

Japan as a diglossic society and how that influences its people's perception of English

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Abstract

The Japanese government has implemented the standardization of language policy and planning (LPP) and promoted “Standard Japanese (SJ)” in its education system. There are three distinctive Japanese varieties present in society: SJ is the formal variety considered ideal for textbooks, official documents, newspapers, and academic papers while *Kyotsugo* is the practical standard variety used in public domains as a spoken language. Local dialects are used in private domains such as family and local community. The use of these varieties in each domain is promoted through the education system; as a result, a diglossic society became noticeable where SJ/*Kyotsugo* functions as a high variety for use in public domains, and local dialects as a low variety for use in private domains. In a diglossic society, people develop certain perceptions toward high or low variety, which will be illustrated in this paper. Together with proposing that Japan is a diglossic society, this paper demonstrates that diglossia as well as the education system, primarily due to the adoption and implementation of LPP, affect how people perceive not only Japanese varieties but also English.

1 Introduction

Today, many states exercise language planning and policy (LPP). Singapore, for example, 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: 29). More specifically, language *policy* are the “political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process” (Mesthrie et al., 2000: 384). In order to accomplish language *policy*, a government generally employs a few types of language *planning*, and one of them is corpus planning, which is designed to change the internal conditions of a language or its variety. Corpus planning generally involves the implementation of standardisation, the development of orthography, the adoption of vocabulary from new sources, and the

compilation of dictionaries and grammar books; as a result, the use of the language is extended in a society to a greater degree (Wardhaugh, 2010).

Among various functions of corpus planning, standardisation of a language is frequently adopted by a state to solve a communication problem caused by the use of different language varieties within its territory. A government appoints a variety to function as a standard/common language, making it possible for people from various linguistic backgrounds in society to interact with each other easily and for the government to communicate to its citizens efficiently (Haugen, 1997). In many cases, the written language is seen as an ideal model of a standard variety (Wiley & Lukes, 2016), which is promoted in society through education and the mass media.

Another function of standardisation is to offer “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: 359). The presence of the standard variety helps people identify themselves as a citizen of the state, which leads to consolidate the unity of the state.

Unfortunately, standardisation also functions to suppress other varieties of a language, when a standard variety is adopted. The standard model of a language is the one that 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” (Haugen, 1997: 348). Accordingly, a standard 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: 359). Generally speaking, the users of the standard variety are considered to possess power in society, and the standard variety is the one promoted by them. Since the standard variety is an ideal, symbolic, and prestigious code, people perceive it as correct, legitimate and superior; in contrast, suppressed varieties become incorrect, illegitimate, and inferior. Standardisation enables people to (1) see languages in a qualitative way, (2) communicate more efficiently with each other, and (3) develop their identity as a citizen of the state. These benefits illustrate why standardisation is an effective tool of LPP for a state.

As a modern state, Japan has also adopted standardisation of the Japanese language in the early 20th century, and created “Standard Japanese (SJ)”. Today, a few Japanese varieties are used in society, and each of them has distinctive functions; therefore, Japan can be seen as a diglossic society where a high variety is used in public domains and a low variety is used in private domains. Ferguson (1959/2016) defines diglossia as follows:

[It] is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 32)

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Based on Ferguson's definition on diglossia and other relevant concepts, this paper will illustrate functions of two Standard Japanese varieties and local dialects, and propose that Japan is a diglossic society. To support this proposal, (1) the use of Japanese varieties in society will be illustrated, and (2) data showing Japanese people's perceptions of language variety from several researchers will be presented. Meanwhile, in Japanese public schools where students learn about the functions of a high and low variety, the students are also taught English. This paper contends that the fact English is taught at school influences how students perceive it. In order to demonstrate such influence, Japanese university students' perceptions of English collected by a questionnaire survey in 2015 will be introduced; these data provide insight as to the English variety that students prefer and whether they want to see it taught in school. Finally, this paper will argue that diglossia and the education system influence people's perceptions of language varieties, and will conclude that their perceptions could come from the government's adoption and implementation of LPP.

2 Japanese variety, people's perceptions, and Japan as a diglossic society

As a result of the implementation of standardization by the Japanese government, a standard variety emerged, and this implementation has influenced how people perceive language varieties. There are two Standard Japanese varieties, as well as local dialects, that are used in the Japanese society. The following three sections will provide the background of how the present Standard Japanese varieties were developed, in what situations they are used in connection with local dialects, and how people perceive each variety. In the end, Japan as a diglossic society will be explained.

2.1 Standard Japanese and local dialects before WWII

The *Meiji* Period (1868-1912) was the time when Japan modernised its state by adopting advanced knowledge and technology from the West. As one of its modernisation strategies, the Japanese government had implemented standardisation. After the long discussion about what variety should be standard, at the beginning of 20th century, it finally employed SJ, which was the newly developed code derived from the educated middle- and upper-class Tokyo dialect. This variety was no one's "native" language, and mainly served as the standard spoken and written language. SJ was promoted by the government as the appropriate variety for communication. It also functioned as a tool to help people recognise their identity as "Japanese", since it was viewed as an important instrument to consolidate people's solidarity under the imperialistic state empowering military (Inoue, 2007).

Since 1904, the standard variety was spread through the nationwide education system where it has been taught by using textbooks compiled by the government (Gottlieb, 2005; Sanada, 2001). Because of possessing a view that the implementation of universal and egalitarian nature of formal education is only possible by using the standard national language (Twine, 1991), the government took advantage of this education system to implement SJ. At school, teachers were expected to speak SJ (Sato & Yoneda, 2000), and students were supposed to acquire that. SJ was given status by the government, and became the promoted variety through its education system.

The establishment of the standard variety means that other varieties are suppressed. In fact, the Japanese government actively suppressed other dialects and languages from the *Meiji* Period to approximately the end of WWII (Heinrich, 2012; Lee, 2010). For example, students were punished when they spoke their local dialect at school before WWII. The promotion of the standard variety affected people's perception toward dialects; people recognised SJ as correct and legitimate; in contrast, they saw local dialects as inferior (Tokugawa, 1995), and speaking them as embarrassing (Noguchi, 2001).

2.2 The current use of Standard Japanese, *Kyotsugo*, and a local dialect

The strategy of using the standard variety in formal education adopted by the *Meiji* government has been continuously employed to date, and students still encounter SJ in textbooks. Needless to say, SJ is the variety to use for formal writing including official documents, newspapers, and academic papers. This is the written variety and functions as the model code for the state (Tokugawa, 1995). People see SJ as the language variety used in public domains, but they do not use it in their daily conversation (Tokugawa, 1995). Instead, people use another variety close to SJ, called *Kyotsugo*, or the common language, in public domains as their spoken language.

Kyotsugo became popular after WWII. This variety has a lot of linguistic characteristics in common with SJ but retains some dialectal features in accent and vocabulary (Shibatani, 1990). Due to the influence from local dialects, *Kyotsugo* has a lot of variants; and yet, they possess “sufficient standard features to render them mutually intelligible” (Shibatani, 1990: 187). *Kyotsugo* is the standard variety used in people's daily life as their spoken language (Tokugawa, 1995). The acquisition and use of *Kyotsugo* became more emphasised than SJ by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) which implemented language education policy designating *Kyotsugo* as the students' acquisition target variety.

Today, no one uses SJ as his/her active language in his/her ordinary conversation although it is used as a formal written language. SJ is an artificial code conveying the ideas of ideal, symbolic, prestigious, sophisticated, and legitimate. In contrast, *Kyotsugo* is used by people in their daily life who perceive it as a practical variety for public use. MEXT acknowledges that SJ is a different variety from *Kyotsugo* (Inoue, 2011); however, the presence of both SJ and *Kyotsugo* as standard has caused the following phenomenon: People including academia do not always distinguish *Kyotsugo* from SJ, and *Kyotsugo* is interchangeably used to indicate SJ (Inoue, 2007, 2011; Tanaka, 2011; Tokugawa, 1995).

The dissemination of the use of *Kyotsugo* caused another interesting consequence: the empowerment of local dialects. From 1945 to the 1960s, the government did not encourage people to use local dialects (Tanaka, 2011); accordingly, they were hesitant to use their dialects in public. However, after the government promoted regionalism in the 1980s, MEXT has shifted its view toward local dialects from indifference to recognition; this view was reflected on the 1995 report from *Kokugo Shingikai* (National Language Council), treating the dialects as an important element in society (Gottlieb, 2005). The mass media has also played an important role to empower local dialects. The condition that “listeners began to participate, and dialect came to be increasingly heard in broadcasts” has emerged in the 1970s,

and currently TVs and radios constantly broadcast street interviews and on-the-spot reports spoken in dialects (Inoue, 2011: 115). TV dramas also provide evidence of the frequent use of local dialects in the media. The use of the dialects in dramas was already recognised in the mid-1970s, but became popular in the 1980s (Tanaka, 2011). In 2019, for example, NHK broadcast a drama “Scarlet” several times a day, whose setting was in the western part of Japan, the *Kansai* area, so that actors and actresses spoke a few types of *Kansai* dialects. Today, people have many opportunities to hear local dialects in the media. Both the MEXT’s change in its view toward local dialects and the constant use of them in the media led people to use local dialects in public more frequently than ever before. MEXT and the media helped them reduce the embarrassment of using the dialects in public domains.

People use SJ, *Kyotsugo*, and local dialects in appropriate domains, each of which shows a linguistic difference in its function (when, where, and whom to use). A few studies give the evidence that people choose language varieties depending on domains and interlocutors in Japan. Tanaka, Hayashi, Maeda, and Aizawa (2016) found that over 60% of their study participants answered that they use a local dialect to talk to their family members and local friends. Sato and Yoneda (2000) described a study conducted from 1994 to 1995 and provided its results in their book; 2,100 study participants use language varieties depending on situations and interlocutors as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1. Language variety used in different situations (adapted from Sato & Yoneda (2000: 84))

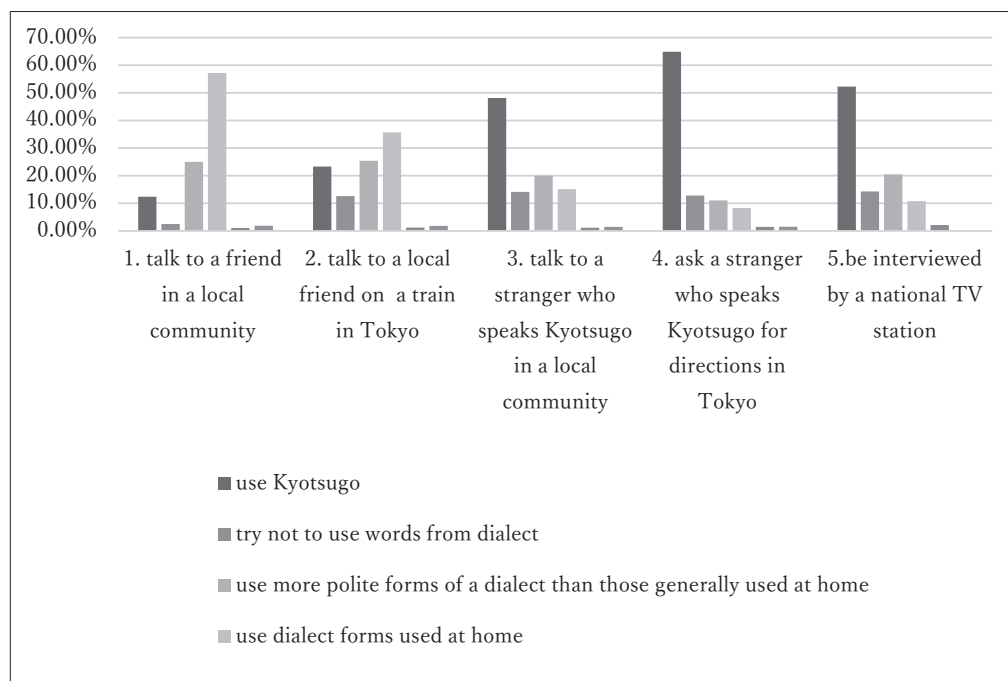


Figure 1 shows a tendency that people use *Kyotsugo* to communicate with strangers and in public domains (situation 3, 4, and 5), but use a local dialect to talk with people from their community (situation 1 and 2).

In the same study, Sato and Yoneda (2000) introduce interesting results: 8.29% of the participants answered that they use a local dialect in Tokyo to ask strangers for directions (situation 4 in Figure 1) and 10.81% of them stated that they use it when they are interviewed by a national TV station (situation 5 in Figure 1). Some of them chose to use a dialect in public domains, indicating that they are willing to show a strong connection with their local community. These findings in this study suggest that people not only choose to speak a local dialect depending on domains and interlocutors but also use it to show their identity and belongingness to their community.

Another linguistic difference between local dialects and standard varieties is seen in vocabulary; two examples from *Kansai* dialects spoken in the western Japan are shown below:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. <i>arigato</i>
“thank you” in SJ/ <i>Kyotsugo</i> | b. <i>okini</i>
“thank you” in <i>Kansai</i> dialects |
| (2) a. <i>suteru</i>
“to discard” in SJ/ <i>Kyotsugo</i> | b. <i>hokasu</i>
“to discard” in <i>Kansai</i> dialects |

Both (1) and (2) illustrate that a totally different word from a standard variety is used in the local dialects although the meaning of the word is identical. When a person uses (1b), a listener can tell that the speaker is from the *Kansai* area. The word (1b) has been widespread through the media, so that many people in areas other than *Kansai* know the meaning of the word. On the other hand, when the word (2b) is used in conversation, a listener who is not from *Kansai* does not understand the meaning of the word. In this case, a clear communication is not possible between interlocutors.

The last linguistic difference between SJ, *Kyotsugo*, and local dialects is pronunciation. Its most prominent example is seen in the pitch difference as described below:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) a. <i>kutsu</i> (LH)
“shoes” in SJ | b. <i>kutsu</i> (HL)
“shoes” in <i>Kansai</i> dialects |
| (4) a. <i>sensei</i> (HH)
“teacher” in SJ | b. <i>sensei</i> (HL)
“teacher” in <i>Kansai</i> dialects |

In (3a), the first syllable in SJ has a low pitch (L) and the second one has a high pitch (H); in contrast, in *Kansai* dialects of (3b), the first syllable has H and the second one has L. In (4a), all syllables in SJ has H, but in *Kansai* dialects of (4b) the first syllable has H and the second is L. *Kyotsugo* is not included in (3a) and (4a), since the pitch pattern of a dialect can be used in *Kyotsugo*. There are some differences in phonetic features including the pitch patterns; however, communication breakdown rarely happens between interlocutors

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because some phonetic features used from a dialect do not disturb the meaning of a word. In other words, when a listener can understand the meaning of a word possessing different phonetic features from SJ, communication breakdown does not occur.

2.3 A diglossic society

Recently, Japan has appeared as a diglossic society where each language variety has an appropriate function for use; SJ is a high variety, H, which is seen as ideal for formal writing. No one uses it in his/her daily conversation as a spoken language. *Kyotsugo* is also an H variety, used as a spoken language in public spheres including the media and education; and a local dialect is a low variety, L, used in private domains such as family and local community (Inoue, 2007). Basically, students learn SJ/*Kyotsugo* at school, and acquire a local dialect at home and in their local community. In addition to a dialect perceived as the language variety for private use, it is recognised as an essential component in forming people's identity as a member of their local community.

According to Ferguson (1959/2016), in a diglossic society H as the highly codified superposed variety is a respected one learned by formal education and used for most formal purposes in speech and writing. He also maintains a view toward H as follows:

No segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic and artificial (Arabic, Greek) or else in some sense disloyal to the community (Swiss German, Creole). (p. 32)

To judge whether a community is diglossia or not, Ferguson introduces the following nine criteria: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. Japan satisfies only four of the criteria: function, stability, lexicon, and phonology. Of the four criteria; function, lexicon, and phonology are linguistic features in which differences are noticeable between SJ/*Kyotsugo* and local dialects. Therefore, from Ferguson's perspective, Japan is not a typical diglossic society. In addition, Japan's language situation does not meet with Ferguson's criteria for the length of time that the H variety has been used; he contends that "diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years" (p. 34). In the Japanese society, the use of H has been promoted since the beginning of the 20th century.

However, I propose that Japan can be identified as diglossia because of the function of each variety supported by language education policy. In Japan's diglossia, SJ is a highly codified superposed variety of H used for a written language, *Kyotsugo* is also H served as a spoken language in public, and local dialects functions as L. Each variety with appropriate functions is reinforced by language education policy implemented by MEXT; it states that (1) students need to understand differences between dialects and *Kyotsugo*, and (2) they should be able to use either variety depending on the situation, although they need to learn the appropriate situations in which to use *Kyotsugo* (MEXT, 2010). The use of appropriate variety according to domains is encouraged by MEXT. As long as each variety is

consolidated its specific functions by the government through language policy, the presence of each variety would be stable in society. Implementing this policy also demonstrates that the Japanese government expects people to be competent in both a local variety and *Kyotsugo*. In fact, people in the study by Sato and Yoneda (2000) and by Tanaka, Hayashi, Maeda, and Aizawa (2016) regard themselves as bidialectal.

Today, the government values local dialects, and the status of local dialects has been improved. This helps Japan create a stable diglossic society. By having established a diglossic society, local dialects serve as an essential element to construct a linguistically complex community in Japan in which the importance of *Kyotsugo* is also emphasised. In this society, the Japanese are expected to be bidialectal of both *Kyotsugo* and a local dialect, so that they need to acquire *Kyotsugo* at school. They also acquire SJ by going through formal education. Meanwhile, Japanese people learn not only SJ/*Kyotsugo* but also “English” at school, which is recognised as a necessary language under globalisation by the Japanese government encouraging its citizens to acquire it (MEXT, 2002). Because English is taught at school, this fact may contribute to the way people perceive “English”. In order to examine how Japanese people perceive it, a questionnaire whose participants were Japanese university students was prepared in 2015.

3 The survey

In April 2015, I conducted the prepared survey, wherein 86 Japanese students in their 1st year at university, in western Japan, participated. They all belong to the Department of English where not only regular classes for improving basic English skills but also classes for literature and linguistics have been offered. All the students had just started to study in the department in April, so they had not taken any classes relevant to linguistics. Moreover, they had never lived in a foreign country although they may have been exposed to some extent to foreign culture at middle and high school through English textbooks and Assistant Language Teachers who are usually from the countries where English is spoken by most people as their mother tongue.

Data of this survey was collected by students filling a questionnaire form in Japanese, and the students answered questions in Japanese. This questionnaire has the following two questions:

- (1) Should teachers teach Standard English (SE) at school?
- (2) What variety of English would you like to be proficient in?

Question 1 is a yes/no question, and Question 2 asks the participants to name English variety. All answers were inputted into an Excel worksheet. Figures and a table below show the survey results.

3.1 Survey results

3.1.1 Question 1: Should teachers teach SE at school?

Question 1 asks a controversial issue “what is SE?”; English does not have the definite

standard variety. In sociolinguistics, 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 British English, Received Pronunciation (RP) is sometimes considered as standard. This is a variety spoken by British upper class which occupies the very small proportion in its social construction; moreover, BBC uses it for its broadcasting. RP is used as the model of British English accent for English as a foreign language (EFL) learners (Sturiale, 2002). In case of American English which is also considered as one of the English varieties, each region such as the New York area and the Seattle area has its own standard variety, but the U.S. itself does not have the single standard variety (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016). Sometimes Mainstream American English (MAE) is used to represent a standard variety, but this is the generic name for all regional standards of American English (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016); MAE includes numerous varieties of standard from every region in the U.S. The Network Standard is also at present in American English, but this is “the model aimed for by TV and radio announcers whose audiences are national in scope” and the announcers generally show some locality in the Standard so that this cannot be considered to be the standard variety either (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016: 324). Widdowson (1994) discusses that SE is a written variety for institutional use so that it is seen as a model for pedagogical purposes; thus, EFL learners are expected to acquire SE's rules and usages. Since SE is used in English language education, it is understood as an ideal model for EFL learners which is shaped by educational institutions, language educators, and major international publishers. Although there is difficulty in identifying what SE is, this paper sees SE as the learners' target variety that is used in EFL textbooks.

In Question 1, I deliberately did not explain what SE is to the survey participants, because I wanted to know whether they are able to answer this question without its definition. If they did not know what SE is, they would choose “I don't know” as an answer, which was given as one of their answer choices. The result of Question 1 “Should teachers teach SE at school?” is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Should teachers teach SE at school?

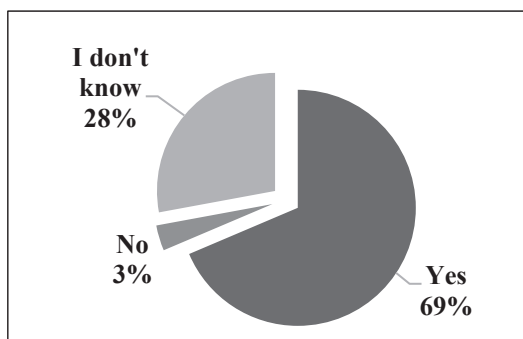


Figure 2 shows that 69% of them think that teachers should teach SE. Although 28% of the participants answered “I don't know”, we can see that many of them think that SE should

be taught at school. Even though SE is not defined and the choice “I don’t know” is given, 69% of the participants chose “Yes”. It indicates that SE is the participants’ preferred variety in educational settings.

3.1.2 Question 2: What variety of English would you like to be proficient in?

In Question 2, the participants are asked to name an English variety which they would like to be proficient in. The result is demonstrated in the figure below.

Figure 3. English varieties that participants would like to be proficient in

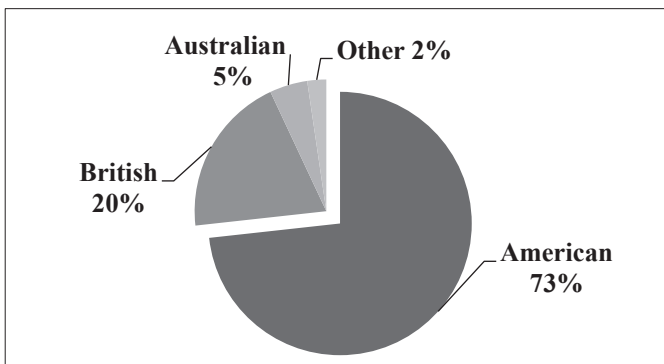


Figure 3 shows that 73% of the participants, or 63 of them out of 86, want to acquire American English, followed by British English at 20% and Australian English at 5%. “Other” includes Canadian and Irish English. It is obvious that American English is very popular among the participants.

Of the 63 participants who answered that they preferred American English, 60 participants provided the reason why they would like to be proficient in American English. Table 1 shows their reasons and percentages.

Table 1. Reasons why participants would like to be proficient in American English

	Reasons	%
1	It is the most popular English variety in the world.	23.3
2	I learned it at school.	21.65
2	I am interested in the U.S.	21.65
3	It is Standard English.	11.7
4	It is a common language of the world.	8.3
5	It is a language used in the powerful and prestigious country, the U.S.	6.7
5	Other	6.7

As illustrated in Table 1, 23.3% of the participants answered that “American English is the most popular English variety in the world”, and 21.65% of them stated that “I learned it at

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school". Interestingly, 11.7% of them think that American English is SE, and 8.3% of them see it as a common language of the world. Other reasons provided by the participants are as follows: to know differences between American and British English and to obtain a better future.

In summary, this survey revealed first that many participants believe that instructors should teach SE at school. Second, a lot of participants would like to be competent in American English, and third, some of them regard American English as SE or a common language of the world. In the next section, how they develop such perceptions will be discussed in connection with formal education in a diglossic society.

4 People's perception of language varieties and the education system in a diglossic society

A few language varieties are used in Japan. Each of them has specific functions and contexts to use in a diglossic society where people develop certain perceptions to each variety. SJ is seen as an artificial idealised variety, which is generally used in formal writing. *Kyotsugo* maintains local dialect traits and functions as a common language used in public domains. Many people perceive it as beautiful, polite, correct, and a better variety to use in public (Sato & Yoneda, 2000; Watanabe & Karasawa, 2013). In a local community, people have spoken their own local dialect with their family and community members, and this is perceived as friendly, pleasant, expressive, flavourful, and rustic (Sato & Yoneda, 2000; Watanabe & Karasawa, 2013). People show positive perceptions toward local dialects, and this could have been formed partly because of the presence of *Kyotsugo*, which allows people to have local flavours in their *Kyotsugo*.

People tend to have their perceptions toward Japanese varieties as they are because of influences from language education policy and the mass media: Students learn appropriate domains to use for each variety at school, and the constant use of dialects in the media helps people reduce their embarrassment of using dialects in public domains. Then, how do people develop their perceptions of English varieties? According to my survey results, 73% of the study participants want to be proficient in American English, and some of them perceive it as a standard variety or a common language of the world. I contend that their perceptions were formed partly due to English language education where American topics have been continuously used.

During the U.S. occupation period from 1945 to 1952, English has been widespread in the Japanese society (Imura, 2009; Terasawa, 2015), and after its occupation, the influence of the U.S. has become apparent in Japan's English language education. Its influence has been seen in EFL textbooks in which various aspects of American values and culture have been presented.

In 1947, the first EFL textbook was published, by using Anglo-American cultural materials (Erikawa, 2014; Hino, 1988). In the same year, the Ministry of Education issued guidelines for writing an English textbook, which heavily emphasised learning about cultures of native English-speaking countries (Takanashi & Omura, 1975; Hino, 1988). After the introduction of the guidelines, publishers have produced a lot of EFL textbooks in which they

placed great emphasis on American values and culture: The most popular EFL textbook in the 1960s and 1970s was *Jack and Betty*, illustrating a white middle-class American family and their culture (Erikawa, 2014). There is a recent study providing evidence of the frequent use of American topics in EFL textbooks. Yamada (2010, 2015) researched which country and people appeared in EFL textbooks used from 1981 to 2010 in Japanese junior high schools (Grade 7-9), and found that throughout that period, the textbooks valued the U.S. since American topics had been consistently presented. Because of the constant use of American values and culture, Japanese students have had many opportunities to encounter American topics in EFL textbooks when they learn English at school. Moreover, learning English through the textbooks which value the U.S. caused the students, including some participants of my 2015 survey, to be considerably more interested in the U.S.

Matsuda (2002) suggests that “the representation of English in EFL textbooks may be an important source of influence in the construction of students’ attitudes and perceptions toward the target language” (p. 196). EFL textbooks are normally written in SE; in the meantime, their audio files are recorded mostly in either American or British English. Generally speaking, the textbooks mainly introducing American topics use audio files in American English. Therefore, when American topics are constantly presented in EFL textbooks, students are likely to develop a perception that the language introducing American topics is the target language, American English. Indeed, this was evidenced by many participants of my 2015 survey, who perceived American English to be their target language.

In Japan, the content of textbooks for public elementary, middle, and high schools are all controlled by the government who regulates what is to be taught to students. In the case of EFL textbooks, American topics have been continuously presented, and the language used to describe such topics is American English. The fact that American English is available in censored textbooks is in itself an indication that the language is the Japanese government’s promoted variety, and this variety is the one that students are expected to acquire.

American English is used in censored textbooks which help the students develop a sense that American English is standard and popular in the world. Presumably, such sense was likely to be brought by the presence of *Kyotsugo* at school; *Kyotsugo* is a high variety taught at school for the use in public domains, and functions as a type of standard variety. Japanese people perceive H or L because of the diglossic condition created by LPP and promoted through the education system. As a result of having that condition, Japanese students have an opportunity to develop the sense that because *Kyotsugo* is taught at school, a standard variety of English should be also taught at school. This assumption is supported by the 2015 survey that 69% of the study participants think that SE should be taught at school. By going through the education system, students can develop a sense that a common/standard language should be taught in educational institutions. Students’ perceptions toward *Kyotsugo* parallels their ideas toward SE and American English. It is natural for Japanese students to form the perception that American English is a standard/common variety because American English, like *Kyotsugo*, are both taught at school and promoted by the government.

In principle, standardisation of LPP makes people perceive languages in the way that they are correct/incorrect, legitimate/illegitimate, and superior/inferior, while solving a

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communication problem effectively in society and offering membership in the state to its people. The education system also leads students to form language perceptions that a standard variety should be taught at school and used in public domains. Thus, in a sense, Japanese people's perceptions of language varieties are shaped by the education system. Diglossia also helps people perceive language varieties in a qualitative way: SJ/*Kyotsugo* as H for public use and dialects as L for private use. In Japan as a diglossic society, people tend to think SE is the variety that should be taught at school partly because of the presence of SJ/*Kyotsugo* at school. Both the education system and diglossia which are controlled by LPP are very influential in shaping students' attitude toward languages in society.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, Japan as a diglossic society is demonstrated by introducing functions of SJ, *Kyotsugo*, and local dialects. Along with illustrating these, this paper examined how influential the education system is for students to construct perceptions of language. Formal education plays a significant role for both the government and students, which undertakes three important functions: to promote a variety, to make it possible for students to cultivate their sense of when, where, and whom to use language varieties, and to shape students' perceptions of such varieties.

As demonstrated by the use of a standard variety and people's perception of language variety in Japan, LPP must be appropriately conducted for language management and social advancement in a state, since that is a powerful tool for a government to influence how people form their perception of language varieties in society and to establish a linguistically stable community.

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二言語社会が人々の言語に対するイメージに 与えている影響について

日本政府は教育制度を通して標準語化政策を実施しており、標準語／共通語の普及に努めている。標準語とは教科書に使用されている日本語の変種で、政府の刊行物やマスコミの書き言葉としても使用されている。一方、共通語は方言からの影響が見られる標準語に近いもので、一般的に公の場で話されている変種である。そして家庭やコミュニティ等の私的な場で使用される変種としては方言が存在しており、これには各地方それぞれの言語学的特色が見られる。このように日本には公の場で使用される標準語／共通語と家庭やコミュニティで使用される方言が存在しており、人々は各変種を使用すべき場所を家庭やコミュニティで学ぶだけでなく、学校でも教わる。これらの変種が場所により使い分けされていることから、日本は「二言語社会」を形成していると見ることができるが、このような社会では、言語に対して人々がある一定の印象を抱く傾向があることがいくつかの研究から明らかとなっている。本稿では、なぜ日本が二言語社会と言えるのかを人々の各変種に対するイメージを交えて説明する。そして、教育が人々の各変種に対するイメージの形成に重要な役割を果たしていること、また英語に対するイメージにも影響を及ぼしていることを示していく。

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