平成３０年度

大学院文学研究科博士課程前期２年の課程入学試験

（　春期・社会人特別選抜　）問題

筆記試験　日本語教育学　専攻分野

試験開始の合図があるまで、この問題冊子を開いてはいけない。

受験記号番号	

成績	

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Ⅰ．次の１）～５）の各項について，知るところを述べよ。

１）アクセントの平板化

２）コロケーション

３）エスノグラフィー

４）OPI

５）やさしい日本語

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Ⅱ. 日本語の話し言葉の特徴について，５つ例を挙げて説明せよ。

Ⅲ. 現在の社会状況を踏まえて日本語教育の将来を考えると，５～10年程度の短期的な見通しはどうか。もっと長期に考えた場合はどうか。根拠を示しつつ述べよ。

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IV. 次ページから始まる英文を読み，以下の問1）～3）に日本語で答えよ。

1）ここでいう investment とはどういうことか。文中の consumption との違いを明らかにし，説明せよ。

2）Piller and Takahashi (2006)の日本人の事例と Song (2010)の韓国人の事例の違いは何か。

3）日本語教育における commodification や consumption の具体的な事例を挙げ，なぜそれが commodification や consumption と言えるのか説明せよ。

In Japan and Korea, the popularity of study abroad programs has thrived on the assumption that English as the language of global communication would ensure desirable employment in national and global job markets, and that the best way to master the language, particularly that 'perfect' accent, is to immerse oneself in an English-speaking country. Proficiency in English and an international education have become both a form of economic capital as well as a ticket for upward social mobility and for global, cosmopolitan citizenship. In Japan, English and study overseas are indeed marketed as life-changing experiences, as Piller and Takahashi (2006) demonstrate in their ethnographic study of five Japanese women sojourners in Sydney, Australia. In that study we showed how the commodification and consumption of English and study overseas is gendered and has a profound impact on Japanese women's life trajectories. Analyzing Japanese media texts and promotional materials of English language schools, Piller and Takahashi (2006) found that in Japan's multi-billion English language teaching industry, ELL(注) and study overseas are largely marketed at young women, as a "glamorous means of reinventing and empowering one's womanhood, as a

woman's indispensable weapon to cope in chauvinistic Japan" (p.64). The way Western countries are promoted as desirable study destinations is designed to appeal to Japanese women's *akogare* (desire) for the West as a beacon of modernity or a champion of equal opportunity for women (Bailey, 2002; Kelsky, 2001). Furthermore, native speakers of English that appear as teachers in the promotional materials are found to be nearly always White. White male teachers are presented as good-looking Prince Charmings, and thus effective teachers who would be sensitive to female students' needs. On the other hand, White women are presented as strong, self-confident career women, who, unlike their Japanese counterparts, are never afraid of speaking their mind. White women thus emerge as role models in the promotional discourse of ELL.

In fact, four out of five participants in our study stated that they had formed *akogare* for White Westerners, particularly men as romantic partners, well before their departure for Australia. It was their constant exposure in their teenage years to English teachers, exchange students from the US, Hollywood stars and Western musicians that initially sparked a keen interest in learning English and going overseas. Furthermore, all the participants considered ELL and study in Australia as a 'new start'- whether they tried to escape problems with romantic partners, gender discrimination at work or social withdrawal, they had a strong desire to change their lives by leaving Japan for a glamorous Western country. In early 2000s, each participant arrived in Australia with a palpable sense of excitement, hope and dreams. On arrival, they all believed that the financial investment and emotional stress of being away from their family and friends would be rewarded with increased proficiency in English, friendships and romantic relationships with Australians, and an overseas qualification, all of which would transform them into international, bilingual women with bright career prospects.

They soon realized, however, that these expectations were unfounded: for the first time in their lives, they were consistently positioned as 'Asian' and 'non-native speakers of English' in their everyday experiences of racial and linguistic discrimination in Sydney. In their view, Asians as a group were treated as 'second class citizens' and White people, whom they had admired, had very little patience for them. All the participants became disenchanted with their identities as "Asian" and their disenchantment manifested in their socialization and learning trajectories in a number of ways.

For example, Yoko began distancing herself from Asians, including Asian-Australians, dismissing them as "a

waste of time", even though she knew that socializing with them would help her improve her English. In fact, she felt depressed every time she saw herself in the mirror and found that she had not transformed into a white woman. In yet another case, Erika, an ex-career woman with a strong sense of self-assurance on arrival, struggled through her six-month college course in Human Resource Management, a subject in which she had ample work experience. She reported having had a number of nervous breakdowns as a result of harassment by her lecturer who constantly criticized her (lack of) English proficiency. Yuka, on the other hand, became fed up with being positioned as a second class citizen. Instead of seeking approval from White Australians, she began forming close friendships with Chinese overseas students from her university. In this community, she was treated with respect as a well-educated, Japanese bilingual woman. With her friends' encouragement, she spent her university breaks in Taiwan and became highly proficient in Chinese Mandarin by the time she graduated.

The participants' sense of disenchantment was also tied in with their increasing financial insecurity. As the coveted level of English proficiency took longer to materialize than anticipated, they stayed on in Sydney beyond the originally intended period and, consequently, had to face an extra financial burden. Yet, the expected rewards of these sacrifices – fluency in English and friendships with white Australians – were not forthcoming and none of the participants were able to use their language skills or overseas qualification to secure desirable employment after leaving Australia, except Yuka whose multilingual skills resulted in an international career in an IT company in Taiwan.

While Piller and Takahashi's (2006) participants were single women, the sense of disillusionment, and the financial burden of study overseas, becomes even more acute when a whole family is involved and is unable to attain the rewards, as can be the case for families who are part of the "Korean education exodus" in which more and more children leave South Korea temporarily for *chogi yuhak* ("early study abroad") in the USA and other English-speaking countries. According to Song (2010), in 2006, 29,511 Korean elementary to high school students pursued education visas, with around half of these of elementary school age. Furthermore, these numbers do not include children who accompany their parents, i.e. where the reason for the visa is some parental activity. Overall, more than 40,000 Korean children seem to be living abroad in order to pursue an early English education and to acquire that 'perfect' accent. The typical pattern for these children is to be accompanied by their mothers while the fathers stay behind to financially

support their children's foreign education. So widespread is the pattern that there is a special term for this type of family formation: *kiregi kajok* or "geese family" – like geese, they fly every now and then to see each other.

Song's (2010) study illuminates how the allure of English is such that people are willing to trade close family bonds for the desired level of English language proficiency. Not only family bonds as a matter of fact but also their children's friendships. One of the mothers in the study is quoted as being upset about the fact that her young daughter's best friend during her study abroad year in the USA was another Korean girl and that they spoke Korean with each other. This mother felt cheated of her investment into her daughter's English proficiency. By contrast, happiness for the mothers interviewed by Song (2010) was tied to a good return on their investment as measured by their children's English proficiency, and particularly their accent. One mother had this to say:

> English is the place where you can see a close correlation between the money you spend and the improvement of children's learning. The more you spend, the more efficient the learning. Yes, especially when the children are young, the amount of money spent in their English education is visible, which makes me happy. (p.30)

Comments such as the above clearly show how learning English emerges as a form of consumption addiction. Seeing that in 2002 the South Korean English language teaching industry, excluding *chogi yuhak*, was worth around 3 billion USD according to an *LA Times* report (Demick, 2002), the comparison with a drug market feels not entirely inappropriate. The craze for English among Koreans is such that there is even a market for plastic surgery, lingual frenectomy, to supposedly improve English pronunciation (Simkin, 2005).

More recently, however, the benefits of *chogi yuhak* and English proficiency have come under fierce scrutiny. There is a growing concern with the first generation of overseas-trained Koreans who have returned home and who are struggling to convert their English skills and overseas qualifications into economic gains. One informative source of research on this matter is 조선일보(*The Chosun Ilbo*), Korea's multilingual news outlet in Korean, Japanese and English that has been conducting a series of investigations of *chogi yuhak* and the English craze. *The Chosun Ilbo* interviewed 100 first generation Koreans who went abroad to study and found that 24 out of 100 found jobs overseas, while 60 out of 100 found work in Korea, four still studying abroad or back home, and 12 still engaged in courses with the view for future employment. It emerged that although the average annual income of the 60 participants (approx.

43,000,000 won) was slightly higher than locally educated Koreans, it fell significantly short of the cost of their education or their expected salary. The reasons for return to Korea rather than seeking work overseas is also illuminating and demonstrates that *chogi yuhak* does not automatically ensure cosmopolitanism nor employment in global markets. The three most common explanations were that overseas students were sick of life overseas and desired to come home; that they could not secure a permanent residence visa in the destination country; and that their "identity as a 'foreigner'" was an obstacle to promotion at work in the destination country (Chosun Ilbo, 2009c). *Chogi yuhak* even worked as a disadvantage in some cases as returnees reported experiencing tremendous stress in performing in English in the workplace. Because companies expect a native speaker level of English from the returnees, their linguistic capital is treated differently from those who never left (Chosun Ilbo, 2009b). Furthermore, it was revealed that English is no longer considered the kind of premium it used to be by recruitment officers, but that, instead, the market has moved on to valuing multilingualism in Korean, English and other languages, particularly Japanese and Chinese (Chosun Ilbo, 2009a).

The Chosun Ilbo's reports above clearly demonstrate how the promise of *chogi yuhak* and English fall significantly short of expectations. It is against this background and the global financial crisis that the market for *chogi yuhak* has contracted in recent years (Chosun Ilbo, 2009d). The financial burden of *chogi yuhak* cannot produce more devastating consequences than the recent family tragedy of the Baek family in New Zealand (Chosun Ilbo, 2010). In typical *kiregi kajok* fashion, this family had split up between Korea and New Zealand. The two teenage children, accompanied by their mother, were attending a local school in Christchurch, New Zealand, while the father sent money from Korea. When the father's business ran into financial trouble, they were forced to sell their Christchurch house and consequently faced a visa issue. The havoc that the desire for perfect English can cause briefly hit the headlines when the family committed suicide in May 2010. It is family tragedies such as this one, together with the struggles of returnees and their failure to get an adequate return on their <u>investment</u>, that make greater scrutiny of the <u>commodification</u> of English as a global language and the <u>consumption</u> of ELL so urgent.

(注) ELL : English language learning

Piller, Ingrid, Takahashi, Kimie and Watanabe, Yukinori (2010). The Dark Side of TESOL: The hidden costs of the consumption of English . *Cross-Cultural Studies*, 20, 187-193.による.