case of American English, which is also considered as one of the English varieties, it does not have its definite standard variety in its spoken language; the variety used in grammar books and education is seen as the standard written English. Although there is difficulty in identifying what SE is, this paper assumes that SE exists since there is an entry with a definition in various dictionaries including *The Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*.

4.2 The Results of My Questionnaire Survey

The results of all questions in my questionnaire survey are described in the figures and tables below. The first question is what variety of English has been generally taught in Japanese schools. Students are asked to choose one among the following choices, British English, American English, Australian English, and I don't know. The results are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Variety of English Taught in Japanese Schools



The figure above shows that 88% of the students think that American English has been taught at school in Japan, followed by 6% of the students who answered British English and also 6% of the students who stated that they do not know. These results clearly indicate that most of my participants know that American English has been taught at school in Japan.

Next, I asked whether or not teachers should teach SE at school in Japan. This question was asked because Japanese people, in general, seem to believe that the standard variety should be taught at school due to the fact that Standard Japanese is considered to be the appropriate variety to use in education and other public spheres. The figure below describes the students' answer.

Figure 2. Should Teachers Teach SE at School?

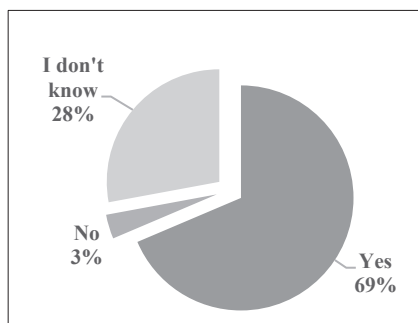


Figure 2 shows that 69% of them think that teachers should teach SE. Although 28% of the students answered "I don't know," we can see that many students think that SE should be taught at school.

The third question is what type of English would you like to be proficient in. Its result is demonstrated in the figure below.

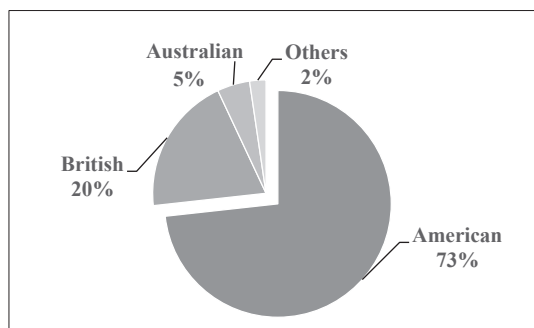
Figure 3. Types of English that Students Would Like to Be Proficient in

Figure 3 shows that 73% of the students, or 63 students out of 86, want to acquire American English, followed by British English at 20% and Australian English at 5%. Others include Canadian and Irish English. It is obvious that American English is very popular among the students even though they do not have any living experience in the USA.

Then, I asked the 63 students, who answered that they preferred American English, about the reasons why they would like to be proficient in American English. The number of the students who provided the reason is 60. Table 1 shows their reasons and percentages.

Table 1. Reasons Students Want to Be Proficient in American English

	Reasons	%
1	It is the most popular English variety in the world.	38.33%
2	I learned it at school.	26.67%
3	I just like it.	13.33%
4	It would be easier to get a job if I can speak it.	11.67%
5	It is Standard English.	8.33%
6	Others	1.67%

As illustrated in Table 1, 38.33% of the students answered that “American English is the most popular English variety in the world,” and 26.67% of them stated that “I learned it at school.” Others in this table include the following reasons: to know differences between American and British English and to communicate with people from various backgrounds. Interestingly, 8.33% of the students think that American English is SE. As explained earlier, in sociolinguistics American English is not seen as SE but merely one of the English varieties. From their answer, it was found that many students want to acquire American English because they consider it as the most popular English variety and some think that American English is, in fact, standard.

The conclusions of my survey illustrated the perceptions toward English that my participants generally possess. The most important finding in my survey is that many participants would like to be competent in “American English.” Why is American English so popular

among the participants? In order to find out answers, in the next section, the presence of American English will be illustrated by examining English language education in Japan. While examining this, the effects of standardization on English will be also identified.

5. The Presence of American English in English Language Education in Japan

English language education in Japan officially began after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, yet the importance of English language education became significant during the US occupation period from 1945 to 1952 and thereafter. In order to see the presence of American English in Japan, this section will examine English language education because education is the place where a government implements its promoting language and students learn the language.

Due to the US occupation, English has been widespread in the Japanese society (Torikai, 2005; Imura, 2009; Terasawa, 2015), and this occupation is thought to be one of the reasons for the popularity of “American English” in Japan since it has been used in education during the occupation period. Indeed, the use of American English is clearly seen in English textbooks. In 1947, an English textbook was published under the supervision of the Civil Information and Education Section in the General Headquarters (GHQ), which was written with American spellings and vocabulary, and introduced Americans and their culture to Japanese students (Erikawa, 2014). The fact that the English textbook was initially controlled by the GHQ largely influenced to publish other English textbooks later, as they could easily follow the content adopted in the textbook produced by the GHQ. A lot of English textbooks have been published in American English after the occupation period: for example, the most popular English textbook in the 1960s and 70s was “Jack and Betty,” which illustrated a white middle-class American family and their culture (Erikawa, 2014), and many other English textbooks have been published with American spellings and vocabulary (Imura, 2009) although recently there is a trend that various types of English are introduced in English Language Teaching (ELT) textbooks (Erikawa, 2014). Accordingly, Japanese people have had a lot of opportunities to encounter American English when they learn English at school. The popularity of American English is continuously seen, since it is easily identified in English textbooks in Japan today.

While American English has been extensively used in English textbooks, the Japanese government has been promoting the acquisition of English competency to its citizens, and this is definitely recognized in an announcement issued by the Prime Minister’s Office in 2000 which states that all Japanese citizens should be equipped with a working knowledge of English by the time they left high school (MEXT, 2002). As a matter of fact, an English variety that the government has been promoting is American English since American English is used in education; elementary, middle, and high schools use English textbooks which are censored by the government. In Japan, the content of textbooks for those schools are all controlled by the government, which assures what needs to be taught to students. Moreover, the government has adopted English as a foreign language for a school subject, and this is one of the language planning strategy that the government has employed. Cooper (1989) introduces 12 underlying concepts of language planning that a government

takes, one of which is “school subject,” the adaptation of a language to teach at school as a school subject. To teach a language at school surely indicates that the language is consciously admitted as a school subject by the government; thus, it is a promoted variety by the government, and this variety is the one that people are expected to acquire. In case of Japan, American English is encouraged to learn by the Japanese government, because this variety is used in education. The government sets American English as an acquisition target for Japanese people although it has not mentioned “American English” as a target.

All of these demonstrate that American English is given status by the government through language planning because this variety is seen as the standard and correct English variety that should be taught at school as a target. American English has been identified as a standard and ideal variety for the Japanese by the government, regardless of the condition that the government may not be consciously aware of promoting American English as people's acquisition target. In other words, learning American English and the government's promotion of this type of English are predicating their ELT upon an idealized standard variety, which has been locally constructed in Japan, as it does not correspond with a “real Standard English.”

The language policy of making the Japanese competent in English was formed due to the progress of globalization, which made the Japanese government recognize the importance of English competency for its citizens. The government's intention of pursuing this policy is to increase the number of Japanese people capable of working in international settings as *global jinzai* (human resources with global perspectives) and therefore it has been putting a lot of effort on improving ELT. An example of this improvement is identified in elementary schools where English education officially began in 2011 with the aim of developing pupils' English conversation skills. Children of Grade 5 and 6 learn English an hour per week and 35 hours per year at school under the new curriculum (MEXT, 2008, 2009). The improvement of English language education was conducted not only in elementary schools but also in middle schools, where the studying hours of English were increased to four hours per week and 140 hours per year (previously, three hours per week and 105 hours per year). This new curriculum was designed to develop students' four basic skills of English in a well-balanced manner. Moreover, the number of words students are to be taught has been increased from 900 to 1200 in middle schools (MEXT 2008). These pieces of evidence allow us to recognize that the Japanese government has placed importance on English language education which is greatly expected to nurture Japanese people to be competent in English, and that the variety of English that Japanese students are learning is, indeed, American English.

6. Discussion

This paper examined the use of Standard Japanese and Japanese people's perception toward English, which allow us to see how the standard language influences people's perception toward languages. In the case of Standard Japanese, this variety was developed in the 19th century with the modernization of the state, and it has been persistently used in public spheres since then with the support by the education system and the mass media. People

learn and acquire the standard variety by being given a lot of opportunities to use and hear it while they develop a sense that the variety is correct so that they feel the necessity of using it in public spheres. They nurture the perception that Standard Japanese is the legitimate and correct variety of Japanese to use in public.

People's perception toward English was described by the results of my questionnaire survey, where a few interesting findings were revealed. First, most of my participants know that American English has been taught at school in Japan and about 70% of students believe that teachers should teach SE at school. Furthermore, many students want to be proficient in American English because they think that American English is the most popular English variety in the world. Interestingly, a few students regard that American English is SE. Since the students went through the education system where they learned the standard variety of Japanese and since they have seen its use in the media, it is very natural that they perceive American English taught at school is correct, legitimate, and standard. The survey participants are influenced by the presence of Standard Japanese while they learn English at school. Their sense of legitimacy toward Standard Japanese is parallelly utilized to perceive English. As a result of learning English in institutions, they see American English taught at school as correct and standard.

Not only Japanese people but also the Japanese government views American English as correct, legitimate, and standard. The government has implemented the language policy of making Japanese people competent in English, and it sees that the successful accomplishment of this policy is assured by improving English language education. Accordingly, MEXT has employed the curriculum reform, as described in Section 5. Through the examination of English language education in Japan, it became clear that the government shows a certain language attitude toward English; it has greatly supported ELT by promoting "American English." The fact that American English is used in ELT textbooks confirms that it is a very popular English variety in ELT which has been targeted as an acquisition goal by educational institutions as well as the government in Japan. These are sufficient evidence of the government's language attitude that it regards American English as the correct and legitimate variety for people to acquire.

These findings also demonstrate that its language attitude toward American English influences how people perceive languages in Japanese society. Since this variety of English is promoted by the government through its education system, people perceive this variety as correct and legitimate to use. This is the same effect revealed in the implementation of Standard Japanese which is that people regard Standard Japanese as correct and legitimate to use as a consequence of their experience of going through education and of watching/hearing/reading it in mass media. Thus, learning American English at school and government's promotion of this type of English facilitate people and society to see American English as an idealized standard variety. Government's attitude toward a language and its use of language in education and the media have affected people's perception toward languages in a society. Therefore, it is concluded that as a result of facilitating standardization, people develop the perception toward Standard Japanese and American English as an idealized standard variety, which are greatly caused by language planning.

The Japanese government has been implementing standardization for a long time due to

its intentions, one of which is to facilitate communication efficiently within its territory. What's more, people are able to develop their identity, solidarity, and belongingness to the state, due to the use of Standard Japanese. These are affirmative effects brought by the employment of standardization.

Simultaneously, there are a few negative effects brought by the implementation of standardization in society. First, non-standard varieties are generally perceived as inferior to a standard variety so that they are sometimes suppressed, as described in Section 2. The non-standard varieties are inevitably labeled as minority, and they are generally not supported by the government for their language promotion and maintenance. In order to secure their presence, people should firmly establish their speech community. After WWII, the Japanese government did not actively suppress local dialects unlike the time before WWII, but it surely discouraged people to use them in public. Interestingly, MEXT has shifted its view toward the use of local dialects since 2010 so that the dialects are currently supported by the government. Accordingly, the negative effect of the suppression of local variety is not happening in Japan today.

Another negative effect is particularly associated with American English. When people view American English as a standard variety of English, they may perceive other varieties of English as inferior to American English. A standard variety connotes that it has status in society. When looking at the number of English speakers from the global perspective, we can recognize that non-native English-speaking countries have more English speakers, most of whom speak English as their second/foreign language, than native English-speaking countries including the UK and USA (Crystal, 2003). However, there is a strong tendency worldwide that people perceive English spoken in native English-speaking countries is correct and legitimate. In other words, because English spoken in native-English speaking countries has status over English varieties spoken in non-native-English speaking countries, this makes people think that other varieties should be discouraged to use. They perceive English in non-native English-speaking countries as corrupted and illegitimate varieties and inferior to that in native-English speaking countries. These perceptions are not desirable from the point of view of World Englishes since each variety of English is considered as equal in status in World Englishes.

In order to deal with this situation, some people have claimed that we need to recognize English varieties in non-native English-speaking countries as legitimate. This claim has influenced ELT, where there are increasing calls for attention to the diversity of English rather than encouraging people to acquire English in native English-speaking countries. For example, Canagarajah (2007) claims that instead of focusing on learning a particular variety of English as a target, English learners need to equip themselves with English to communicate with speakers of various English types in transnational settings. In Japan, some people have recognized the importance of teaching the diversity of English and its users, and several universities have offered classes to teach such diversity. For instance, Morrison and White (2005) describe how students at Chukyo University learn various types of English in the classroom. Matsuda (2009) also shows that university students taking an accredited teacher preparation program have opportunities to be exposed to English other than American/British English. In order to improve the condition of English varieties

spoken in non-native English-speaking countries, it is crucial for ELT to recognize the diversity of English and its users. Currently, some varieties of English can be identified in many textbooks; however, it is not sufficient. When ELT has integrated the idea of teaching the diversity of English into its educational materials more than today, learners of English are able to learn and recognize various English types with equal status. Then, the learners would be ready to communicate with people from various countries in English.

7. Conclusion

By examining the use of the standard language and the current condition of English language education, this paper elucidated that Japanese people tend to see not only Standard Japanese but American English taught at school correct and legitimate. Concurrently, the Japanese government demonstrates its language attitude that American English is the appropriate variety for the Japanese to acquire and promotes the variety in its education system. These clearly illustrate how standardization as language planning leads people to condition their attitude toward languages in society in a certain way.

As a matter of fact, standardization is a very effective tool to condition people's attitude toward languages in society although the implementation of standardization can cause a couple of negative effects in society: (1) a government perceive non-standard varieties as inferior to a standard so that they are subject to suppression, and (2) people also tend to perceive other varieties as inferior to the standard variety. The first negative effect can be easily resolved by language planning, which was actually conducted by the Japanese government in 2010. This example of Japanese government promoting local dialects definitely provides the evidence that language planning is a very powerful tool to change the condition of languages and varieties in society. The second negative effect is, in fact, happening in Japan since many people perceive American English as standard so that they are likely to become indifferent to other varieties of English. This can be managed by developing recognition toward the diversity of English and its users in ELT, which ultimately makes it possible for Japanese people to respect the English diversity and its users. Accordingly, ELT itself must shift its view toward the diversity, by integrating more information about the English diversity into its teaching materials.

Standardization must be appropriately conducted for language management and social advancement in a state. As a consequence of standardization, it is possible to have a society where both people and a government are satisfied with their language use and language conditions.

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言語の標準語化と日本人の言語に対する認識についての考察

日本は、明治時代に言語政策の一つとして標準語化を実施し標準語を制定したが、それ以来、この変種（現在は共通語と呼ばれている）が公の場で一般的に使用されている。今日、標準語は政府にとって重要なものとなっており、社会の中で様々な役割を果たしている。本稿では、その役割の一つが、人々に言語に対してある一定の認識を抱かせることであると考え、日本語の標準語と方言、そして日本で重要な外国語として考えられている英語に対する認識を明らかにしていくことにした。そこで、まず、人々は標準語に対してどのような認識を持っているのか、また方言に対してどのような認識を持っているのかを検証し、その結果、標準語は正当でステータスのあるもので、方言に対しては、以前は公の場で使用するべきではないステータスの低いものと見なされていたが、現在ではこのような認識は薄れており、自分たちのアイデンティティを表すものとして使用されていることが分かった。次に英語に対する認識についてであるが、筆者が2015年に実施した日本人大学生を対象とした英語に対する認識アンケートの結果で示された英語に対する認識を紹介するとともに、日本政府が英語に対してどのような態度をとっているのかを検証するため第二次世界大戦後の日本でどのような英語教育が実施されてきているのかを見ていった。その結果、アンケート調査の被験者の多くはアメリカ英語が正当でステータスのあるものと見なしており、日本政府もアメリカ英語を日本人が習得すべき英語と見ていることが明らかになった。これらから、日本人の標準語に対する認識は、英語に対しても機能していて、そのためアメリカ英語が正当でステータスのあるものであると考えようになったのではないかと考察する。よって、標準語化政策は、政府にとって、人々の言語に対する認識に影響を及ぼす効果的な方策であると言える。

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