

WoLSEC2013

Foreign Language Education and Cross-Cultural Perspective

外国語教育と異文化間教育

2013年3月7日（木）～8日（金）開催

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## 主催者挨拶

栗田 博之（東京外国語大学副学長、世界言語社会教育センター長）

おはようございます。シンポジウムの開催に当たり、一言ご挨拶申し上げます。ただ今ご紹介いただきました、東京外国語大学副学長兼世界言語社会教育センター長の栗田博之と申します。本日は世界各地より、また日本各地から多くの皆さまにご参加いただきまして、東京外国語大学を代表して、心より感謝と歓迎の意を表したいと思えます。

東京外国語大学は、全地球をカバーする地域研究に特化した日本唯一の国立大学法人として、言語を通して世界の諸地域に関する理解を深めることをグランドデザインに掲げております。また、世界言語社会教育センターでは、世界諸地域の言語、文化、地域に関する豊かな教養と地球社会化時代にふさわしい人材を育成するために、その名称が示すとおり、世界、言語、社会、教育をキーワードに研究と実践を行っています。

具体的には、学内での研究集会や講演会の企画などのほか、2011年3月には、国際シンポジウム「高等教育における外国語教育の新たな展望—CEFRの応用可能性をめぐって—」を開催し、同12月には国際シンポジウム「豪州における先住民語教育と日本の少数言語教育」を開催し、2012年3月には国際シンポジウム「越境する人と英語—日本人のための国際英語を考える—」を開催してまいりました。

これらの国際シンポジウムに通底するテーマは「多様性の中の統合 (Unity in Diversity)」であり、第1回のシンポジウムから一貫している本センターの理念は、第1に言語教育は言語文化の多様性を保証すべきものであること、第2に国際共通語としての地位を固めつつある英語自体にも、言語の変種と文化の多様性を認めるべきであることです。つまり、それぞれの非英語母語話者が背景とする言語文化を反映した「多様な英語 (Englishes)」の存在を、積極的かつ肯定的にとらえようと考えています。この理念は、昨年3月に開催された第3回国際シンポジウムで具現化されました。

今年度の研究集会では、昨年のシンポジウムテーマの発展形として、「外国語教育と異文化間教育」をテーマに掲げ、外国語教育と異文化教育について考えたいと企画しました。言語と不可分の文化を教育の素材や教育ストラテジー上の要素として考えると同時に、学習者の言語観、世界観に強い影響を与えるものとしてとらえ、外国語教育に反映させるには、どのようにすればよいのでしょうか。内外の外国語教育の研究者や実践者が一堂に会して議論する意義は深く、その成果はシンポジウム参加者の今後の研究・教育活動のみならず、それぞれが参加する社会において、大いに還元すべきものと考えます。

最後に、本シンポジウムの開催には大学本部からの支援のほか、幾つかの共催、後援をいただいていることに感謝申し上げます。東京外国語大学の語学研究所、科研費プロジェクト「アジア諸語を主たる対象にした言語教育法および通言語的学習達成度評価法の総合的研究」から

のご支援をいただいていることを、ここにご紹介いたします。

今回の2日間にわたる研究集会が大学教育の潜在力を活性化し、また、将来の言語教育と展望を切り開くためにも、ぜひとも皆さま方の活発なご議論を賜りたいと願っております。これをもちまして開会のご挨拶とさせていただきます。どうもありがとうございました。

世界言語社会教育センター(WoLSEC)主催 国際シンポジウム

『外国語教育と異文化間教育』  
Foreign Language Education and Cross-Cultural Perspective

- 開催日時：2013年3月7日(木)～8日(金)9:30～16:10
- 開催場所：東京外国語大学 アゴラ・グローバル3階（東京都府中市朝日町3-11-1）

プ ロ グ ラ ム

DAY 1: 3月7日(木)

09:30～10:00 受付

10:00～10:10 主催者挨拶 栗田 博之（世界言語社会教育センター長、副学長）

午前の部

10:10～11:00 Cultural Exploration and Critical Reflection: Teaching of Language and Culture in Higher Education in Singapore 【英語】

CHAN, Wai Meng（シンガポール国立大学）

11:10～12:00 「国際共通語としての英語教育と異文化理解」【日本語】

鳥飼 玖美子（立教大学）

午前の部

13:00～13:50 「ことばのなかの文化／教室のなかの文化」【日本語】

石川 慎一郎（神戸大学）

14:00～14:50 Rethinking Language Learning and Culture Learning 【英語】

吉田 一彦（宇都宮大学）

15:10～16:10 全体討議

司会：拝田 清（四天王寺大学）

17:00～ 懇親会（@Café Castalia, アゴラ・グローバル1階）

世界言語社会教育センター(WoLSEC)主催 国際シンポジウム

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プログラム

DAY 2: 3月8日(金)

午前の部

- 09:30～10:10 Cultural-Based Material Development for Teaching Indonesian for Non-Native Speakers (BIPA) 【英語】  
UNTUNG, Yuwono (インドネシア大学)
- 10:10～10:50 「ベンガル語を学ぶ—文化的背景を知ることの必要性」【日本語】  
丹羽 京子 (東京外国語大学)  
Learning Bengali -- Necessity of Learning its Cultural Background
- 11:00～11:40 「言語教育における文化的知識の重要性—オーストラリア先住民語教育を例にして—」【日本語】  
拝田 清 (四天王寺大学)
- 11:40～12:00 全体討議  
司会：富盛 伸夫 (東京外国語大学 世界言語社会教育センター)

午後の部

- 13:30～14:10 The Renaissance of the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language and Importance of its Cultural Traditions 【英語】  
MARBECK, Joan Margaret (マラッカ)
- 14:10～14:50 Makista: Past, Present and Future 【English】  
NUNES, Mario (マカオ大学)
- 15:00～15:40 Multilingualism, Educational Politics and Minorities Languages: Revision of Perspectives in Brazil 【英語】  
GUISAN, Pierre (リオデジャネイロ大学)
- 15:40～16:00 全体討議  
司会：富盛 伸夫 (東京外国語大学 世界言語社会教育センター)

International Symposium hosted by  
the World Language and Society Education Centre (WoLSEC)

## Foreign Language Education and Cross-Cultural Perspective

- Date : 7<sup>th</sup> (Thu) and 8<sup>th</sup> (Fri) of March, 2013 9:30~16:10
- Venue : Agora Global 3F, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies  
(3-11-1, Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo)

### Programme

#### DAY 1: 7 March (Thu)

09:30~10:00 Reception

10:00~10:10 Greetings from WoLSEC

KURITA, Hiroyuki (Director of WoLSEC, Vice-President of TUFS)

#### Morning Session

10:10~11:00 Cultural Exploration and Critical Reflection: Teaching of Language and Culture  
in Higher Education in Singapore 【English】

CHAN, Wai Meng (National University of Singapore)

11:10~12:00 Teaching English as a Lingua Franca and Intercultural Understanding 【Japanese】

TORIKAI, Kumiko (Rikkyo University)

#### Afternoon Session

13:00~13:50 Culture in Language and Culture in Classrooms 【Japanese】

ISHIKAWA, Shinichiro (Kobe University)

14:00~14:50 Rethinking Language Learning and Culture Learning 【English】

YOSHIDA, Kazuhiko (Utsunomiya University)

15:10~16:10 General Discussion

Chair : HAIDA, Kiyoshi (Shitennoji University)

17:00~ Post-Symposium Gathering (Café Castalia, 1<sup>st</sup> floor of Agora Global)

International Symposium hosted by  
the World Language and Society Education Centre (WoLSEC)

## Foreign Language Education and Cross-Cultural Perspective

- Date : 7<sup>th</sup> (Thu) and 8<sup>th</sup> (Fri) of March, 2013 9:30~16:10
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### Programme

#### DAY 2: 8 March (Fri)

##### Morning Session

- 09:30~10:10 Cultural-Based Material Development for Teaching Indonesian for Non-Native Speakers (BIPA) 【English】  
UNTUNG, Yuwono (University of Indonesia)
- 10:10~10:50 Learning Bengali -- Necessity of Learning its Cultural Background 【Japanese】  
NIWA, Kyoko (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
- 11:00~11:40 The Importance of Cultural Knowledge in Language Education - Using the Australian Indigenous Language Education as an Example 【Japanese】  
HAIDA, Kiyoshi (Shitennoji University)
- 11:40~12:00 General Discussion  
Chair : TOMIMORI, Nobuo (WoLSEC, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

##### Afternoon Session

- 13:30~14:10 The Renaissance of the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language and Importance of its Cultural Traditions 【English】  
MARBECK, Joan Margaret (Malacca)
- 14:10~14:50 Makista: Past, Present and Future 【English】  
NUNES, Mário (University of Macau)
- 15:00~15:40 Multilingualism, Educational Politics and Minorities Languages: Revision of Perspectives in Brazil 【English】  
GUISAN, Pierre (University of Rio de Janeiro)
- 15:40~16:00 General Discussion  
Chair : TOMIMORI, Nobuo (WoLSEC, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

# **Cultural Exploration and Critical Reflection: Teaching of Language and Culture in Higher Education in Singapore**

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**Centre for Language Studies  
National University of Singapore**

## **Abstract**

Current theory views culture as sociocultural practice emergent from the communicative activities undertaken by members of a community and the negotiation of shared meanings through dialogue among them. Street (1993) thus argues that culture is a *verb*, as it is an active process of meaning-making. Clearly, for the conduct of such communicative activities, language is a necessary and indispensable sociocultural resource. Consequently, as culture arises from social interactions, Hall (2002) claims that “any study of language is by necessity a study of culture” (p. 19).

To be truly communicative in a foreign language, learners must develop an understanding of its sociocultural practices and acquire its sociolinguistic code to be able to express, communicate and negotiate meanings in the target language community. But this cannot be accomplished through the mere transmission of a fixed body of sociocultural and sociolinguistic knowledge. Of greater significance and benefit is the development of learners’ ability to gain a critical understanding of the mentality, beliefs, values, behaviours and practices of the target language community, and to gain a different perspective to one’s native culture through comparison with the target language culture. The development of this ability, or intercultural competence (Byram, 1997), is essential because: 1) Culture as a set of practices that emerge from sociocultural interactions is by no means a uniform and static product shared entirely by all members of the community. Intercultural competence will enable learners to gain deeper and more discerning access to the target language culture that is constantly evolving and will invariably differ in degrees among individual members of the community; 2) the critical

appraisal and reflection inherent in this process will also lead learners to a more acute awareness and better appreciation of their own native cultures and the consolidation of their individual identities.

At the Centre for Language Studies of the National University of Singapore, the cultivation of greater cultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence is therefore one of four key curricular objectives anchored in its “Framework Syllabus.” This paper will describe and discuss selected examples of curricular and co-curricular means to promote cultural exploration and critical reflection in pursuit of this objective.

## 1 Introduction

The commonly held view among language teachers and, in fact, also many language learners is that language and culture are closely intertwined and that through the study of a foreign language, one would gain access to and better comprehend a foreign culture. In laying down the standards for the content of foreign language education in the United States, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) has identified culture as a major concern of foreign language learning. ACTFL’s “National Standards for Foreign Language Education” make explicit reference to the learning of culture(s) under three of the five areas of accomplishment commonly referred to as the “Five Cs” (ACTFL, n.d.). Under the heading of *Cultures*, it is stated that students are expected to achieve an understanding of the relationship between 1) the practices and perspectives of the culture studied and 2) the products and perspectives of the culture studied (Standards 2.1 and 2.2), while Standard 3.2 under *Connections* proposes that students “acquire information and recognize the distinctive viewpoints that are only available through the foreign language and its cultures.” Moreover, under *Comparisons*, ACTFL expresses the expectation that comparisons between the cultures studied and the students’ own cultures should lead them to a better understanding of the concept of culture (Standard 4.2). The other major document of foreign language standards, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), designed to support the language policies of the Council of Europe (COE), describes the benefit of foreign language education in similar terms to ACTFL: “As a social agent, each individual forms relationships with a widening cluster of overlapping social groups, which together define identity. In an intercultural approach, it is a central objective of language education to promote the favourable development of the learner’s whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture.” (COE, n.d., p. 1)

Apart from the sociopolitical perspective, many academics – including anthropologists, sociologists, applied linguists and language educationists – have come to similar conclusions about the interrelationship between language and culture. In this vein, Hall (2002) asserts that “any study of language is by necessity a study of culture” (p. 19). In relation to foreign language learning, Sercu (2005) declares foreign language education to be intercultural by definition. In her view, “[b]ringing a foreign language to the classroom means connecting learners to a world that is culturally different from their own” (p. 1). Kramsch (1993) highlights the potential of the foreign language classroom for promoting cross-cultural interaction and thus for developing greater cultural awareness and cross-cultural understanding. This necessitates the re-examination and re-evaluation of one’s own culture, creating an intercultural effect positive to the development of learners’ own cultural and personal identities (see also Byram, 1989, 1997, 2008).

The subsequent sections of this paper will draw on research from recent decades to provide a sociocultural perspective to the relationship between language and culture, and to discuss the significance of such a perspective and the cultivation of intercultural competence in foreign language education. It will then cite selected examples from the curricular practice and co-curricular activities of the Centre for Language Studies (CLS) at the National University of Singapore (NUS) to suggest how foreign language teachers can encourage and enable the development of a keener cultural awareness and greater intercultural competence through cultural exploration and critical reflection.

## **2 The interrelationship between language and culture: A sociocultural perspective**

The National Center for Cultural Competence (NCCC) at Georgetown University defines culture as “an integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thoughts, communications, languages, practices, beliefs, values, customs, courtesies, rituals, manners of interacting and roles, relationships and expected behaviors of a racial, ethnic, religious or social group; and the ability to transmit the above to succeeding generations” (NCCC, 2000, p. 1) This definition identifies language not just as a component of culture; it also implies the significant role it plays in other areas, especially in communications and interactions. In providing a functional definition of culture from the perspective of the foreign language teacher, Byram (1989, 1997) calls it “the beliefs and knowledge which members of a social group share by virtue of their membership,” but concedes in the same breath that this definition fails to do real justice to the dynamic nature of culture. Nor

does it dispel the notion that culture or the shared beliefs, knowledge and meanings of a social group by no means constitute a fixed and monolithic body of unchanging knowledge (about the dynamic, complex and multilayered nature of culture, see e.g. Bhabha, 1994; Duranti, 1997; Piasecka, 2011). Arguing pointedly against such a static notion of culture and taking a process-oriented view, Street (1993) seeks to refocus our attention from *what culture is* to *what culture does*:

For what culture does is precisely the work of defining words, ideas, things and groups [...] The study of culture is not about finding and then accepting its definitions but of discovering how and what definitions are made, under what circumstances and for what reasons. These definitions are used, change and sometimes fall into disuse. Indeed, the very term 'culture' itself, like these other ideas and definitions, changes its meaning and serve different often competing purposes at different times. Culture is an active process of meaning making and contest over definition, including its own definition. This, then, is what I mean by arguing that *Culture is a verb*. (p. 25)

Culture thus emerges from the process of (re-)articulating and (re-)negotiating meanings among members of a social group or community. The joint negotiation of such shared meanings takes place through dialogue and discourse, and is enabled through social interactions and the communicative activities which constitute such interactions (see Hall, 2002). It follows that language, as the main medium of such interactions, is a necessary and indispensable tool for meaning-making within a community. As culture is now increasingly regarded by researchers as sociocultural practice, language is at the same time also being widely acknowledged as the main sociocultural resource for this practice and the making and re-making of culture (Hall, 2002).

Research in first language development has produced empirical data which point towards the significance of language and language acquisition for the process of socialisation (e.g. Eisenberg, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1982; Peters & Bogg, 1986; Phillips, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The process of socialisation which accompanies a person's first language acquisition, or *language socialisation*, is effected not just through the sociocultural information transmitted by and encoded in linguistic forms, but also by means of the *language use*. Ochs (1988, 1996) further believes that language socialisation is a lifelong process, thereby providing a link to the acquisition of subsequent languages, including foreign languages. Halliday (1975, 1978) has also produced research evidence that suggest a natural, innate link between language learning and culture learning (see also Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens, 1964). Like Ochs, he sees language learning as an agent of socialisation: "Language is the channel through which the patterns

of living are transmitted to him, through which he learns to act as a member of a 'society' [...]" (Halliday, 1978, p. 9) He further asserts that, as a child's language acquisition takes place within a particular social context, this context and its culture will influence how it learns and uses the language in interacting with members of this context, primarily his/her parents and other adults. As Halliday (1975) puts it, "the social context is therefore not so much an external condition of the learning of meanings as a generator of the meanings that are learnt" (p. 140).

### **3 Communicative competence, intercultural competence and critical cultural awareness**

We have seen that there exists an intrinsic and inevitable link between language and culture and that, as Halliday (1975) sees it, social context functions as the generator of meanings in interaction. To participate in communicative activities and to express and negotiate meanings successfully in a particular context, one will obviously require knowledge of this context and the way language is used to interact in this context. In Saville-Troike's (1989) view, such knowledge includes "culturally defined aspects of a communicative event, such as role relationships and norms of interpretations, of holistic scripts for the negotiation of meanings, as well as observable aspects of the settings" (p. 258)<sup>1</sup>. Hymes (1964, 1971, 1972) argues that the mere knowledge of linguistic structures and the ability to produce grammatical utterances do not suffice to enable communication, for one will need the social knowledge necessary to be able to interpret the grammatical utterances made as well as to select appropriate linguistic structures to realize the intended communicative functions within a particular context. Hymes (1964, 1971, 1972) thus proposes the concept of *communicative competence*, as opposed to linguistic competence, to describe the knowledge and skills required for interaction and the appropriate use of language in a social context.

In applying this concept to second and foreign language learning, Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1982) propose a model of communicative competence comprising four components, namely *grammatical*, *sociolinguistic*, *strategic* and *discourse competence*. In particular, the component of sociolinguistic competence, which describes one's ability to use features of a language appropriately and meaningfully in a particular context, reflects the sociocultural view of language learning and use. A more

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<sup>1</sup> See Holme (2003) for the discussion of an example of how the cultural preconceptions of interlocutors can hinder communication and generate misunderstandings.

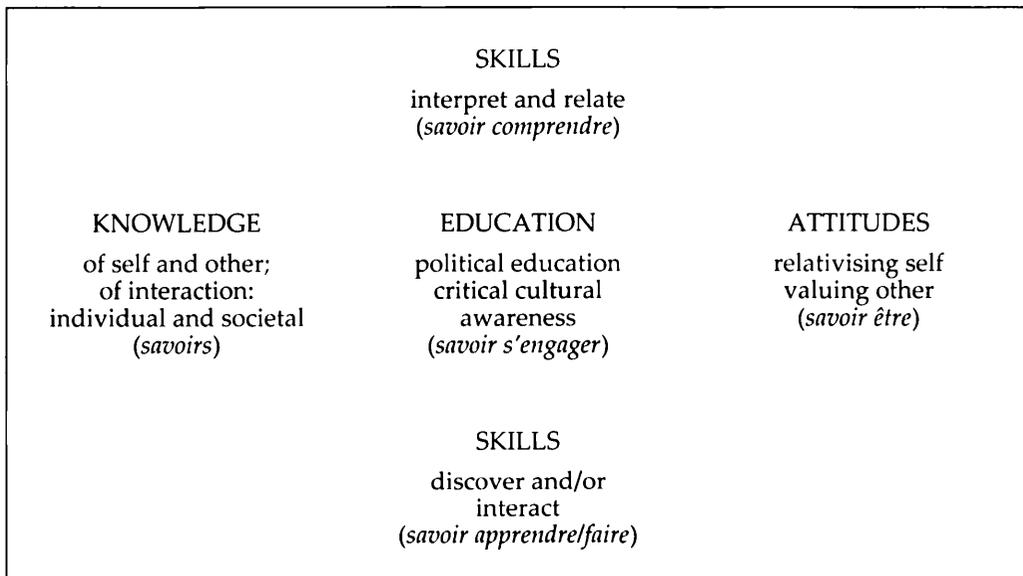
differentiated model formulated by van Ek (1986) specifies six sub-competencies under the overarching concept of communicative competence: *linguistic*, *sociolinguistic*, *discourse*, *strategic*, *sociocultural* and *social competence*. While the notion of sociolinguistic competence is similar to that in Canale and Swain's model and describes learners' ability to select linguistic options appropriate to the communicative situation and the context, sociocultural competence refers to their familiarity with the sociocultural background of the target language community which provides a frame of reference for interactions in this language. Implicit in van Ek's model is the notion that language learners need to be socialised into the culture of the target language and its practices, beliefs, behaviours and values to attain communicative competence.

Byram (1997) does not dispute the need for learners to have an understanding of the foreign language culture, for this is undoubtedly useful for communicative exchanges with native speakers of the foreign language and for them in managing the interactional and cultural relationships between themselves and their native speaker interlocutors. Yet he warns against the uncritical and complete acceptance of the practices, beliefs and values of the foreign culture as well as the acquisition and use of native speaker standards as norms for one's foreign language learning and use. Besides the danger that this sets the bar unrealistically high for the vast majority of learners, he finds this questionable because: 1) it creates an asymmetrical power situation in which "the authority and evaluation of a learner's use is vested in the native speaker" (Byram, 1997, p. 11); 2) it will potentially require learners to abandon their own social identity and language to be socialised into another culture and to adopt a new identity and language. Kramsch (1998) expresses similar reservations and urges foreign language educationists to re-consider the common practice of making the monolingual native speaker norm the attainment target for learners. Further, she warns that "non-native teachers and students alike are intimidated by the native-speaker norm" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 9). And instead of assimilating learners into the culture of the target language, she believes in and advocates "the creation, in and through the classroom, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the learners and the social environment of the L2 native speakers, but is a third culture in its own right" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 9).

Both Byram and Kramsch argue for an intercultural approach to foreign language education. Byram (1997) introduces the concept of the *intercultural speaker* as someone with the ability to engage effectively in communication with interlocutors from the target language culture as well as to establish and maintain interactional relationships with them. An intercultural speaker will also be in the position to critically appraise both his/her native as well as the target language culture, see differences and similarities, and thus relate both

cultures to each other (see also Biechele & Padros, 2003). Besides the benefit that societies and nations may gain from intercultural interactions and the more harmonious relationships that result from these interactions, there is the added advantage for the intercultural speaker who, by understanding the foreign interlocutors and their cultures, also achieves a more critical understanding of his/her personal identity and native culture. This will usually lead to revisions in his/her identity and perceptions about his/her native culture, but it could also result in a stronger appreciation for some of its features as well<sup>2</sup>. The emergent, revised understanding of one's own cultural heritage and identity, which will be divergent from one's native culture in varying degrees, leads to the creation of the *third culture* as espoused by Kramsch (1993).

Accordingly, Byram (1997, 2008) adds the new element of *intercultural competence* to the models proposed by Canale and Swain (1980) and van Ek (1986), and calls the resultant ability of the foreign language learner to engage in intercultural interactions *intercultural communicative competence*. He identifies five key factors that contribute towards intercultural competence (see Fig. 1).



**Fig. 1. Factors in intercultural communication** (source: Byram, 2008. p. 230)

<sup>2</sup> The intercultural effect of encounters with the foreign culture has in fact been mooted earlier by Hall in the 1970s, who argues: "The reason man does not experience his true self is that until he experiences another self as valid, he has little basis for validating his own self. A way to experience another group is to understand and accept the way their minds work. [...] it is of the essence of cultural understanding. A by-product of such acceptance is a glimpse of the strengths and weaknesses of one's own system." (1976, p. 187)

Byram (1997) defines these components as follows:

- *Savoir être* refers to the attitudes of curiosity and openness that one must display in interacting with interlocutors of the target language and other cultures. One must also be prepared to “suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one’s own” (p. 50).
- *Savoirs* essentially denote knowledge in two areas necessary for intercultural communication, namely knowledge of: 1) the cultural products and practices as well as of relevant sociocultural groups in one’s own and the interlocutors’ countries; and 2) processes of societal and individual interaction in general.
- *Savoir comprendre* involves one’s skills in interpreting documents and/or events from another culture, and identifying and relating the information and data from these artefacts to one’s own culture.
- *Savoir apprendre/faire* refers to: 1) the skills of discovery one will need to “acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices” (p. 52); and 2) the skills to apply such knowledge as well as other necessary attitudes and skills to manage one’s interactions with interlocutors of other cultures, and to mediate between interlocutors from one’s own and other cultures.
- *Savoir s’engager* assumes a pivotal position in Byram’s model of intercultural competence and describes the critical cultural awareness one will require to engage in the critical appraisal of one’s own and other cultures, including their practices, products, beliefs and values.

While some amount of knowledge is necessary, Byram’s conceptualisation of intercultural competence places the emphasis very much on skills and processes for discovering and interpreting the foreign culture, relating it to the native culture, and critically reflecting on the native culture through comparison and contrast. A major argument in support of the development of such skills and processes lies in the nature of culture itself. As established earlier in this paper, culture as a set of practices that emerge from sociocultural interactions is by no means a uniform and static product shared entirely by all members of the community. The acquisition of methods and strategies (such as those proposed by Byram, 1997, 2008, and Kramsch, 1993), rather than the transmission of a pre-determined canon of facts and figures, will enable learners to independently gain a deeper and more discerning understanding of the foreign culture that is constantly evolving and will invariably differ in degrees among individual members of that culture. Second, as Byram (1997) points out, the skills of intercultural competence can also be applied in “encounters with cultural practices which have not been presented to them” (p. 20), including situations where learners interact with other non-native speakers of the target language. A third reason

is that the critical cultural awareness that learners develop will also help them achieve a more acute awareness and a better appreciation of their own cultures, and consolidate their individual identities.

## 4 Culture in foreign language education in Singapore

### 4.1 *Foreign language learning in secondary education: An intercultural approach*

As Singapore's language-in-education policy requires all students to receive instruction in two languages – English, the main medium of instruction, and one's own mother tongue – from Primary 1 onwards, foreign languages or other local languages taught as third languages are not offered until Secondary 1 to avoid overtaxing them by having to learn too many languages simultaneously. Even at the secondary level, the study of some of the foreign languages is restricted only to an elite group of students, namely the top ten percent of each cohort of students, as assessed through the Ministry of Education's (MOE) national primary school leaving examination. French, German and Japanese were first introduced in 1978–1979<sup>3</sup> and till today, only the top ten percent of each primary school cohort are eligible to study these languages. In 2008, Indonesian and Arabic were added to the slate of foreign languages taught at a centralised school, the Ministry of Education Language Centre. Due to the lower degree of popularity these languages enjoy among students and parents, the top ten percent eligibility rule has not been extended to them.

The establishment of the foreign language programmes was primarily motivated by the wish to widen Singapore's international contacts and to seek an influx of investment and technology from the more developed economies of France, Germany and Japan. The following quote from the first syllabus for German as foreign language at the secondary level, which makes explicit reference to the need for increased contact with non English-speaking countries, states the expectation that students are expected to find their competence in the foreign language useful in the following situations:

[...] as employees in foreign firms, banks and industries; in the tourist trade; in the airline industry; in manning diplomatic and economic missions abroad; in dealing with foreign diplomats; in travelling for business and leisure; in pursuing training programmes for further education conducted in foreign languages either abroad or in Singapore; and when dealing with technical or

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<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed account of Singapore's bilingual language-in-education policy and foreign language programmes, see Chan (2012) and Chan and Chi (2008).

scientific information available only in German. (“German Language Syllabus” [GLS], 1987, p. 1)

A secondary – and interculturally formulated – goal was the hope that foreign language learning would help pupils gain a new and critical perspective to their own culture and become more aware of their own identities through the encounter with a foreign culture<sup>4</sup>:

Different cultural ideas, values and habits should rather be related to one’s own ideas and experiences thus leading to an evaluation of one’s own traditions and concepts. [...] The confrontation with foreign cultures will thus contribute to the development of the pupil’s personality, his value system, his degree of tolerance and social responsibility (GLS, 1987, p. 3)

In a press release announcing the new Indonesian and Arabic programmes in 2008, MOE similarly points to the value of these new programmes in helping Singaporeans link up with and seek opportunities in other countries in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Besides preparing young Singaporeans for a globalised future, the learning of these languages will also “strengthen Singapore’s identity as an open, diverse and cohesive society” (MOE, 2007, para 1). It would appear that, in introducing these two new foreign languages, MOE is embracing the same original objectives of increasing international linkages and seeking to consolidate one’s own identity through its interactions with the foreign cultures (Chan, 2012).

#### ***4.2 Foreign language learning at the Centre for Language Studies: Cultural awareness and the intercultural perspective***

Foreign languages have been taught at the NUS since 1981 with the founding of the Japanese Studies Programme. Other area studies degree programmes, namely European Studies, Southeast Asian Studies and South Asian Studies, were to follow between 1991 and 1999. With the establishment of CLS in 2001, all foreign language programmes were transferred to the centre with the intention of maximising its pedagogical and research resources in foreign language education and creating a more distinct profile for its foreign language programmes (see Chan, 2012; Chan & Chi, 2008). Nine languages, namely Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Malay, Tamil, Thai and Vietnamese, were offered initially in 2001. Three languages were added subsequently – Korean and Hindi in 2008, and Arabic in 2009.

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<sup>4</sup> See also Funk (1987).

One of the CLS' main target learner groups are students of the various area studies programmes, who are expected to acquire knowledge of the politics, economies, societies, history, geography and literature of their respective countries or regions of study. Such knowledge can potentially contribute towards a deeper understanding of foreign cultural practices and products – or *saviors* in Byram's model of intercultural competence. At the same time, in the course of their study, they are also expected to acquire scientific methods for the collection, interpretation and analysis of relevant data on these countries and regions, which are comparable to two other components in Byram's model, *savior comprendre* and *savior apprendre*. Proficiency in a relevant foreign language is a requirement of the area studies programmes (with the exception of South Asian Studies Programme), as the language is perceived as an important resource for the study of the respective countries and regions. These students as well as another of CLS' main target groups, namely those who are learning a foreign language in preparation for academic exchange, are expected to spend considerable periods of time in foreign countries and will thus need to have positive attitudes towards the foreign culture (*savoir être*) for a successful exchange stint overseas. For these students, intercultural communication represents more than just an opportunity; it is in fact an impending necessity. In line with the needs of these students, CLS aims to help students develop greater cultural awareness as well as the ability to compare and contrast aspects of the foreign culture with those of one's own culture (*savoir s'engager*). Similar to MOE's foreign language programmes, it hopes to make these and other students in its language modules more aware of their own identities and native cultures through the process of critical reflection.

*Cultural awareness* is thus one of four general objectives identified in the CLS' "Framework Syllabus" (Teaching Development Committee [TDC], 2006), with the other three being *communicative competence*, *independent learning* and *social competence*. The following passage describes this goal and its justification:

Learning a language requires the learning of a complex set of behaviours determined by the culture and conventions of the target language community. Students need to get a sense of how native speakers view themselves, such as how they live, how they think, what they value and what they do. Our objective is to develop such cultural awareness. This is essential for interaction with the international community, as it promotes a deeper understanding of different ways of life, values, thoughts, expectations, fears and problems. Such cultural awareness also leads to greater and more differentiated reflection of one's own culture and values. (TDC, 2006, p. 16)

Consistent with this objective, culture-based learning is identified as one of the methodological principles for foreign language teaching in CLS. The description of this principle again makes explicit reference to an intercultural approach that is based on exploration and reflection:

The language modules of the CLS promote the exploration of the culture of the target language. This helps to develop sociolinguistic competence and equips students with the necessary skills and knowledge to communicate appropriately in a wide range of situations. An intercultural principle is applied, allowing students to reflect on and develop a greater awareness of their own culture. Ultimately, in discovering the foreign culture, they learn to be sensitive to and respectful of the differences between their own and other cultures. (TDC, 2006, p. 18)

## **5 Cultivating cultural awareness and intercultural competence: Selected examples from the Centre for Language Studies**

A major objective of CLS' foreign language programmes is, as evident from the previous section, the cultivation of cultural awareness and intercultural competence with the ultimate aim of not just developing a higher level of sensitivity towards other cultures, but also raising awareness of one's own culture and identity. In accordance with the "Framework Syllabus," CLS' language modules are designed to provide a cultural focus alongside the development of learners' general communicative competence. Language instructors apply both curricular and co-curricular means for learners to explore the respective target language cultures, and to analyse and relate them to their native cultures. Such activities could take the form of a classroom lesson unit on a selected aspect of the foreign country with appropriate tasks to guide learners to deeper insights into this aspect as well as to compare it with the situation in their native countries. Learners could also be asked to consider the implications of any differences and/or similarities for the relations between the populations of these countries. In addition, co-curricular activities such as in-country immersions, field trips, cultural festivals and academic encounters with foreign university students also provide opportunities for cultural discovery and reflection. In this section, I will describe and discuss four examples of curricular and co-curricular activities from four different language programmes to foster learners' intercultural competence.

### 5.1 Example 1 – Language immersion programme in Indonesia

In-country immersion allows learners to gain firsthand experience of the target language culture and therefore offers them ample opportunities to explore and discover for themselves aspects of its sociocultural practice. With the right form and balance of language and cultural activities, they will be put in the position not just to observe these practices, but also to partake in them and to interact with members of the host community. The example presented here describes the language immersion programme organised by the Indonesian Language Programme (officially called the *Bahasa Indonesia Programme* or BIP in short), which has been previously researched and reported in a paper by Istanto (2011). Other language programmes in CLS with in-country immersions are Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Korean, Thai and Vietnamese.

21 students participated in the co-curricular immersion programme between 2004 and 2006, which was of four to six week duration and was conducted in Yogyakarta in cooperation with a local university. Of these 21 students, 11 were Southeast Asian Studies majors, while 10 were from other departments and faculties. All had studied Indonesian at CLS for at least two semesters. Ten of them responded to a questionnaire distributed by Istanto (2011) to collect qualitative data on their experiences and perceptions related to the immersion, the Indonesian people and its culture.

The goals of the immersion were described by Istanto as: 1) to increase students' motivation in learning the language; 2) to strengthen their communication skills; 3) to allow them to experience the target language culture; and 4) to facilitate their understanding and appreciation of the target language culture. The programme comprised three major components: 1) an intensive language course with 100 hours of instruction; 2) a cultural programme consisting of field trips and excursions as well as culture classes with a total of 42 instructional hours for the learning of traditional Indonesian and Javanese arts (such as playing the *gamelan*, performing *wayang* with shadow puppets and making *batik* etc.), cooking and handicraft (such as making decorations with *janur* or young coconut leaves); and 3) home stay with local Javanese who took the students in as foster members of their families. Besides 'learning' the cultural practices of Indonesia formally through the culture classes, the students "were forced to communicate using the target language, appreciate the local dishes, observe the non-verbal behaviour of the target community, blend into the culture, and witness the community's life style" (Istanto, 2011, p. 178). Missing from the explicit goals of the immersion is however the intercultural aspect of awareness-raising and self-reflection on one's own culture.

In their responses to the questionnaire, the students generally demonstrated a mature and differentiated understanding of the concept of culture, as the following statement from one of them shows (all student quotes cited here are extracted from Istanto, 2011):

Culture is a specific way of life that a particular ethnic or sub-ethnic group adopts and it is developed over time with influences from cultures of other ethnic or sub-ethnic groups that the former has contact with. It is made up of numerous components with the important ones being language, values, beliefs, mannerism, taboos, traditions, habits, customs, and learned behavioral patterns. (Da Fang)

(Istanto, 2011, p. 181)

They had also noticed the intrinsic link between language and culture, and how an understanding of the latter would support one's language learning. Donny, for instance, expressed his belief that "an understanding of culture helps in advanced learning of a new language," as "it can provide a better appreciation of intonation, unique phrases with no English equivalent, etc." (Istanto, 2011, p. 181). And Da Fang seemed convinced that "language and culture are inseparable and must be studied together," for the features of a language will reflect how the members of the target language culture think and behave (Istanto, 2011, p. 182). Therefore, it is not surprising that the respondents were generally highly receptive towards their sojourn into the Indonesian and Javanese cultures and showed positive attitudes towards their discoveries of a new social environment, its people and unaccustomed aspects of their culture:

I remember feeling surprised at how Indonesians actually regard ethnicity as a very important aspect of identity, e.g.: Javanese, Balinese. I also got the first-hand experience of the famous Javanese politeness and subtlety I have often heard about. It explains many facets of Bahasa Indonesia too as the language reflects a constant awareness of having to display respect and deference to others (even when you don't feel like it!). (Boen)

(Istanto, 2011, p. 183)

Istanto discusses other examples of similar 'surprising' discoveries such as the student who "felt uneasy and confused because the lady host never maintained eye contact whenever she talked to her" (2011, p. 188), only to learn later that it is considered unrefined in Javanese culture to look directly into the eyes of an elder or respected person during a conversation, very much unlike the westernised Singapore culture where eye contact is considered important. She also mentions the example of several other students who were surprised by restaurants and food vendors who hung a

textile screen to obscure the view of people eating at their establishments during *Ramadhan* or the Muslim fasting month out of consideration for fasting Muslims. While Singapore has a large Muslim minority of about 15%, the same practice is not prevalent. Though this was initially highly unfamiliar to the students, they soon gained an appreciation of the tolerance Indonesians show towards the religious beliefs of others. Evident from these examples is the fact that the immersion had contributed to the students' *savoirs* (i.e. their knowledge of the Indonesian culture and interactional behaviours) and *savoir êtres* (e.g. the greater openness they demonstrated towards new and unaccustomed practices such as the lack of eye contact in interactions with Indonesians). It had also allowed them to both apply and refine their skills of interpretation, discovery and interaction (*savoir comprendre* and *savoir apprendre/faire*).

The Indonesian immersion programme had obviously sharpened the students' sensitivity towards the practices of a different culture. And although it was not explicitly intended to promote the critical reflection and self-appraisal of one's own culture and identity, the many intercultural moments, including both observations of and interactions with the local people, had encouraged some of the students to draw comparisons between both cultures and to see their own country with different eyes. One student, Ongky, wrote, as he reflected on a visit to a children's welfare home: "Children welfare home – I have [sic] better appreciate the life that I have back in Singapore. What were the problems faced by the local children" (Istanto, 2011, p. 184) Another student, Clarice, in describing what she had gained from the immersion, highlighted that she was able to make comparisons with life in Singapore and to get to "know the difference between the two places" (Istanto, 2011, p. 185). These are perhaps signs that a more critical cultural awareness, or *savoir s'engager*, was beginning to emerge for these two students.

## ***5.2 Example 2 – Visit by native speaker students to intermediate Japanese language class***

The annual Indonesian immersion programme enables students to interact with native speakers in the target language country and to observe and participate in their sociocultural practices. The second example presented here involves an opportunity for interactions between foreign language learners and native speakers in the learners' classroom. It describes a visit by students from a local Japanese high school to an intermediate Japanese language class in CLS. While the visit is a regular semesterly event on the calendar of the Japanese Language Programme, it is essentially co-curricular in nature in that, although it supports the learning of students in their fourth

or fifth semester of study, it is not mandatory or included in their course assessment. In this section, the paper will refer to the event as it was conducted in February 2012 (Semester 2 of the academic year 2011/2012).

66 Japanese 4 students from CLS and 18 Japanese high school students participated in the group meetings in February 2012. The group meetings were intended to give students the opportunity to 1) apply new linguistic structures they had learned in authentic discourse with Japanese native speakers, 2) learn more about Japan and the Japanese culture, and 3) develop their intercultural competence. To prepare for the group discussions, students from both institutions were asked by the respective coordinating teachers to select and prepare one of the pre-determined discussion topics. The topics were selected to complement the syllabus of the Japanese 4 course and also to give both groups of students insights into social conditions and practices in their respective countries. The overarching theme for the group discussion in that semester was education and examples of the topics available for students' selection were: students' learning attitudes; school facilities; school uniform; school ceremonies and festivals; school trips; monster parents; English language education; moral/social education; and higher education. On the day of the visit, students were grouped according to their topic preferences, with at least one Japanese high school student in each group of 3–5. CLS students were each given a task sheet with a description of the project and pre-/while-/post-meeting tasks and activities. In addition, they also had to write a summary of their group discussions in the target language, highlighting in particular similarities and differences between their own and the Japanese culture as well as what they would like to change in their own culture in the light of the discussion results. Finally, they were also asked to reflect in the target language on the entire activity and their thoughts on the topics of discussion. The activity thus had an explicit intercultural focus and was intended to foster the learners' intercultural competence – ranging from *savoirs* through the exchange of information about the Singapore and Japanese educational system and practices, *savoir être*, *savoir comprendre* and *savoir apprendre/faire* through the discussions and comparisons of education-related aspects in both countries to *savoir s'engager* through the reflection on the discussion topics as well as possible changes to their own culture.

Though formal evaluation data were not collected for this project by the instructor, she expressed the belief, after reading the students' reports, that the encounter with the Japanese students and the group discussions had not only improved their communication skills, but also learned to take a more critical perspective to the educational practices in their own and the foreign culture (Satomi Chiba, personal communication, February 28, 2013). The instructor's positive assessment seems to be supported by the reports

submitted by some learners. For example, Cindy<sup>5</sup>, writing about the topic of monster parents, observed that monster parents who put teachers under pressure and make them responsible for their children's academic achievements apparently exist in both countries, but unlike in Japan, parents in Singapore also apply much pressure on their children and force them to take additional lessons out of school. In reflecting on the changes she would like to see in her own culture, she expressed a critical view of the situation in Singapore<sup>6</sup>:

I believe that results are not an indication of one's life. Everyone has his or her own strengths and interests, and even if they do not do well academically, there may be other areas in which they will excel [...] Teachers should also not be expected to be the only ones to nurture children, as parents themselves are the most important factors. (Cindy)

Another student, Jason, discussed and compared university life in Singapore and Japan with his partner, Kenji, and came to the following conclusion:

[...] university student life in Japan is however less demanding than that of other countries, including Singapore. Most Japanese university students also tend to work part-time while they study and many start looking for employment before they graduate [...]. In spite of the different emphasis placed on work and study by students of both countries, ultimately, I learnt that we are not that different in that we work part-time to fund our university education and other individual expenses, and we work hard to secure our desired jobs. (Jason)

It would appear that Jason had taken a significant step towards greater cultural awareness and sensitivity. His remarks on the benefits of foreign language learning for Kenji and himself seem to suggest that he is able to transfer the intercultural competence he had developed, such as his positive attitudes towards the Japanese culture, to other cultures as well. He surmised that the cross-cultural encounters made possible through the learning of a foreign language had led them not just to a better appreciation of one's own culture but of foreign cultures in general:

Kenji, in turn, shared with me that learning English had made him realise and appreciate his own culture and that of the Anglo-Saxon world. In particular,

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<sup>5</sup> All CLS and Japanese students cited here are identified by pseudonyms randomly assigned by the author.

<sup>6</sup> The students' statements here were translated from Japanese to English by the students themselves at the request of their course instructor for the purpose of this paper.

he believes that studying in Singapore has broadened his horizons as he has been able to make new friends of diverse cultures and backgrounds, while remaining rooted in his own culture. [...] I have also broadened my knowledge and deepened my understanding of the Japanese culture through my interactions with the Japanese and they made me appreciate the beauty of diversity of cultures in the world. (Jason)

### 5.3 Example 3 – Thai cultural festivals and language projects

The first two examples show how learners can acquire and develop the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for effective intercultural communication and for the development of cultural awareness through interactions with native speakers in their own or the target language country. The third example refers to a regular course project conducted in advanced Thai language classes (in the fifth or sixth semester) which requires students to research the Thai and other cultures by reading cultural documents available in the library, the Internet or other sources, rather than through direct interactions. The project was designed to fulfil the following objectives: 1) To allow students to apply their acquired linguistic knowledge and to integrate all four language skills in a creative manner; 2) to deconstruct popular beliefs about two major Thai festivals, *Songkran* and *Loy Krathong*; and 3) to help students discover the links between different cultures and possible cross-cultural influences between the Thai and other cultures.

In Semester 2 of the academic year 2012/2013 (August to November 2012), students in Thai 5 were asked to conduct comparative research on the Thai *Loy Krathong* festival, which is celebrated yearly on the night of the full moon in the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the Thai lunar calendar (usually in October or November), and other festivals which are observed in Singapore in the same period of the year. The students had to give a presentation on their findings and submit a piece of creative writing related to this topic. Both the oral presentation and the written product were assessed and accounted for 20% of the overall course assessment.

Discussion sessions were held in class between the six students enrolled in the course and their instructor to ascertain the students' existing knowledge of *Loy Krathong* and to brainstorm possible project topics, presentation modes and creative writing tasks. After identifying and settling upon two festivals that are also observed locally in October and November, the Hindu *Deepavali* (Festival of Light) and the Chinese *Zhongqiujie* 中秋节 (Mid-Autumn Festival), the instructor led discussions to formulate hypotheses about possible links between these festivals and *Loy Krathong*. Thereafter, the six students, consisting of five local and a Canadian exchange student

from four different faculties, were grouped into three pairs who each researched and prepared a presentation on one of the three festivals. They were asked to introduce each festival, focusing specifically on similarities and differences, and to provide reasons or hypotheses from their research for any cross-cultural influences ascertained. This curricular project was blended with the NUS-CLS *Loy Krathong* Festival, a co-curricular event organised by the Thai Language Programme annually to celebrate the Thai festival, introduce the Thai culture to the NUS and other communities in Singapore, and provide contact opportunities between them. It provided an ideal platform and an enthusiastic audience for the students' presentations.

The comparative research and the individual and group reflections about the various cultural festivals as well as their roots and links helped students to acquire the various forms of *savoir* (knowledge, skills and attitudes) that will enhance their intercultural competence and cultural awareness. According to the instructor, before the project, the students had reported being familiar with the *Loy Krathong* festival, but apparently what they knew was in most cases limited to superficial tourist knowledge (Titima Suthiwan, personal communication, February 28, 2013) – as opposed to the kind of deep insights that a *sojourner* in Byram's (1997) definition would achieve. Ironically, though five of the participants were local Singaporeans, it seemed they knew even less about *Deepavali* and *Zhongqiujie*, especially with regard to their origins and the meanings behind these festivals. The project thus gave them the opportunity to gain a different and more critical perspective to the Thai and the two local festivals, and to relate them to one another.

#### **5.4 Example 4 – German lesson unit based on the problem-posing approach**

The last example involves a lesson unit that is based on the problem-posing approach adapted by Auerbach (1991, 2000) and Wallerstein (1983) from Freire's (1973, 2000) participatory pedagogy and applied to the teaching of English as a second language (ESL). Freirean pedagogy advocates collaborative learning arrangements with teachers acting as partners of their students in creating a critical consciousness about the conditions and issues of the world they live in to enable them to take positive action to transform their environment<sup>7</sup>. Wallerstein (1983) proposes six steps to the problem-posing approach to language teaching: 1) Presenting students

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<sup>7</sup> See the following excerpt from Freire (2000): “[The humanist, revolutionary educator's] role must coincide with those of the students to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization. His efforts must be imbued with a profound trust in people and their creative power. To achieve this, they must be partners of the students in their relations with them.” (p. 75)

with a problem in the form of a story, role-play, picture or dialogue; 2) guiding students to comprehend the information presented in the text or medium; 3) guiding students to identify the root problems presented in the text or medium; 4) relating these issues and problems to the students' lives; 5) comparing the depicted scenarios to students' experiences; and 6) asking students to propose ways to solve the problems and improve their current situation<sup>8</sup>.

The example unit presented here is taught at the advanced level in the German Language Programme and represents a curricular means of facilitating cultural exploration and critical reflection beyond the target language culture. Of the four examples presented here, this is the only activity that is located solely in the classroom and is not coupled with co-curricular activities. The students would typically be at least in their sixth semester of German language study and would have had extensive previous exposure to the cultures of the German-speaking countries, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and to intercultural language teaching. In a typical advanced level course, topics are mainly of a cultural, historical, social and political nature and are presented predominantly through various forms of printed or online media texts, including German language newspaper and magazine articles, radio programmes, TV news and documentaries, and feature films. In the advanced courses the author had taught, a peer teaching arrangement was usually adopted for the second half of the semester. In fulfilment of their course project requirement, students created lesson units based on texts suggested by the instructor or the students themselves, and tasks written by the students with the instructor's support.

The unit described here centred round a 30-minute German TV documentary titled "Die traurigen Engel der Nacht" (in English, "Sad Angels of the Night"), which depicted the problem of child prostitution in another city in the same region as Singapore (i.e. Southeast Asia). The tasks were created and presented by a student project group under the instructor's guidance. Preceding the presentation of the documentary was a short pre-viewing activity, in which students were shown the first minute of the film without the audio commentary and were subsequently asked to guess the topic of the film. The film was then presented in four parts, which:

1. introduced the background of the city, the poverty that beset it and the 'value' of children to impoverished families, which offered them as cheap labour to various economic sectors;
2. introduced the 'angels,' three girls aged between 11 and 13, their family backgrounds, their situation as prostitutes and the reasons for

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<sup>8</sup> Examples of lesson units designed according to this approach can be found in Auerbach and Wallerstein's (1987) textbook, "ESL for Action."

their plight, and described the attempts of social workers to educate them about the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases;

3. featured the pimp and her 'angels' at 'work,' soliciting clients, who were sex tourists from Germany and other Western nations;
4. described the further problem of drug abuse among the 'angels' as a means of escape from the harsh reality of their lives.

Students engaged in meaning-focused comprehension and production tasks of various types (matching, true/false, structured writing, role play and group discussion tasks) to help them establish and grasp both the facts and the deep issues portrayed in each segment of the film. In summarizing the root causes of the girls' plight, students were also asked to review and apply vocabulary and grammatical structures to describe cause-and-effect relationships. After viewing all four segments, students were then asked to consider if there were similar issues of child prostitution and drug abuse in their home countries, make notes related to this, and then compare the situation in the film with that in their own countries. Rounding off the unit was a writing task which required students to produce an expository text with an analysis of the problems of child prostitution, child labour and drug abuse in the city depicted in the film and/or their own countries. The structural exercises on cause-and-effect relationships described above served to prepare students for this final writing task. The entire unit took approximately eight class hours to complete.

Such a problem-posing unit affords students the opportunity to explore beyond the target language culture, and to examine and discuss social issues located in the same region as Singapore. Advanced level students, who have had several semesters of intercultural language study, would already possess some measure of intercultural competence and have had ample opportunities to analyse and reflect on sociocultural practices in the target language culture. In the unit on the "Sad angels of the night," students have to extend the intercultural competence and critical cultural awareness they had developed to the critical appraisal of the social conditions and woes of another country and culture. This meets Byram's (1997) expectation that intercultural language teaching must prepare learners for "encounters with cultural practices which have not been presented to them, and [...] cannot be anticipated" (p. 20). He stresses in fact that learners must be equipped with "methods for transfer to other situations and the means of coping with new cultural practices and identities" (p. 22)<sup>9</sup>.

There are further arguments to support the use of the lesson unit on the 'angels' – and other materials focusing on social issues – to foster critical consciousness and further enhance intercultural competence, especially at the

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<sup>9</sup> See also Kramsch (1998) and Wandel (2003), who hold views similar to Byram's.

advanced level where learners are expected to have the communicative competence to deal with such complex contents. For one thing, a topic such as child prostitution and the film with its poignant scenes are highly emotive and will provide potent stimuli for critical thought and intensive debate that will polarise the participants<sup>10</sup>. In fact, the unit lends itself well to the recognition of how social and economic positions and power situations interface with cross-cultural contact and can have a bearing on the interactions between two cultures (in this film, of an undesirable kind). Second, because the film depicts events and problems in a neighbouring country (sex tourism, underage prostitutes, drug abuse etc.) that exist in Singapore and the respective home countries of the students, its contents are of much relevance to them and will encourage active participation in any discussions thereof. Third, the film offers students highly differentiated perspectives to the target language culture, whose members appear in two roles in the film: on the one hand, as the unscrupulous sex tourists who exploit the deplorable social conditions in the Third World; and on the other hand, as the social conscience and critical voice provided by the journalist/narrator and the TV production team who document, analyse and publicise the plight of the ‘angels’ and the misdeeds of their countrymen. Such diametrically opposing positions provide fertile ground for critical analysis that will eventually lead to the recognition of the complex, multilayered and multifaceted nature of not just the target language society, but of societies in general. Indeed, as Wandel (2003) advocates, students should learn “to analyse fundamental aspects of cultures” (p. 73).

## 6 Conclusion

This paper has made the case that culture emerges through the meaning-making processes and communicative activities between members of a social group, ranging from just a community of professionals to an entire nation. In explaining the interrelationship between culture and language, Hall (2002) asserts that culture consists in the sociocultural practices of the social group and is enabled by language as its main sociocultural resource for the interactions within and of this group with other groups. At the same time,

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<sup>10</sup> Wandel (2003) expresses a similar view about the importance of the affective dimension in culture teaching. He asserts that “facts and figures, cultural problems and social issues must be accompanied by an approach supporting the affective level of learning” (p. 78). In explaining the suitability of literary texts for the cultivation of intercultural sensitivity, he contends that “the use of fictional and imaginative texts is highly relevant, because they get the reader involved and, at the same time, are open for anticipation, speculation and diverging speculations” (p. 78).

language learning and language use represent important instruments for the socialisation of the learner/user, providing more support for the co-occurrence of language and culture learning. Some researchers (e.g. Ochs, 1988, 1996) believe in fact that this socialisation process extends beyond first language development to the learning of second and foreign languages. Further support for the teaching of culture in the foreign language classroom is provided by applied linguists such as Canale (1982), Canale and Swain (1980), and van Ek (1986), who point to the importance of sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge for effective and contextually appropriate communication. While acknowledging the undoubted importance of such knowledge, some scholars (e.g. Byram, 1989, 1997; Kramsch, 1993, 1998) reject the straightforward transfer of native speaker norms in language and culture as achievement targets to the foreign language classroom. Instead, while informing their learners about the foreign culture, teachers must also guide them to gain a critical perspective to this and their own culture – a process that will lead to the re-appraisal, revision and consolidation of their own culture and individual identity. Byram (1997, 2008) argues for the extension of the concept of communicative competence with the addition of intercultural competence or the ability to use language in interaction with a member of a foreign culture, and to discover, interpret, analyse and relate aspects of this culture to one's own.

In the Singapore higher education context, as typified by the practice of CLS, foreign language courses have an explicit cultural focus and efforts are undertaken to afford learners opportunities to explore and reflect on the target language and other cultures with the goal of fostering greater cultural awareness and developing a more differentiated perspective to one's own culture and identity. Four curricular and co-curricular examples from the practice of four different language programmes in CLS have been presented here as suggestions for the pursuit of this goal and the acquisition of intercultural competence through cultural exploration and critical reflection. The examples range from language immersion for upper elementary learners to native speaker encounters at the intermediate level and an advanced level problem-posing lesson unit, thus demonstrating that intercultural learning is possible across all proficiency levels. Byram (1997) describes three locations where learners can acquire intercultural competence, namely, in the classroom through instruction, outside the classroom through fieldwork (including overseas stints), and in independent learning arrangements. The examples presented in this paper involve tasks and activities in all three locations – for example, in the classroom in the German, Japanese and Thai examples, in an overseas environment in the Indonesian example, and in independent research and preparatory work in the German and Thai examples. Common to all four examples is the methodology of: 1) facilitating

discoveries about foreign cultures through face-to-face encounters and/or documents and artefacts related to them; and 2) analysing and reflecting on the foreign and native cultures, and relating them to one another, largely through comparison and contrast. Some research, course evaluation and anecdotal data (including teacher feedback) were also cited to suggest the effectiveness of these examples for the intended objective of building intercultural competence. However, much of the existing literature looks at intercultural language education at a conceptual and theoretical level or suggests approaches, methods and activities for its realisation. Despite some exceptions (e.g. Baumann & Shelley, 2006; Moloney & Harbon, 2010; Topuzova, 2001; Williams, 2001), there is still a clear lack of conclusive, empirical evidence for the benefits of the intercultural approach for learners – a vacuum in research that needs to be filled, more than two decades after the approach was first proposed.

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## 国際共通語としての英語教育と異文化教育

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### 1. はじめに

本日は東京外国語大学の国際シンポジウムにお招きいただき、ありがとうございます。今日お話しするのは、外国語教育の中の異文化理解教育なのですが、特に英語に絞ってお話しさせていただきたいと思います。基本的な前提としては、外国語教育としての英語教育と、最近の英語の地位にかんがみて国際共通語としての英語を考えたときに、その面からの英語教育とでは文化の扱いに違いがあってしかるべきではないかという問題意識に立ってお話しさせていただきます。

### 2. 言語教育と異文化理解教育

「国際共通語としての英語」という言葉は、最近よく聞かれると思います。私は 2011 年 3 月に『国際共通語としての英語』というタイトルの本を講談社から出したのですが、同じ年の秋、文部科学省が「国際共通語としての英語力向上のための 5 つの提言と具体的な施策」というものを発表しました。この二つの間には全く関係がないのですが、自分の本のタイトルと全く同じなものですから、一体、文部科学省はどのように「国際共通語としての英語」を考えているのかと非常に興味を持ちました。

ただ、実際にその五つの提言を見たところ、「国際共通語としての英語」がどういう英語かという定義付けは全くなされていませんでした。「英語というのは今や国際共通語である」ということは自明なこととして、特にそれがどのような英語であるかということをお聞きする必要はないと言っているように私には見受けられました。

お手元のハンドアウトでは、あえてこの五つの提言には全く触れていません。触れる必要がないと思ったので入れていないのですが、これはあくまでも英語能力を上げるために、中高でどのように教育をしたら良いかということをお話しているものです。ですから、例えばヨーロッパとの関係で、最近、世界の外国語教育に影響を与えている CEFR (欧州言語共通参照枠) の中に出てくる能力記述、言語能力を記述していくという方法論を俗に「Can-Do Statements」と呼んでおりますが、これを日本の英語教育に導入しようということや、英語教員の英語力をもっと付けようということなど、具体的な英語力向上のためのノウハウをお話しているのが五つの提言です。

これは、実は異文化理解教育と言語教育の接点ということをお考えると、はなはだ不十分な議論だと私はお感じしました。どういうことかということ、英語が国際共通語であるということの意味をお考えると、これまでの英語教育のように「地域語としての英米語」を学ぶことでいいのかという疑問が出てくるのです。以前はある程度簡単でした。英語を学ぶ、それ

はすなわち、アメリカなり、英国なり、オーストラリア、カナダ、ニュージーランドといった英語圏で話されている英語を学ぶ。先ほどの Chan 先生のお話にも出てきましたように、Native Speaker Norm (英語母語話者の規範) にのっとって、英語母語話者に到達するようにひたすら学ぶ。それは無理なのですが、でも、目指す先にはネイティブスピーカーの話す英語があるというのが当たり前の基準でした。

そして、そのような英語教育の中で語られる異文化理解は、当然ながら英米の文化を理解することでした。今、新しい日本の学習指導要領が小中高と順次施行されており、今年4月からは高等学校で新しい指導要領が始まります。指導要領 (Course of Study) というものを文部科学省が発表して、それに従って日本全国の公立学校は教育を行うわけです。その中で、英語については小中高どのレベルを見ても、英語教育の目的は、コミュニケーション能力を付けることと異文化理解であると言っています。異文化理解というのは、その言語が話されている地における生活習慣や異なった価値観など、そういう文化を学ぶとしているのですが、学習指導要領をよく見てみると、外国語は「(英語)」なのです。ということは、異文化理解、外国語が話されている地域においてというときには、これはやはり英語圏になるわけです。

しかし、最近の実態は、英語は国際共通語です。English as a lingua franca ということになります。Lingua franca とは、さまざまな人たちがお互いの言語を学んで話すのが一番理想的なのだけれども、なかなかそういうわけにはいかないもので、仕方なく共通語として英語を使おうということです。そうすると、数から言いましても、先ほど World Englishes という言葉も出ましたが、ブラジ・カチュルという人が言いはじめたことで、これは現在、およそ英語教育関係者の間では常識となっていると思われませんが、英語ネイティブスピーカーの数はおよそ4億人です。しかし、英語を第二言語あるいは外国語として使う人間を全部合わせると16億人を優に超え、その数は日々増えています。

日本は、もちろん英語は第二言語としてではなく、外国語として使っています。日常的に英語を使うわけではないけれど、外国語として英語を学んでいるわけです。そのような16億人の人たちが、共通語として英語を使うということの重みを考えたいと思います。もちろん、もはやネイティブスピーカーは規範にはなりません。「アメリカ人がこう言う」「イギリス人はこういう言い方をしない」などということをやっても、それは意味のないことで、大事なのは正確性 (accuracy) でもなければ、ネイティブスピーカー・ライクな流暢性 (fluency) でもなく、英語を母語としない人同士が話し合っても理解できる、分かり合えること (intelligibility) が重要な規範になるはずなのです。

それでは、外国語として学ぶ英語、つまり、地域語としての英米語はどうするのかというと、恐らく、これからの日本の英語教育においては、まだそうなっていませんが、これからは英米文化を学びながら、英米の言葉である英語を学ぶというのは、大学の専門課程で学ぶ、あるいは東京外国語大学の英語学科のように専門家を育てる場で学ぶ。中高およ

び大学での教養教育においては、やはり English for general purposes（一般的な目的のための英語）ですので、これは生徒たち、学生たちが将来卒業したときにどのような形で英語を使うか分からない。恐らくは英語を専門とするよりは、例えば仕事で使う、ビジネスで使う、あるいは、学者になれば学会で発表する。これは「国際共通語としての英語」を身に付けることになるはずです。そのときに起こる問題について、学習指導要領では全く触れていませんし、先ほど申しあげました文部科学省の「国際共通語としての英語力向上のための5つの提言と具体的施策」でも全く触れていません。

### 3. 共通語としての英語と英米文化理解

しかし、唯一この点について議論を文書化したのが日本学術会議（Science Council of Japan）ですが、これは政府に対して政策提言をする学者の集まりです。恐らく、考えられる限りの学術分野の研究者が参加している、組織的には内閣府（Cabinet Office）に属している、いわば政策提言集団、政府のブレーンということになるかと思います。その中で、この数年来、大学教育の質を確保しなければいけないという議論がずっと行われてきました。クオリティコントロールです。その具体策として、ざっくり「大学教育の質を上げましょう」と言っているだけでは駄目で、分野ごとにどのような内容を教えると、その分野での大学教育の質を保証することができるかという議論を、この3～4年にわたって続けました。

法学分野やそれぞれの教育学分野など、いろいろな提言が出てきたのですが、今日ご紹介したいのは言語（Language）、文学（Literature）、分野（Field）の研究者が集まって、この分野における大学教育ではこういうことを教育するべきであると。これは、法的拘束力はありませんので、あくまでも各大学がカリキュラムを作るときの参考にしてくださいというだけのもではありますが、その中で、もちろん外国語教育にも触れています。そして、外国語教育とは一線を画して英語教育にも触れています。

基本的なスタンスとしては、「外国語教育は重要である。なぜならば、外国語を学ぶことは異文化理解への窓になる」ということですが、「しかし」と続くのです。いわゆる英語教育においては、国際共通語であることにかんがみて、普通の外国語教育とは別に考えなければいけないのではないかという問題提起です。もちろん、外国語教育の中に英語教育も入ります。しかし、そうではなくて、先ほど申しあげました一般教育、一般教養、あるいは中高で学ぶべき英語は、明らかに「国際共通語としての英語」を学ぶ。それがどういうことを意味するかというと、「グローバルな場では英語母語話者だけでなく、多様な言語を母語とする世界各地の人々と接触することが日常的になっている。そのための媒介言語であることを考慮すると、英語教育においては以下の点を踏まえる必要がある」として三つ出しています。そのうち重要なのは二つです。

一つは、英語という共通語と英米文化理解を区別することです。文化的負荷を可能な限

り軽減しないと、非母語話者 (Non-native Speakers) 同士の英語のコミュニケーションは成立しないことを認識する必要があります。次に、「国際共通語としての英語」は母語に根差しているわけではないので、母語の習得過程を学習のモデルとして強調せず、英語母語話者の規範から自由になる。そして、相互に分かりやすい (intelligible) 英語を使う。あとは、グローバル時代のコミュニケーションはインターネットなどを使う、あるいはソーシャルネットワークなどを使うわけですので、音声言語ばかり強調しているのでは駄目で、書記言語 (Written Language) も重要である。その際に、話し言葉であっても書き言葉であっても、やはりビジネス文書を書いたり、あるいは学術論文を書いたりするということを考えると、特定の文化や習慣を前提としなくても理解できる論理構成を学ぶ。これがグローバルコミュニケーションにおいて重要であると。ここでも文化色を出さないということを言っています。

母語話者をモデルにしないということはそうだろうと思われるでしょうが、重要なのは最初の部分です。つまり、英語が国際共通語として使われるのは、非母語話者同士がやむを得ず英語を使って理解を図ろうとするときであり、あまり文化的要素が多いとお互いに理解できない。世界中のすべての英語学習者がアメリカ文化に精通しているわけではないということです。英語学習において文化的負荷を軽減する、これが実は非常に議論になった点です。最初は文化を捨象するとまで言った人がいたのです。文化は教えない、英米文化をあえて教えるべきではないと。でも、これは無理なのです。先ほどの Chan 先生もおっしゃっていましたが、言語と文化を切り離す (dissociate) などということは不可能です。言語から文化を捨象する、捨て去ることはできません。

では、どうするのか。そこにはあまり立ち入らずに、「文化的負荷を軽減する」という言い方に収めたのです。これについては、やはり英語教育の専門家が自ら考えるべきことです。文化をどう扱うか。それを今日、皆さんに投げ掛けたいと思います。

#### 4. 言語教育における文化的負荷の軽減

文化の定義には、先ほど Chan 先生も触れられました。文化の定義は数え切れないほど、100 以上あると思います。Lévi-Strauss も言っていますし、日本でも石田英一郎という人が言っていますし、いろいろな文化の定義があります。最も古いものは、Edward B. Tylor というイギリスの人類学者が言った、「文化とは、人間が社会の成員として獲得した能力や習性の複合的全体である」というものです。Lévi-Strauss は似たようなことを言って、ほかに言語 (language) も加えています。

文化とコミュニケーションの関係が、私たちここにいる人間にとっては最も重要になるのですが、先ほども登場しました Edward Hall です。文化人類学者にして異文化コミュニケーション研究のパイオニアでしたが、この人は「Communication is culture. (文化とはコミュニケーションである)」と言っています。

それから、この方も先ほどちらっと登場しました。Claire Kramersch はドイツ系ですが、長いことアメリカのカリフォルニア大学で教鞭を執っておられる応用言語学者です。この方はこのように言っています。"Language is the principle means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in context of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways." つまり、本当に複雑な方法であり、コミュニケーションと言語と文化は結び付いている、切り離せないと言っているわけです。そうすると、どうするのか。

私がここで一つ提案したいのは、文化というけれども、いわゆる「普遍文化 (General Culture)」と「個別文化 (Specific Culture)」とを分けて考える必要があるのではないかということです。これは、東大で教えていらしたときに国際文化学を提唱した平野健一郎先生が、『国際文化論』という本の中でおっしゃっていることなのですが、普遍文化とはどういうものかということ、自然環境と人間との間に位置したものであると。人間と自然との間に生まれたものが文化である。その自然環境は、時によって変わってくるし、あるいは地理的にも変わります。そうすると、地理的な隔絶と歴史的な変化によって個別文化が作り出されてくる。

人間は文化というときに、あまり厳密に考えないで両方とも使います。例えば、「人間はしょせんみんな同じなのだ。悲しいときには泣く。おかしければ笑う」という、人間の普遍性に着目して、そこから文化を語る場合もあるのですが、これが海外旅行に行ったり、観光でどこか外国の地へ行って少し違うものを見ると、「文化が違う」と思うわけです。個別文化を対象にするというのは、異文化コミュニケーション学の分野では「イーミック (emic) な視点だ」と言います。そして、普遍文化は「エティック (etic)」なのです。これは、もともと音声学のフォニムとフォネティックから来ているのですが、異文化コミュニケーション学ではイーミックとエティックの二つの視点があるという言い方をします。

私がここで提案したいのは、これまではイーミックな視点でずっと英語を教えてきたわけですが、「国際共通語としての英語」については、エティックな視点でかかわったらどうだろうかということです。具体的にどういうことかということ、また先ほどの Chan 先生と同じように Byram 先生が登場するわけですが、Byram 先生がおっしゃっている異文化能力 (Intercultural Competence) は、冒頭でちょっと触れましたヨーロッパ言語共通参照枠 (CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) の中に取り込まれており、実はこのために研究を行ったということがあります。これはすなわち、ヨーロッパ EU 域内でそれぞれ違う言語と文化を持った人たちが自由に行き来して、相互理解を図ることが可能になるようにということを念頭に置いていますので、どちらかということイーミックな視点が強いと私は見ます。

先ほど Chan 先生がご紹介くださったので、私が詳しく言う必要はなくなったのですが、Five Elements of Intercultural Competence、五つの要素の中で特に私がエティックな面からも使えると思っているのは二つの要素です。一つは、Intercultural Attitude (*Savoir être*) です。

異文化への態度、好奇心があつて開放性があること、そして、他文化を「あれは何なの？」と不信を持って見るような態度や「自分の文化はいいんだ」と思い込んでいるような態度をいったん保留して、開かれた心で文化を見るという態度です。これは、言っているほど簡単ではないのです。

もう一つが、Critical Cultural Awareness (*Savoir s'engager*)、文化の批判的認識です。日本語で「批判的」というとあまりいいイメージがないのですが、悪く言うという意味の批判ではなく、客観的に両方の文化を見る。どちらかに走る人は結構いるのです。外国に行つて滞在したときに、その文化が気に入ってしまって、「日本なんか駄目だ。フランス文化は素晴らしい」と言う人もいます。すべてあちらが良くなつてしまって、「Different culture is wonderful」となる人。それから、かたくなに「何なんだ、あれは。日本だったらこうなのに、信じられない」という感じで、あくまでも自分のスタンダードで違う文化を判断する。そうではなくて、自文化も批判的に振り返り、他文化も客観的に相対化 (relativize) する、そういう能力を異文化理解教育で育てなければいけないという Byram 先生の主張は、傾聴に値すると私は思っています。

## 5. 表層文化から深層文化へ

それでは、具体的にどうしたらいいかということは、私はハンドアウトに全く書いていないのです。それは、恐らく午後のディスカッションの中で出てくるだろうという思いもあつたのですが、少しここで午後の話し合いのたたき台にするためにお話ししようと思います。特に英語教育、共通語としての英語を教えるときに難しいのは、そうはいつても生徒たち、学生たちに興味を持たせる、授業に食い付いてこさせるというときに、一番効果があるのは文化を教えることなのです。これはモチベーションになります。「アメリカに行ったら、そういう言い方をしたら駄目だよ」「イギリスはこういうところが違うんだ」ということです。

これが大学なら言葉に結び付けますが、今や日本では小学校の5年生、6年生の外国語活動と言いながら実は英語活動なのですが、そこで英語教育ではなく英語活動 (Activity is using English) が行われています。その中で子どもたちの興味を喚起するという意味では、どうしても「アメリカのクリスマスはこう」「ハロウィンとは何でしょう」「ハロウィンと比べてみましょう」みたいなことになるわけです。これは「国際共通語としての英語」になるのでしょうか。ハロウィンを知っている人たちが世界にどのくらいいるのか、祝っている人たちがどのくらいいるのか。日本もハロウィンは有名になってきて、10月30日ごろになるとモロゾフなどでパンプキンパイが売り出されたり、何だかよく分からないけれども、パンプキンのお化けみたいなものがいろいろ飾られたりして、「ああ、ハロウィンだ」などと言いますが、あまりよく分かっていない。それで、ハロウィンになったら『Trick or Treat』と言うんだよ」みたいな、それが本当の異文化理解になるのでしょうか。

この辺は、実際に英語の授業を教室の中で行っている教員にとっては大きな問題なのです。子どもたちに興味を持たせる、生徒たちが食い付いてくるということは大事です。そこを突破口にして英語を教えたいという気持ちを責めることはできません。しかし、ここで気を付けなければいけないのは、先ほどの文化とは何かというところに立ち戻るのです。さまざまな定義があると申し上げましたが、それだけ包括的なものなのです。そして、多くの場合、普通の人々が文化というときに考えるのは表層文化 (Surface Culture)、表に出ている文化なのです。

しかし、コミュニケーションの上で一番問題になるのは、見えない深層文化 (Deep Culture) です。これは、Edward Hall が氷山モデル (Iceberg Model) でいみじくも示したように、「文化は氷山である」と言いました。水面から出て一番人目に付くものは目立つので、「ああ、文化が違う」と思います。食べ物が違う、着ている洋服も民族衣装などでは違います。それから、外国の人は握手し、日本人はお辞儀をします。手を合わせる文化もあります。そういう目に見える生活習慣、建物、食べ物、そういうものについては分かりやすいのです。

観光旅行に行って目にするのは、そういう表面的な文化 (Surface Culture) ですから楽しいのです。「違うな」と思って楽しむことができます。食べ物も違います。「ええ。こういうのって何?」と思いながらも、チャレンジしますよね。一種のアドベンチャーです。違うものを楽しみ、外国に来たなという実感も増すわけです。だから、留学なども語学研修くらいですと楽しく過ごすことができます。「外国は違うということがよく分かりました」と言って、満足して帰ってくるわけです。しかし、それは本当に文化を体験したことになるのでしょうか。

1年、2年、3年住んでも Surface Culture しか体験しない人もいます。例えば、日本に来ている多くの英語教師、いわゆる ALT など、ネイティブスピーカーとして英語を教えている先生たちは2種類に分かれます。日本の文化、日本の社会にどっぷり入って、かなり深層のところまで体験している人々。でも、日本に英語を教えに来ている場合には、英語を話すだけで日本人は満足しますので、特に日本語も学ばないで済みます。20年も日本にいても、全く日本語を話さないで過ごしている人はいます。それで過ぎるのだと言っています。日本語をしゃべっても、日本では誰も感謝しない。英語をしゃべると受ける。来たときには日本語を学ぼうと思ったけれども、日本語を話す機会をあえて自分でつくらなければいけない。用事もないのにスーパーに行くのだけれども、何も話さないで欲しいものがかごに入ればいいから話す必要がない。だから、わざわざないものを考えて、「マグロの缶詰はありますか」と聞いてみると、「ありません」で終わってしまう。そうこうしているうちにだんだん嫌になって、英語だけで通じるならそれでいいやと。そして、付き合う仲間は英語ができる日本人や、英語を話す各国の人々です。こうなると、日本に10年、20年住んだところで、氷山の水面下まではいきません。

水面下には何があるかということ、価値観 (values)、信条 (belief) です。こういう本人も意識していない価値観や信条、物の考え方、規範。規則なら書いてありますから、目に見えます。しかし、規範というのは意識の問題ですから、日本社会では普通はこういうことはしないということを、日本で生まれ暮らしている人なら共有していますが、それは本人も意識していないので、外国から来た人にいちいち説明できない、しない。そんなことが違っていると意識すらしないのです。ここが怖いのです。本当に日本社会の中に、あるいは違う社会の中に暮らして溶け込んで、その国の言葉を学び、その国の人たちとその国の言葉を使って暮らし、仕事をし、生きていくということをやっていくうちに、水面下にあるものにぶつかるのです。これが見えない壁となって行く手を阻むのです。でも、これを突破しないことには、本当の異文化理解にはならないのです。

## 6. 複眼的思考を育む異文化理解教育

異文化理解がなぜ大事か。なぜ異文化理解などということを使うのか。これについて、私はあまり詳しく考えたことがなかったのです。異文化理解が重要なのは当たり前であって、常識でしょうと思うのです。この問題を突き付けられた思いがしたのは、昨年秋、私はヨーロッパでの異文化理解教育フォーラムというところに招かれて出掛けていった時のことです。そこで目にしたのは、ほとんどがヨーロッパの人たちだったのですが、そこに若干、アメリカの人が加わり、アジアからはなぜか私一人でした。ヨーロッパの人たちが3日間、9時から18時までびっしり、ランチの間も議論を続け、ディナーの間も議論を続けて、ずっと異文化理解教育について、具体論も含めて激論を交わしているのです。

何度も何度も出てきたのは、ヨーロッパは過去に2回も本当に悲惨な世界大戦 (Two World Wars) を経験した。二度と再びあのようなことを繰り返してはならない。そのためには何をしたらいいのか。人間は育っていく環境の中で生まれていくので、それぞれの文化を持っているわけです。そして、その文化が育むのが異なる世界観 (Different World Views) です。今、日本でもお隣の国々とさまざまな紛争を抱え込み、そして歴史認識が違うという問題を突き付けられています。歴史認識 (Historical Perceptions) が違うということは、要するに世界観が違うということの反映でもあるのです。これが文化の違いです。

これを相手に変えろといっても無理です。自分が変える？ それはほとんどないことです。自分のアイデンティティを失うことになります。では、この二人の人間、二つの文化が相対して、二つの異なる世界観を持ってぶつかったときに、どうにか折り合いを付けなければ紛争が起こるのは自明の理、当たり前 (obvious) なのです。そこで重要なのが異文化理解教育です。相手は違うのだということを学ぶのです。

ここでご紹介したいのが、Claire Kramsch が言っている「We can teach the boundary, we cannot teach the bridge」ということです。境界 (boundary) がある、同じではないということをお教えることはできる。でも、その違う文化に橋を架けるのは本人、生徒・学生であり、

教師がそこまでやることはできない。「こうすればいいのですよ」などということは簡単に教えられない。

そこで重要になるのが、異文化理解教育とは個別文化の理解に終始するのではなく、異なった文化とどう折り合いをつけるかだということです。つまり、異質な他者 (Different Other)、異質性とどう折り合いをつけていくのか。自分が妥協するのでもない、相手に我慢してもらうのでもない。そうではなくて、boundary がある。「違うのですね。あなたはこういう物の見方をしている。私はこういう見方をしているのです。まるっきり違います。でも、そこで何か橋を架けられないでしょうか」ということ、それが異質性と折り合いをつけるための異文化理解教育です。どこそこの文化ではなく、異文化理解教育なのです。

そのために重要になるのが言語教育だと思います。その国の言語を知らないで、ただ伝統文化を見て、「わあ、素敵なお踊りだな」「立派な建物だな」と感心しているだけでは、異質性を理解することにはならないのです。本当にその国の文化を理解するためには、言語を学ぶ必要があるのです。なぜならば、言語は文化そのものだからです。言語構造そのものに文化が反映されています。

その具体例はいろいろありますが、文法一つ取っても、なぜ英語には複数形、単数形があるのか。日本語はそんなことをあまり気にしません。これも、やはりある種の物の考え方、世界観の違いが表れているわけです。英語では年上、年下を全く気にしないで、brothers、sisters と言うけれども、日本はそうではありません。単なる brothers と言われても困るのです。上 (elder) か下 (younger) か、この違いは重要です。

だから、通訳をしていると困ります。「I have a brother」「I have a sister」、どうするのですか。姉か妹か、どちらか言わなければいけないのです。同時通訳をしていたら、「どっちですか」と聞くわけにもいかず、本当に困るわけです。逆に日本語から英語に同時通訳しているときには、「I have an elder sister (私には姉がおります)」と言ってしまってもいいのか。もしかしたら three elder sisters かもしれないわけです。このように、文法そのものに世界観が表れていることを考えると、言語を学ぶことによって、文化の深層に迫ることが可能なのです。ですから、これからの外国語教育に携わる教師は、そこまで考えた上で教えなければいけないのです。

では、英語教育に戻りますと、「そこまで言うておきながら、文化的負荷を軽減しろとはどういうことですか」ということになるわけですが、一つには表層文化 (Surface Culture) を強調しないことです。それは、いずれにしてもそれほど大事なことではないので、むしろ英語を教えるときに、「英語という文化はこうなのだ」ということは可能だと思います。もう一つ重要なのは、英語教育だけに終わらせないことです。EU のまねをするわけではありませんが、EU は EU 市民に対して、母語以外に二つの言語を学ぶという複言語主義 (plurilingualism) を奨励しています。その二つの言語は何語でもいいのです。自分の国の Minor Language でもいいのです。

日本は今、英語教育に覆い尽くされています。しかし、世界は英語だ、英語さえできれば世界を闊歩できるというものではないのです。世界は多様です。ですから、これからの日本人がグローバルで活躍していくためには、複眼的思考を身に付けなければいけません。複眼的思考を身に付けるためには、英語以外の外国語も一つか二つ学ぶことによって、英語世界以外の世界を知ること、これも重要な点だと思いますので、あえて複言語主義というか、多言語的な視点の重要性もここで提案しておきたいと思います。

外国語は異文化への窓です。そして、幾つかの言語を学ぶことで窓が増えます。そうすることによって、一人の生徒なり学生は複眼的思考を得ることができます。すなわち、異質な存在と出会ったときに、対応が違ってくるはずなのです。

## 7. 質疑応答

(鳥飼) よろしければ、少しですが時間を余らせましたので、ご質問やご意見をおっしゃっていただければと思います。

(Q1) 私は英語専門ではないのですが、経済で原書として英語の論文を教えたりしています。そこでいろいろなアメリカの英語教師に会って伺ったのですが、グロービッシュというものが随分注目されているようです。これはどうなのでしょう。先生の考え方からいって、非常に効果的でしょうか。

もう一つは細かい問題ですが、私が教えていると、活字で英語を書かないと分からない。つまり、筆記体で黒板に英語を書きますと、分からない学生がいて、中学で教わらなかったと言うのです。これはとんでもない。文部省のやっていることは、ちょっとおかしいのではないかと思うのですが、この二つをお聞きしたいのです。

(鳥飼) 英語の筆記体をなぜ教えないのかというのは、よく分かりません。でも、最近では教えません。ですから、学生たちは筆記体を書かない、読めないということになるので、これはいかなものかなとは私も思います。

それから、最初のグロービッシュに戻りますと、グロービッシュというのは、Jean-Paul Nerrière さんというフランス人が IBM に勤務したときの体験を基に、何も難しい英語を話す必要はなく、お互いが理解するためには簡単な英語でいいということで発案なされたものです。基本的には、グロービッシュでは語彙を 1500 の基本語に絞り、そこから派生する 5000 語ぐらいあれば十分で、この中で英語を使うようネイティブスピーカーにも要請し、みんながグロービッシュで簡単な英語をしゃべれば分かり合えるのだと。文法も難しいものはやめてしまって、基本的な文法事項だけを洗い出して非常にシンプルにしてあります。

ただ、本を読むと、この方は英語教育については全くの素人であることがよく分かりま

す。つまり、英語教育の長い歴史、あるいは外国語教育の長い歴史の中で、特に英語の場合、簡単にしたらいいのではないかということ、何十年も前からいろいろな人が試みています。ヨーロッパでは van Ek という人が Threshold Level English ということを行っていますし、大体最初に考えるのは語彙を絞ったらどうか、語彙数を制限すれば簡単ではなからうかということなのです。

これはさまざまになされているわけですが、グロービッシュの語彙、1500 の基本語の弱点は、これはご本人にも申し上げましたが、恣意的に選んでいるのです。つまり、ほかの英語教育の専門家が作っているきちんとしたものは、大体、それこそコーパスで頻度を確かめて、その頻度で選んでいるのですが、そういうことを全くしていなくて、ネリエールさんが必要だと思われる単語を選んでいる。

それから、これは矛盾ではないかと申し上げたのですが、アメリカ英語などから離れて世界でみんなが使えるようにするためだと言いながら、「Voice of America (VOA)」というアメリカが自国の広報のために流しているラジオ放送で使っている英語を基にしています。VOA には易しい英語を使ってニュースを流す番組があるのです。これは非常に易しい英語なので聞き取りやすいということで、英語学習者で聞いている人は多いのですが、しかし、VOA であることは間違いないのです。「Voice of America」なのです。ですから、アメリカ的視点からニュースを流しているということを見捨て、英語教育の観点からだけ VOA で使っている単語を引っ張ってくるというのは、私は少し問題があるだろうと。

だから、もしきちんとするならば、コーパスから頻度を調べて基本語を決めるわけですが、これは既になされています。何人もの研究者がやっています。恐らく、これがそんなに一般に流布しないのは、やはり研究者は難しいことを言うので、一般人には受けません。そこへいくと「グロービッシュ」は、命名がいいですね。「これさえあればオーケー」「ビジネスオーケー」と言われると、うらやましいぐらい売れているのです。しかし、これよりも内容がしっかりしたような、語彙を制限する研究はなされています。

それから、グロービッシュでも限界はあるだろうというのは、ネイティブスピーカーにもこのように話してほしいと言われても、母語話者は「なんでわざわざグロービッシュでしゃべらなきゃいけないの？」ということになりますので、これはほとんど無理です。そして、やはり簡単な語彙で簡単な文法にしてありますから、それこそ簡単な話や易しいビジネス英語ぐらいはできるかもしれないけれども、込み入った通商問題や TPP の話などは無理です。外交問題でも無理です。それから、研究者の学会発表でも無理です。普通はもう少し高度な語彙や言い回し、表現などを非母語話者でも使うので、かなり限定された場面で使用するものだろうと思います。それから、グロービッシュをいくら学んでも異文化理解にはなりません。

私の話は一応ここでおしまいさせていただきます。ご清聴、ありがとうございました。

# 英語教育における異文化理解教育の課題と展望

## —文化の定義の再考と異文化理解教育の発達段階別多層モデルの提案—

石川 慎一郎

### 1. はじめに

英語という言葉そのものが1つの異文化である以上、英語教育における異文化理解教育の重要性については言を俟たないが、教育現場のレベルで考えた場合、その望ましい実践手法についてはいまだ確立した立場が存在しない。明確な目的や方向性を欠いたまま、模索を重ねているのが多くの現場の実情であろう。原因は多岐にわたるが、実践の前提となる文化の定義の曖昧さと、具体的な教育モデルの不在が大きな要因であることは自明である。

そこで、本稿ではまず、内外の主要辞書や日本語・英語のコーパスを使用し、文化の辞書的定義と、一般的な人々の意識に見る心的定義を整理する。その後、小学校での英語の領域化と英語学習の生涯学習化の流れをふまえ、小学校から社会人までの英語の学びの連続体の中で異文化理解教育を体系化するモデルについて提案を行う。

### 2. 文化の定義

英語教育における異文化理解教育の方向性を考えようとする上で、まず重要になるのは問題にしようとする「文化」の定義を確認することである。かつては、文化と言えば、科学や技術に対立する概念として、社会的価値の高い芸術作品や文芸作品を指すことが多かったが、近年では文化に包含される内容ははるかに広がっている。

#### 2.1. 文化の辞書的定義—辞書に見る文化—

文化のように複雑で多面的な概念を定義しようとする場合、ある種の権威づけられた定義を参照しておくことが議論の出発点となる。はじめに、複数の国語辞書における文化の定義を参照しよう。

人類の理想を実現して行く、精神の活動。技術を通して自然を人間の生活目的に役立てて行く過程で形作られた、生活様式およびそれに関する表現。(『岩波国語』7版)

①ある民族・地域・社会などでつくり出され、その社会の人々に共有・習得されながら受け継がれてきた固有の行動様式・生活様式の総体。／②人間がその精神的な働きによって生み出した、思想・宗教・科学・芸術などの成果の総体。(『明鏡』2版)

人間が自然に手を加えて形成してきた物心両面の成果。衣食住をはじめ科学・技術・学問・芸術・道徳・宗教・政治など生活形成の様式と内容とを含む。(『広辞苑』6版)

文化については、一般に、大文字の Culture (西欧的ハイカルチャー) と小文字の culture (文化人類学的・多元的文化) を区別することが多いが、辞書の定義は前者(「思想・宗教・科学・芸術」と後者(「生活(形成)の様式」「行動様式」)の両方を含み、多岐にわたる。また、より広範な概念を文化の定義に取り込もうとする動きは最近になってとくに強まっている。たとえば、『広辞苑』5版では、文化は「衣食住をはじめ技術・学問・芸術・道徳・宗教・政治など」と定義されていたが、6版改訂に際しては上掲のように新規に「科学」が加わった。これらの定義に従うと、異文化理解教育の対象は事実上無限となる。

文化の定義の拡張は、英英辞書にも認められる。下記は EFL 学習者辞書として定評のある *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* の定義である。

- 1 Way of life, the customs and beliefs, art, and social organization of a particular country or group
- 2 Country, group, etc. with its own beliefs
- 3 Art/music/literature thought of as a group
- 4 Beliefs/attitudes about sth that people in a particular group or organization share

注目すべきは語義の2である。英語の culture は、国語辞書が記載するような人間の精神的営みの成果物だけでなく、営みの主体としての人間集団をも意味の射程におさめている。

このように、文化をできる限り広くとらえようとする最近の辞書の定義に影響を与えていると思われるものが UNESCO による文化の定義である。

特定の社会又は社会集団に特有の精神的・物質的・知的・感情的特徴をあわせたもので、芸術・文学だけではなく、生活様式・共生の方法・価値観・伝統及び信仰も含むもの (*UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 2002)

文化を広くとらえる立場は、諸価値の水平性を強調する時代の要請に沿ったものであり、その限りにおいて正しいものと言えるが、一方で、教育、とくに学校教育のような制度化された教育の対象として考えた場合、無限に拡張する文化の定義が異文化理解教育をめぐる議論をいたずらに拡散させ、方向性を曖昧にしている点は否定できない。

## 2.2. 文化の心的定義—コーパスに見る文化—

前節で見たように、文化の定義はきわめて広範でかつ曖昧であるわけだが、異文化理解

教育の対象としての文化を考える場合、文化の定義の精選が不可欠になる。というのも、明確に定義できないものを教育し、評価しようとすることは本来不可能であるばかりか、場合によっては、きわめて危うい営みとなりうるからである。

文化が包含する諸概念の中で中核的なものを同定する手法としてはさまざまなものが想定できるが、ここでは、コーパス言語学の応用を試みたい。不特定多数の人々が産出した膨大な量の言語データを収集し、計量的に解析を加えることで種々の傾向性を抽出するコーパス言語学は、一義的には言語的パターンを抽出するための学問であるが、そうして取り出されたものは言語的パターンであると同時に、言語を産出した人々の心的パターンでもありうる。たとえば、「文化」の共起語を取り出せば、そこには無数の人々の心的文化観が集約されていると考えられる。

### 2.2.1. 日本語コーパスに見る文化観

まず、「現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス」を見てみよう。同コーパスでは「文化」という語は2万712回出現しているが、そこから任意に500例のサンプルを取得し、名詞・サ変名詞に限って高頻度共起語を調査したところ、以下の結果が得られた。

表1 「文化」の高頻度共起語（一部）

社会	52	伝統	25	保護	19	現代	15
芸術	34	文化財	25	情報	18	影響	15
教育	33	国際	24	経済	17	施設	15
活動	32	団体	24	世紀	17	科学	14
センター	30	地域	23	中心	17	国民	14
時代	30	研究	23	推進	17	会館	13
交流	30	関係	21	事業	16	場所	13
世界	29	発展	20	主義	16	状況	13
生活	27	地方	19	整備	16	保存	13
振興	26	歴史	19	技術	15	スポーツ	12

これにより、広範な現代日本語における、つまりは一般的な現代日本人の心理における文化観がある程度同定できる。文化は「地域」の「伝統」に根差す「芸術」や「文化財」といったいわゆる大文字文化と、人々の「生活」に根差す小文字文化を両輪とし、興味深い点として（これはコーパスに政府白書データが含まれていることにもよるが）、社会的・行政的行為の対象ともなる。文化は、文化「センター」や文化「会館」などの施設において、行政施策として「保存」・「教育」・「研究」され、「振興」・「推進」されるのである。

次に、500 例サンプルを出現文単位で区分し、階層クラスター分析（頻度 20 以上。個体間距離はジャッカード距離、クラスター間距離はウォード法で測定）を行ったところ、以下の結果が得られた。

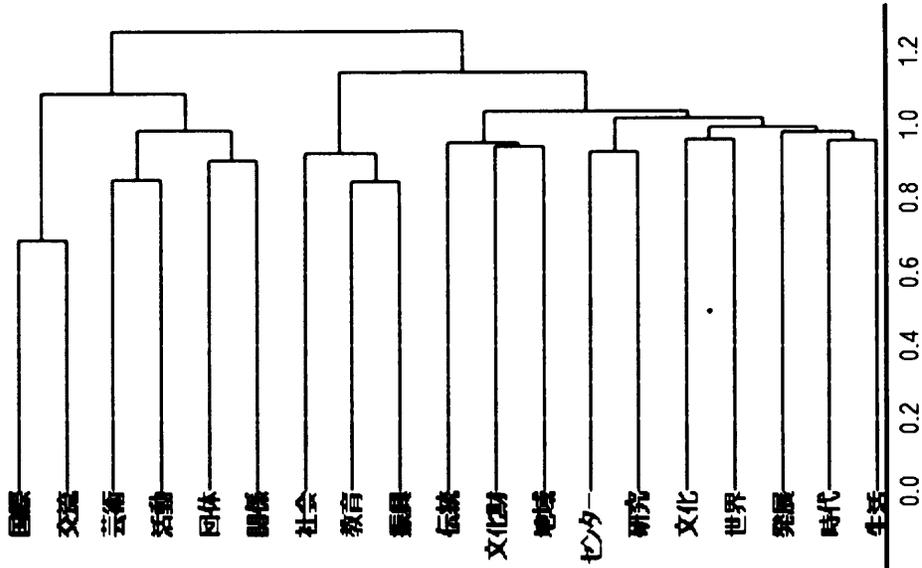


図1 クラスター分析による分類樹形図

全体を3群化するようにカッティングポイントを置くと、文化の共起語は「伝統・文化財・地域・世界・発展・時代・生活他」、「社会・教育・振興」、「国際・交流・芸術・活動・団体・関係」の3種に分類される。要約すると、諸国や諸地域の伝統および生活に深く根差したもので、社会の中で教育や振興の対象とされ、具体的な国際交流活動に開かれていくものというあたりが、日本語コーパスに見る人々の心的文化観であると言えるだろう、重要なことは、文化が、1つの国や地域の中で閉じた存在ではなく、世界との動的な交流に関連付けられている点である。

### 2.2.2. 英語コーパスに見る文化観

次に、英語コーパスを用いて文化観を探ることとする。はじめに、社会における総体的な文化への関心度の変化を探るために、アメリカ英語の大型歴史コーパスである Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) を用い、1810年から2000年にかけて、10年単位で culture という語の頻度変化を調査したところ、以下の結果が得られた。

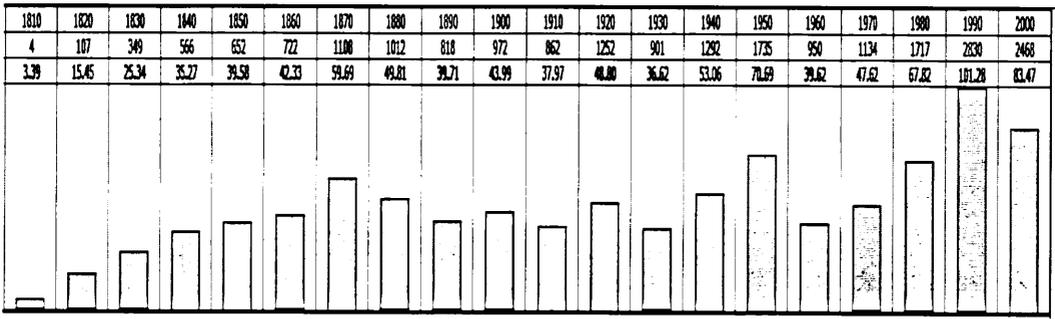


図2 過去200年間の culture の頻度変化

上記を見ると、アメリカ英語における culture の頻度、つまりは、アメリカの人々の一般的心理における文化への関心度は、およそ50年程度のスパンで上下を繰り返しながら、全体としては徐々に上昇していることがわかる。とくに1990年代以降、文化への関心はこれまでにないほど高まっており、体系的な異文化理解教育のニーズが改めて確認される。

次に、1960年代と1990年代のアメリカ英語・イギリス英語の書き言葉資料を収集した Brown Family (Brown、LOB、FROWN、FLOB) の400万語データを用い、culture(s)の前後2語範囲に出現する共起語(内容語)を調査したところ、以下の結果を得た。

表2 culture(s)の共起語(一部)

popular	18	language	5
our	17	ideology	5
Western	14	dominant	5
American	13	class	5
modern	7	politics	4
many	7	other	4
high	7	national	4
pop	6	middle	4
different	6	mass	4
political	5	history	4

英語圏の人々の心的文化観は、日本語コーパスの分析結果とも重なり、特定の国(national)や地域の歴史(history)に根差す伝統的な大文字文化(high)と、様々な社会階層(middle-class等)の営みに根差す同時代の(modern)小文字文化(popular/pop/mass)

を両輪とする。それはまた、自国1国(our)にとどまらず、国際的広がりの中で(American、British、Western、European)豊かな多様性を持つ(different、many)ものである。加えて、文化は文学(literary)作品のような造形物のみならず、無形の言語(language)や思考(ideology)もその本質的な一部とみなされる。ここで、従前で見たと同じように文化が世界と動的につながっていることや、文化と言語・世界・思考の結びつきが示唆されたことはとくに重要である。

### 2.3. 小括：文化の作業定義

以上、辞書および各種のコーパスを用い、文化の辞書的定義と心的定義を概観してきた。辞書的定義として見れば文化の対象は事実上無限となるが、心的定義を合わせて検討することでその内容をコアレベルで精選し、言わば文化の作業定義を得ることができた。得られた文化像は、以下のようなモデル図にまとめられる。

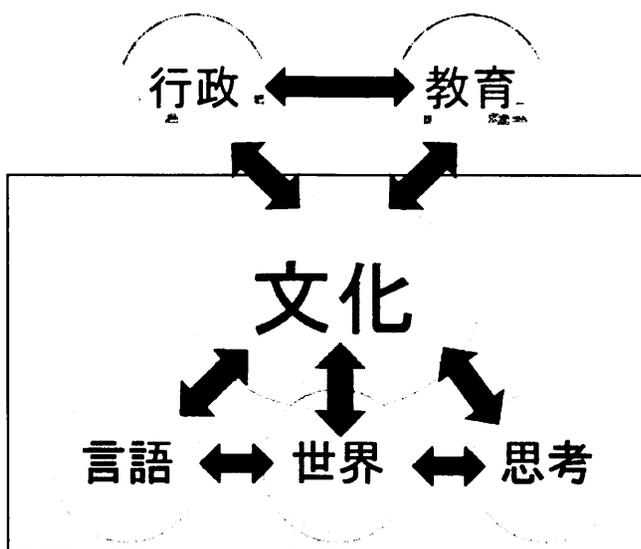


図3 言語／意識の中の文化観に基づく構成モデル

文化は、言語と世界と思考の織りなす相関構造を基盤として形成される。そして、形成された文化は制度化されたシステムの中で、行政によって管理・保護・振興され、さらには教育の枠組みの中で整理・伝達されてゆくのである。すでに見た各種辞書の定義に比べ、文化という概念のコアがよりシンプルなモデルで整理できたとと言える。

上記のモデルに即して言うと、英語教育における異文化理解教育で優先的に扱うべき内容は、モデル図の下部(網掛け部分)にある言語・世界・思考の3要素ということになる。

つまりは、自身の世界と外の世界の違いを知り、違いを乗り越える上での言語の役割を認識し、それを世界という場で実践していくことこそが異文化理解教育の目指す1つの方向性である。

### 3. 英語教育における文化

#### 3.1. 英語教育における異文化理解教育の現状

本来、学校教育の中での異文化理解教育は特定の教科に限定されるものではないはずだが、文化理解ともっとも親和性が高い教科が英語であるのは自明であろう。英語教育は、本質的に、異なる言語の指導を通して異なる世界を示し、異なる思考の在り方を示すからである。事実、文部科学省の指導要領でも、平成元年から「言語や文化に対する関心を深め、国際理解の基礎を養う」ことが目標とされ、平成11年の改訂でも、同じく「言語や文化に対する理解を深める」ことがはっきり謳われている。

外国語を通じて、言語や文化に対する理解を深め、積極的にコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度の育成を図り、聞くことや話すことなどの実践的コミュニケーション能力の基礎を養う。(中学校指導要領「外国語」、下線筆者)

こうした事情もあり、英語教育の中での異文化理解教育、逆に言えば、異文化理解の精神に立脚した英語教育の構築の重要性は古くから意識されており、とくに1980年代から1990年代にかけては英語教育学界においても活発な議論が行なわれた。

前章で見たように、文化の辞書的定義が時代の流れの中で拡張していったのと同様、英語教育における異文化理解教育の目的についても、議論の過程において、単なる異文化の紹介から、文化的・言語的な相対主義 (relativism) の精神の涵養にまで拡大していった。紙幅の関係で、個別の実践や研究について詳細に論評することは避けるが、とくに中高英語教育の実践に関して、広義の異文化理解教育との関連で強調されてきたのはおよそ次のようなことである。

- (1) 世界の文化・言語を幅広く平等に紹介する。英米をはじめとする英語圏の特権化にならぬよう、自文化である日本文化や、アジア圏文化についても扱う。
- (2) 英語圏については WASPM (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, Male) 中心主義に陥らぬよう、人種的・性的多様性を重視する。
- (3) 英語運用については母語話者をモデル化せず、国際英語・日本人英語の観点を重視する。

わかりやすく言えば、価値の相対化が英語教育を組み立ててゆく基礎理念として位置づ

けられたのである。実際、1980年代以降、英語教科書の内容も価値の相対化の方向に大きく舵を切ってきた。金田（2005）は1997年度版と2002年度版の中学校教科書分析をふまえ、主人公の国籍・設定場所・地名国名・題材の4つの観点から、世界の諸地域の扱いがどのように変化したかを検証した。以下は、このうち、登場する地名の地域別構成比の変化を示したものである。なお、増減率は筆者が付加した項目である。

表3 中学校教科書に見る題材の地域（金田2005の表を再構成したもの）

地域	1997年構成比(%)	2002年構成比(%)	増減率(%)
日本	2	10	400
米	7	14	100
英	2	2	0
その他英語圏	0	8	NA
西欧非英語圏	0	1	NA
旧ソ連東欧	0	0	NA
アジア	3	8	167
中東	1	2	100
アフリカ	2	2	0
南米	1	2	100
その他	0	1	NA

上記に明らかなように、2002年版の中学校英語教科書においては、登場する地名は英米のみにとどまらず、広く9カ国・地域に及び、広範な地域的多様性が確保されている。また、1997年と2002年を比較すると、言及される地域の数は7地域から10地域に増加している。とくに、日本を含むアジアや英米以外の英語圏の占有率が上昇しており、アジア重視・非英米圏重視の方向性が顕著である。こうした変化は、全体としてみれば、文化相対主義・言語相対主義の視点が教材により色濃く反映されるようになった結果であると思われる。

こうした変化は言及される地名だけにとどまらない。大澤（2012）は、過去10年間の中学校英語教科書の単元内容を詳細に調査した結果、アジア諸国としては約10カ国が平均して教材化されており、中でも、ブータン・カンボジア・中国・インド・大韓民国・モンゴル・シンガポールの7カ国が10年間継続して教材に登場していることを報告している。

我々は前章で、言語・世界・思考が英語教育における異文化理解教育の3つの基本観点であると述べたが、少なくとも世界の多様性を学習者に意識させるという点に限って言えば、現在の教育内容は相応の配慮がなされたものになっていると言えそうである。だが、

果たしてそれは本当に望ましいことなのであろうか。

### 3.2. 現状の問題

金田（2005）や大澤（2012）の報告にあるように、英語教育が圧倒的に幅広い世界の地域、とくにアジア圏を手厚く扱うことは異文化理解教育の精神としては望ましいことと言えるのかもしれない。しかし、いみじくも大澤（2012）が指摘するように、圧倒的に幅広い地域を扱うことは「圧倒的に表層的な扱い」となることを意味している。実際、現状の異文化理解教育の方向性については、多くの疑問が残されている。下記はその一端を示したものである。

- (1) 世界の文化・言語を幅広く平等に紹介する。英米をはじめとする英語圏の特権化にならぬよう、自文化である日本文化や、アジア圏文化についても扱う。
  - ・限られた英語教育の時間の中で本当にその余裕があるのか。
  - ・無限に近い世界の言語文化の中でどこまで言及すればよいのか。
  - ・扱う地域を広げれば内容は皮相化するが、それで問題はないのか。
  - ・初めて英語を学ぶ学習者が抱く素朴な英米文化への憧れは否定されるべきなのか。
  - ・そもそも英語を教えることは、英語圏文化の絶対化に加担しているのではないのか。
- (2) 英語圏については WASPM（White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, Male）中心主義に陥らぬよう、人種的・性的多様性を重視する。
  - ・英語圏内に限っても無限に近い多様性がある中でどこまで言及すればよいのか。
  - ・表面的な登場人物の国籍や性別の多様化だけで問題は解決するのか。
- (3) 英語運用については母語話者をモデル化せず、国際英語・日本人英語の観点を重視する。
  - ・言語を文化から切り離す「国際英語」はそもそも異文化理解を否定しないのか。
  - ・言語運用における母語運用の優先性を否定することは言語習得として正しいのか。
  - ・「日本人英語」でよいとすると、文法や発音の「間違い」は放置すべきなのか。
  - ・母語話者がモデルでないとすると誰がモデルなのか。
  - ・あるいはモデルがないとするとどのようにして教育や評価が成立するのか。

これらの疑問は素朴なものであるが同時に本質的なものであり、重要なことは、異文化理解教育論の側がこれらの疑問に対して必ずしも有効な回答を示していない（ように思える）ことである。このため、現場の英語教師の多くは、こうした根本的疑問を抱いたまま、世界の随所にまたがる膨大な指導内容の表面的消化に追われているというのが大方の現状であろう。

このうち、(3)については別の種類の問題を含むので稿を改めて論じたい。一方、(1)と(2)

に限れば、問題の根幹は、英語教育における異文化理解教育が価値の相対化という理念を強調するあまり、教育の対象を無限に拡張し、結果として、教育の具体的目的と方向性が拡散して曖昧化してしまっている点にある。

なお、これらの点を論じる場合、生涯学習のような自律的・継続的・選択的な学びと、シラバス・教科書・評価によって厳密に規定された制度としての学校教育は分けて考える必要がある。前者のタイプであれば、理念優先型の教育もある程度許容されるかもしれない。だが、後者のタイプにおいて、明確な目標と対象が決まらないまま、抽象的理念を過度に優先した指導が持ち込まれることには危うさが伴う。そうした指導を無理に持ち込もうとすると、結局、混乱するのは現場の教師であり、学習者である。

以上で見たように、わが国の現在の英語教育においては、異文化理解教育の重要性そのものは十分に認識されており、その基盤理念の1つである相対主義の発想も相応の普及を見せている。だが一方で、異文化理解教育の内容が、文化の定義の無限の拡張に呼応する形で、また価値の相対化という理念を優先させる形で、無限に拡散してきたことにより、教育の目的と方向性が曖昧化している点が異文化理解教育の現在の課題と言える。これらの課題を解決する簡便な方法の1つは、言うまでもなく、扱うべき内容の選択と集中である。

#### 4. 英語教育における異文化理解教育の発達段階別多層モデル

これまで筆者は、大学だけでなく、幼稚園・小学校・中学校・高等学校・中等教育学校を含む幅広い校種において、カリキュラムやシラバスの開発支援、および、教員を対象とした教授法指導を行い、英語教育と異文化理解教育の効果的な融合について現場の教員と多角的に検討を重ねてきた。そうした実践から得られた視点は、英語教育における異文化理解教育を考える際には、各校種を独立したものととらえず、幼稚園から大学、さらには社会人としての英語学習までを包含した連続体の中でとらえることの有効性と必要性である。

冒頭で辞書的定義を通して見たように、文化とは、突き詰めれば人間の営みのすべてであり、その対象は無限である。ゆえに、重要なことは、個々の校種段階において異文化の全体像を漏れなくカバーしようとするのではなく、対象とする学習者の心理的・言語的発達段階をふまえつつ、それぞれの校種で中心的に扱う内容を明確に定めることである。高校進学率が100%に近付き、大学教育の普及が進んだ現在の状況をふまえると、小学校だけで、中学校だけで、高校だけで、異文化理解教育の自己完結を目指すよりも、10年を超える英語の学びの連続体の中で異文化理解教育の諸相を段階的・体系的に指導していくほうが理にかなっているのは自明であろう。

ここで提案したいのは、英語教育における異文化理解教育の発達段階別多層モデルの一案である。これは、小学校から社会人までを4つの発達段階に区分し、言語・世界・思考

という文化に関わる3つの要素と関連付けながら、それぞれの段階において優先的に扱うべき内容を整理したものである。

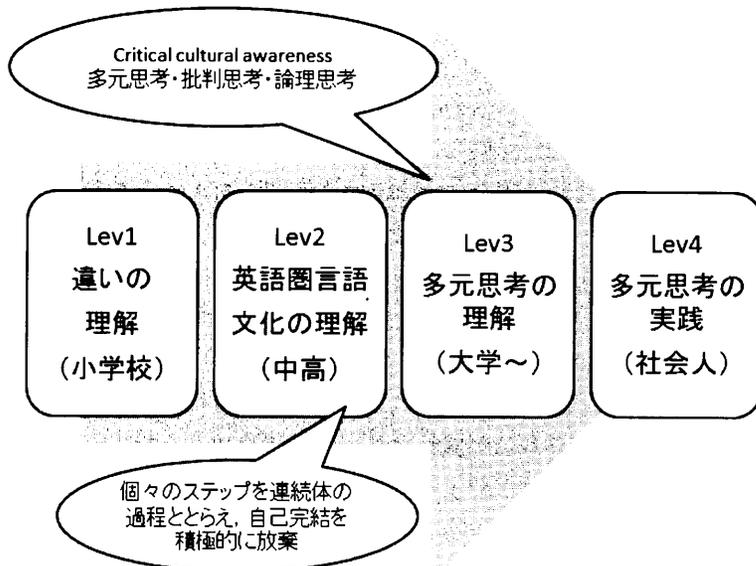


図4 英語教育における文化理解指導の発達段階別多層モデル

#### 4.1. 小学校段階での異文化理解教育

まず、小学校の英語教育の段階では、異文化理解に関わる言語・世界・思考の3要素のすべてに関わる「違いの理解」に焦点を当てたい。要は、世界に、自らと違う存在がいることへの明確な意識付けをこの段階での教育の目標とするのである。違う存在への意識は、そうした相手と分かり合い、違いを乗り越えてゆく手段としての言語の重要性に対する意識へと自然に昇華していくはずである。このように目標を定めれば、たとえば、小学校外国語活動で広く行われてきた「買い物ごっこ」や「道案内」といった活動の中身もそれに応じて整理されてくるだろう。

「買い物ごっこ」(多くの児童にとってこれが生まれて初めて体験する言語的なロールプレイであることの重要性は改めて認識されるべきである)を通して児童が体験的に学ぶべきは、社会における多様な違いの存在と、言語による違いの克服のプロセスである。「買い物ごっこ」においては、売る側と買う側に明確な立場の違いがあるが、両者がそれぞれに要求される言語コミュニケーションを行うことにより、両者の食い違いが解消され、最終的に、具体的な問題解決(つまりは商品売買の成立)がなされるのである。もちろん、こうした活動は日本語においても可能であるが、あえて母語と違う外国語を使うことで、

活動に含まれる言語コミュニケーションの本質がより鮮明になり、児童は、言語による違いの克服の難しさとその意義を経験的に学ぶのである。

日本人児童同士で行う「買い物ごっこ」の場合、違いは、売り手と買い手という社会的役割の差異に限定されていたが、外国人を対象とした「道案内」活動では、案内する側と案内される側という社会言語的な役割の違いに加え、国や文化の違いも内包される。こうした活動では、活動の前提となる「違いの理解」を十分に行なわせることがとくに重要である。いきなり語彙や既成のスキットの練習から入るのではなく、そもそも世界には日本人以外にどのような人々が存在しており、彼らが日本に来て直面する問題にはどのようなものがあって、とくに道を尋ねる場合にはどういう問題を抱えているのか、彼らの抱える問題をより効果的に解決するにはどうすればよいのか、こうした点について児童自身が内省的・協働的に考える機会を用意することで、児童は、世界における様々な国や言語や文化の違いの存在を認識し、違いの克服の必要性を理解した上で、自分自身の問題として英語での道案内に積極的に取り組んでいくことができる。

ディスカッションの場では、道に迷っている相手の不安を和らげるにはどのような言葉をはじめに加えればよいか、日本に不慣れな外国人に道を教える際には、同じ日本人相手の場合と異なり、どのような説明が望ましいか、相手がわかったかどうか確認するにはどうすればよいか、いろいろな意見が出ることであろう。練習で使用するスキットについても、教師が事前に用意したものをそのまま使うのではなく、児童の提案や意見をできるかぎり反映して修正したものを使いたい。

#### 4.2. 中高段階での異文化理解教育

小学校段階で「違いの理解」を醸成した上で、中高段階では、言語・世界・思考のうち、とくに言語と世界に軸足を置きつつ、「英語圏言語文化の理解」に焦点を当てたい。これは、従来の中高英語教育における異文化理解教育がいたずらに範囲を拡大し、そのために内容が皮相化した点をふまえ、地域・内容の両面に一定の枠をはめ、それによって、広さよりも深さを重視しようとするものである。本来は広く世界の諸地域の文化についてその多様な諸相を扱うのが理想であるとしても、中高の教科書の現在の構成、その中で異文化理解的内容に割ける単元の総数を考慮すれば、対象を絞る必要があるのは自明である。

その際、地域については、学習目標言語に関連した英語圏を優先的に扱うのが自然であろう。異文化理解教育は、価値の相対化という理念のもと、英語の覇権主義性や英米偏重を批判してきたため、英語の二大変種圏であるイギリスやアメリカ（とくに前者）を多く取り上げることは抑制的で、大澤（2012）の調査でも、教科書で言及される国の数としては、アジア圏のほうが「欧州・北米・大洋州を合わせた数を上回って」いるとされる。だが、英語教育における異文化理解教育の対象として考えれば、まずは主たる英語使用国である英米について一定量の文化情報に触れる機会を生徒に与えるのが常識的な方向性

である。後述するように、適切な形で扱われている限り、英米圏の題材化が当該文化の覇権性の助長に通じるというのはいささか飛躍した考え方であると思われる。

また、内容については、文化の諸相のすべてを対象にするのではなく、英語という言語そのものに直接的に関係した文化の側面を優先したい。たとえば、英国史と英語史の関係（ノルマン・コンクエストに起因するラテン語系語彙とゲルマン語系語彙の混在の問題等）、シェイクスピアをはじめとする主要な英文学と英語の関係（文学作品由来の多様な語彙・表現等）、現代のアメリカ社会の諸理念と最近の英語語法の関係（フェミニズム思想と Ms. や chairperson といった新たな造語運動等）、英米における言語使用・言語教育の現状（イギリスにおける小学校での外国語必修化、アメリカにおける 2 言語政策等）、英米の教育における言語訓練の重要性（学校でのスピーチやディベートの重視、対話型の授業形態等）などである。このように、英米の文化や社会を学ぶことが英語という言語そのものの理解の深化に資するような単元を開発していくことで、学習者の言語に対する関心と文化に対する関心を自然な形で同時に引き出していくことが可能になる。また、こうした問題を扱う場合には、日本との比較がしばしば有効である。比較という形で日本に言及することにより、対象を英米圏に絞りつつ、自文化理解の要素を組み込むこともできるであろう。

なお、このとき、全米で長く活発な議論が続けられている 2 言語政策問題（スペイン系移民に対する母語での教育機会の保証）などを積極的に教材化すれば、英語や英米文化を優先的に扱ったとしても、その支配性を助長することにはならない。むしろ、扱う範囲を限定することで初めて、対象文化について肯定・否定の両者を含む多元的情報を呈示することが可能になる。そして、それこそが以下で触れる多元思考の一步となるのである。

#### 4.3. 大学段階及び社会人段階での異文化理解教育

小学校、中学校、高等学校での学びを経た大学の段階では、何らかの個別文化の紹介を超えて、言語・世界・思考のうち思考に軸足を置き、とくに、多元思考の涵養に焦点を当てたい。多元思考というのは、平たく言えば、すべての事象において常識的なあるいは慣習的な見方と異なる見方がありうることを理解する精神である。

この段階では、英語圏に限らず、現代世界の様々なトピックの中から、異なる見解が対立しているリアルな事例を教材化したい。たとえば、イスラム圏の一部国家における女性の社会的地位（参政権がないこと、自動車免許や銀行口座が取得できないこと、本人意思で結婚できないこと、等）は、西洋社会の視点から見れば、非難されるべき差別であり抑圧である。しかし、（一部の）イスラム側の論理で言えば、宗教文化の一部であり、女性を差別するのではなく保護するための措置ということになる。このテーマを扱った筆者の授業実践では、はじめにイスラムの女性の状況を西側の視点で批判したニュースを聞かせ、学生に意見を述べさせる。すると、大半の学生がイスラム社会の慣習を厳しく批判する。しかし、その後で、イスラム側の論理を解説した資料を検討し、たとえば、参政権や免許

や口座を付与しないことが、女性を社会的・経済的トラブルから守る意味合いを持つ（と一部において考えられている）ことや、すべての女性が現在のシステムを否定しているわけではないことを知らせた後で再び意見を求めると、多くの学生が「混乱した」「わからなくなった」というコメントを述べる。このとき、教師の役割は、対立する意見の中でどちらが正でどちらが誤であるかを一意に示すことではない。むしろ、自分の常識が必ずしも世界の常識とは限らないこと、一見、非合理に見える行為や慣習の背景にも何らかの論理が存在すること、背景を精査することなく物事の価値を自分の論理で即断することがきわめて危ういこと、他者の視点を自分の視点に取り入れて視点の多元化を図ることが国際コミュニケーションにおいて本質的な重要性を持つことを体験的に学ばせるのが教育の目標である。ここで言う多元思考は、一般に cultural awareness と呼ばれるものの一部で、批判思考や論理思考などとも重なるものである。

以上の点をふまえれば、大学段階の英語教育では、視点の多元化を積極的に促すべく、学生がそれまで信じ込んでいた常識が突き崩される体験や、それまでの価値が転倒されるような体験を多く積ませたい。そもそも現代社会の抱える問題の多くは複雑な葛藤を内包するため、絶対的な正解を見出すことが難しくなっており、視点を変えれば肯定と否定は容易に転換しうる。たとえば、環境に優しいはずの紙の再利用が回収・運搬・分類・処理の一連の過程で見れば総体的環境負荷を高めている可能性があること、前述のように、米国の一部州においてスペイン系移民の権利保護として始まったスペイン語教育機会の保証が、結果的に英語習得の動機を失わせ、米国社会への同化を妨げていること、日本を含む多くの国において非正規労働者の権利保護を強化すればするほど正規労働者への転換が難しくなっていることなど、多元思考のトレーニングとなりうるトピックは枚挙にいとまがない。

こうして大学段階で価値の多元性に対して十分な理解を醸成することができれば、その後、社会人として国際的なビジネスや交流に関わるようになった際にも、自身の意見や立場を決める上で、当初の着想に拘泥することなく、対立する立場の視点を含め、世界の様々な人々や、その様々な視点を想定しながら、自身の着想を批判的に検討し、より妥当性の高い意見を練り上げていくことができるだろう。また、利害や意見がぶつかる状況に直面し、感情的に受け入れがたいと思われる状況においても、相手の視点や相手の論理をシミュレーションし、問題の本質を突き詰め、言葉を使ったコミュニケーションを通して問題解決を図ることができるようになるだろう。

実際のビジネスや交流を通じたこうした多元思考の実践が、社会人として英語を学び続けていく上での指針であり、我々の考える英語教育における異文化理解教育の最終的な到達地点となる。

## 5. まとめ

以上、本稿においては、英語教育における異文化理解教育を再構築するという立場のもと、まず、辞書やコーパスをふまえつつ、文化の定義を再考した。その後、現在の異文化理解教育の現状と課題を指摘し、課題を解決する1つの方法として、扱う内容の選択と集中をふまえた、英語教育における異文化理解教育の発達段階別多層モデルを提示した。

もちろん、私案もまた理念的色彩が強いもので、こうしたモデルが実際に効果をあげ、英語学習者の健全な異文化理解意識の醸成に寄与していくためには、具体的な実践シラバスの平行的開発が必要になることは言うまでもない。今後も、異文化理解論の研究者や、各校種の現場の教員との意見考案を重ねながら、こうしたシラバスの開発に向けた作業を続けていきたい。

\*本稿は、東京外国語大学世界言語社会研究センター主催国際シンポジウム「外国語教育と異文化間教育」(2013.3.7)において、「ことばのなかの文化/教室のなかの文化」の題目で行った講演草稿に大幅に加筆修正を施したものである。

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# Rethinking Language Learning and Culture Learning

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## **1. Introduction**

This report is aimed to conjoin some topics from today's energetic discussions with tomorrow's. The reporter is a linguist and a researcher in multilingual communication as well as a Japanese language teacher for international students at university. Also, what matters here is that the reporter himself is a foreign language learner.

The talk is divided into two parts. In the Part 1, as material to rethink about language learning and culture learning, we will reexamine some basic concepts. And we will be going a bit back to some rather classical philosophy of language. This part consists of 4 sections, which are 1) linguistic relativity, 2) language and culture in relation to the concept of society, 3) arbitrariness and conversational implicature. Implicature must be explained later as it is a jargon in linguistics. And 4) so-called nonverbal communication and culture.

The Part 2 consists of the reporter's educational practice named "Multilingual Approach to language education and cultural education, which is yet another type of education for so-called globalization. Now, what is called globalization is talked so often at Japanese universities but what is globalization.

I am not so much fluent in speaking English language but I chose it for the presentation. I hope this will be functioning to neutralize against this Japanese majority, including myself.

## 2. Part 1: Basic Concepts of Culture and Language

Now, we are thinking about the basic concepts of culture and languages. This is some review of the course of general linguistics that you take at the first year of linguistics course.

### 2.1. Linguistic Relativity

It is well known with another name “Sapir-Whorf hypothesis”. And it has two versions.

- (1) Strong hypothesis: Language determines the speakers’ thought
- (2) Weak hypothesis: Language affects how the speakers think

The opposite of the hypothesis will be that a person thinks in the same manner when he/she speaks in what language ever.

Hattori (2003) tries to deal with this issue. It is rather a small introductory book, but gives an insightful discussion. Before it deals with the issue, it specifies the concept of culture<sup>1</sup>.

- (3) 2 Meanings of “CULTURE” (Hattori 2003)
  - CULTURE 1: higher creativity (reporter’s definition)  
examples<sup>2</sup>: *bunkajin*, *bunkazai*, *bunka-kunshoo*
  - CULTURE 2: man-made part of an environment  
examples<sup>3</sup>: *nihon-bunka*, *i-bunka-kooryuu*

According to the book, there are 2 different kinds of culture. I gave them the names “CULTURE 1” and “CULTURE 2”. The first one is the concept in the cases of *bunkajin*, *bunkazai* and *bunkakunsho*. The book itself does not give any definition for CULTURE 1. But it could be defined as higher creativity based on the arguments in the book. The CULTURE 2 is defined in the book as manmade part of an environment, which is in the

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<sup>1</sup> The book written in Japanese discusses the concepts of ‘*bunka*’, the Japanese term for culture.

<sup>2</sup> The Japanese expressions mean ‘men of culture’, ‘cultural assets’ and ‘Order of Culture’ respectively.

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese expressions mean ‘Japanese culture’ and ‘intercultural education’ respectively.

cases of *nihon-bunka* or *ibunka-kyoiku*. What we have been discussing today seems to be this CULTURE 2.

Hattori argues as follows: If we use the word “culture” in the sense of CULTURE 2, language is certainly part of culture. And to discuss linguistic relativity, language and culture must be identifiable respectively. If language is part of culture, either of language and culture cannot be identifiable independently from each other. So the Strong Hypothesis must be rejected.

What about the linguistic relativity in its weak version? Language affects how the speakers think. We can take this rather easily by our experiences.

However we have to be careful on one point, which is part of the basics of logics. In linguistics relativity, it is said that if a language is like this, then the culture or human thinking will be like this. But it is not necessarily true vice versa.

- (4) LANGUAGE  $\Rightarrow$  CULTURE  
CULTURE  $\Rightarrow$  LANGUAGE

That is, that the first line is true does not necessary mean that the second line is also true.

## 2.2 Language and Culture in Relation to the Concept of Society

We reexamine here some key concepts in relation to society. This is also part of the basics of general linguistics.

- (5) Hierarchy in linguistic phenomena:  
Languages - Dialects - Idiolects  
1) opposed to the standard  
2) variations in a language

There are three terms used to mean the types or manners of language communications at different sizes: languages, dialects and idiolects. Dialects are used in two senses. The first is of well known, ordinary use of the word. Dialects are opposite to the standard form of a language. The second is of the definition as a technical term, variations in a language. In this sense a standard language like standard Japanese is a dialect. This is quite well known that it is not really easy to name a language or a dialect, like

Portuguese or Spanish. Portuguese and Spanish speakers understand each other by speaking their languages. But on the other hand, Japanese speakers have a lot of difficulty to understand what is spoken in Okinawa<sup>4</sup>. Idiolects, it is not so much well known but it is used, based on the idea that each person has his or her special way of saying things, and everyone speaks differently. An interesting question arises here: if we think logically, if everyone speaks differently, we cannot understand each other but why can we understand each other?

- (6) Hierarchy in cultural phenomena:  
“culture” is shared by a society i.e. by a group of people.  
And it is not attributed to a single person.

What about culture in this respect? Culture is something that could be shared by a society, whether it is large or small. Language can be attributed to a single person but culture cannot. This is a supporting evidence for the above-mentioned idea that we can identify both language and culture separately from each other. And as a person can sometimes think in the same manner when he/she speaks in what language ever, this makes us keep the weak version of linguistic relativity hypothesis.

### **2.3. Arbitrariness and Conversational Implicature**

So now we move to the third topic. It consists of the two subtopics; one is arbitrariness and the other is implicature. So, what is arbitrariness? It is again the basics of general linguistics.

- (7) A simple example of arbitrariness  
tsukue – Japanese  
desk- English  
bureau –French  
to - Thai

This is to say that there is no reason why we call this kind of thing “tsukue” in Japanese, “desk” in English, “bureau” in French or “to” in Thai. This fact seems to support the opposite hypothesis to linguistic relativity, that is, a person think in the same manner when he/she speaks in what language ever, and language does not determine culture.

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<sup>4</sup> It is a matter of politics and not of linguistics whether Ryukyuan is called a dialect of Japanese language or an independent language from Japanese.

However, there are some other types of expressions in any languages for which we can give reasons why we call them in such and such a way.

(8) Exceptional phenomena in arbitrariness

- onomatopoeia
- idiomatic expressions example: It rains cats and dogs.
- figurative expressions example: we consume it  
like we use water

These are quite well known as exceptional phenomena in linguistic arbitrariness. Onomatopoeia. This is imitation of how dogs bark or how birds sing or something like that. It could sometimes be determined by our environment which is certainly partially manmade. Also we have idiomatic expressions at different levels, which sometimes reflect the culture of the society in which the language is spoken. For example in Japanese we say, “we have no eyes for a chocolate”. That means that we like chocolate so much. However it is unlikely that speakers think about the reason why things are called in such a way like that. The third thing is what is called figurative expressions. The example above can mean totally opposite things depending on the language or the environment in which it is used: In Japanese it means that we waste it, but in Arabic that we use it cautiously not to waste it. These counter examples are against the opposite hypothesis. And finally we should keep the weak version of linguistic relativity hypothesis.

The second half of the third section is about conversational implicature, the jargon which must be explained. Here is a famous example of what is called “implicature” given by Grice (1975).

(9) An example of implicature (Grice 1975)

Ann: Smith doesn't have a girlfriend.

Bob: He's been paying lots of visits to New York lately.

In this dialog Bob's reply seems to be sufficient to be understood as the reply to the preceding talk, even if each of the sentences expresses a fact which could be true independently from each other. In this case Bob does not say explicitly that Smith has a new girlfriend living in New York but implies that. Grice pointed out that there was this manner of communication in language communication and called it “implicature”.

You need some imagination to know that the dialog can make sense as a whole. Possibly how much easily you can understand Bob's sentence in relation to Ann's sentence depends on how much you are accustomed to

thinking in English. But it seems that not only language proficiency but also knowledge of the society or its culture facilitates such imagination like that.

- (10) An extreme example of implicature from Thai  
khun choob muang thai ruu plao.  
you like Thailand or not  
Do you like Thailand?

And this is what I call an extreme example from Thai. To clarify the context in which this expression is used, the reporter talks about his days in Thailand. He was sent by the Japan Foundation as a specialist of teaching Japanese language as a foreign language to a Thai university. And from 1995 to 1998 he lived and worked in Thailand. This expression has been said by many Thai people around him. They said this to him even if they all knew that I had just come to Thailand. It was not the first visit but the first long stay in Thailand. After 10 days or 1 week of the stay in Thailand, they said that<sup>5</sup>. It was an amazing linguistic fact for him and he wondered why they ask him such a question like that, as everyone knows that the country is a big one and has its own richness and diversity at all levels. Can you imagine why they asked that to a newcomer their society? Yes, you need a lot of imagination to understand what Thai people mean with the expression.

The reporter had so much difficulty to understand that and could not say anything in reply. He consulted later on one of his native Thai language teachers who spoke English language well. The teacher said that a foreigner had the right to say his evaluation of the country and would not need unwillingly to say the opposite of what he felt. And she advised to reply “ko dii,” which means “it is somewhat good” in Thai. However in reality no Thai people were satisfied with that reply. They were somewhat embarrassed. As a linguist, the reporter wanted to analyze what this linguistic phenomenon looked like. “khun choob muang thai ruu plao” is certainly not an idiomatic expression. It is a rather usual expression in Thai language to be used in everyday talk to mention anything you found agreeable but should imply a lot of things. I realized that it would be hopeless to understand the expression for a nonnative speaker. However I did not give it up, and I spent 1-1/2 years for the research to find out what the expression means and finally I got the answer right.

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<sup>5</sup> Thai people asked the reporter with the English sentence “Do you like Thailand?”, which is almost word-by-word translation from the original expression in Thai, because they had known that he did not understand much in Thai language at that time. However the reporter witnessed Thai speakers say often the original expression in Thai communication in the same situation.

“khun choob muang thai ruu plao” is not an idiomatic expression, and by saying this Thai speakers asked the reporter if he was OK or not in this country which he did not know much about. They asks strangers like this with a kind wish that things will go well and that they will have a pleasant stay in Thailand. And this expression is closely related to the Thai concept *sabaai*, which could be translated into English as “peace of mind”. This is certainly the very key concept to understand Thai culture. In Thai culture people naturally avoid to hurt the others’ *sabaai* in any way. You could say that the Thai people generally care about others if they maintain their peace of mind all the time. If their friends are in a difficult situation or they are in trouble, they give hands to relieve themselves from those troubles. Besides “khun choob muang thai ruu plao”, many of frequently used expressions in Thai are related to *sabaai*. Here are some representative ones:

(11) Other expressions related to *sabaai*

khun sabaai dii ruu plao	-	mai sabaai
you good or not		not
How are you doing?	-	Not good.

mai pen rai  
 not be something  
 Never mind.

They ask you how you are now with the expression *khun saabai dii ruu plao*? And if you are in a difficult situation, you answer *mai sabai*. The other expression which is the most famous one in Thai language is *mai pen rai*. Literally it means “not be something” or “it does not be make something”. The expression is often translated to ‘never mind’ in English. These expressions prove that you cannot really acquire even basic communication proficiency in Thai language without knowing essential part of Thai culture.

#### 2.4. Nonverbal Communication and Culture

The fourth topic is what is called nonverbal communication and its relation to culture. It is a famous technical term of linguistics even for non-linguists. We have to pay attention to the fact that the term “nonverbal” is used for means of communication which do not consist of words but which are used often at the same time as verbal communication.

One more extreme linguistic phenomenon from Thai language is an example of nonverbal communication. If you travel in Thailand, of course

you are getting starving. Do you think you necessarily need to say things in Thai language to get something to eat? For example, if you visit a small shop which is called *yatai* in Japanese, that is, a mobile food wagon or a mobile food small restaurant. They prepare and have a lot of different kinds of prepared dishes. This type of prepared dishes is called *kap khao*, literally 'with rice'. These dishes are usually served with rice. They are equivalents of what is called in Japanese *okazu*. If you just point to any 2 of those dishes, it does make sense. You will be getting a plate of cooked rice with two dishes you pointed. If you select just one dish, you have to say something in Thai language. It does possibly make sense if you point to three different kinds of dishes, you will get these three kinds with rice. So, in this way you will not have any problem of starving in Thailand without speaking any Thai language. This type of gesticulation is almost an unwritten law. It is already made and recognized in the society and it functions like linguistic forms in languages. This is not limited to one language, but we can find other example of the same kind. We Japanese bow without saying anything. If you do not master this silent bow, you will have some difficulties in everyday communication even if you speak Japanese language fluently. This is the other example of nonverbal communication used with verbal communication.

These two examples of nonverbal communication are certainly not part of the languages, even if they are used in language communication. And they are certainly part of culture, as they are part of man-made part of an environment. So these function as counter examples (at least in the case of teaching and learning Thai and Japanese as foreign languages) to the argument that we can learn a foreign language separately from the culture of the speakers of the language.

## **2.5. Summary of Part 1**

We have seen the 4 topics regarding language and culture. And we have found out with evidences from linguistic phenomena that in the discussion of linguistic relativity the weak hypothesis is the only plausible one, the hypothesis that a language affects how the speakers think. In other words, a language affects its speaker's mind. And it presumably affects its speaker's culture. Also, by reexamining the cases of nonverbal communication, we have proved that for communication in some languages some parts of culture, which are out of language, are essential even at their basic level. Then in some cases of foreign language teaching and learning it is indispensable to teach and learn a certain part of culture.

### 3. Part 2: Multilingual Approach to Language Learning and Culture Learning

In the Part 2 the reporter presents his own approach to foreign language learning, which puts an emphasis on culture learning.

#### 3.1. The class “Multilingual Communication”

The class in which the reporter practices the approach is called “Multilingual Communication”, which the reporter gives in every semester at the level of general education. Here is the outline and the aim and requirement and conduct.

##### (12) Outline:

In this course we practice communication in several different languages, which is simply an everyday phenomenon in many places in the world but rare in Japan. In multilingual situations we try to obtain mutual understanding rather than correctness of grammar or pronunciation. We will experience achieving understanding with some good use of our limited knowledge and ability in foreign languages throughout classroom activities.

##### Aims:

We will experience achieving understanding with some good use of our limited knowledge and ability in foreign languages throughout classroom activities. This course also provides opportunities to reflect on our ways of communication in our mother tongue and to know better classmates' different ways from ours.

##### Requirement:

Nothing special but your intention to cooperate with other classmates in group works. Students having no such intention are NOT allowed to take the course.

##### Conduct:

The course is conducted half in English, half in Japanese. Also, we use as much of participants' mother tongues as possible. The class offers opportunities to study with people of different nationalities and cultural/social backgrounds.

The class is entirely conducted in English and in Japanese. I pay some respects to the two languages as official languages for classroom communication. Besides the two some other languages are taken up, especially the languages spoken as native language by participants.

Here is the schedule.

(13) Course schedule:

- 1st week Orientations and selection (in case of too many applicants)
- 2nd week Studying MLC basics 1 + Simple Contact Game 1
- 3rd week Studying MLC basics 2 + Simple Contact Game 2
- 4th week Grouping 1+Discover mother tongues 1
- 5th week 2-minute skit in 3 languages 1
- 6th week 2-minute skit in 3 languages 2
- 7th week 2-minute skit in 3 languages 3
- 8th week 2-minute skit in 3 languages 4
- 9th week 2-minute skit in 3 languages 5
- 10th week Grouping 2+Discover mother tongues 2
- 11th week Writing an English story 1
- 12th week Writing an English story 2
- 13th week Writing an English story 3
- 14th week Writing an English story 4
- 15th week Review and multilingual party

The main activities which are conducted in groups are “playing a 2-minute skit in three languages”<sup>6</sup> and “writing and performing an English story”. Sometimes 20 to 40 minutes` lessons in French, Thai, Brazilian Portuguese, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, Korean and German are given. These are the languages taught as foreign languages at the university. And the lessons in Mongolian, Tagalog, Kyrgyz, Italian, Laos, Persian, Arabic and Czech have been given by participating students or guest speakers. Also, reports have been given by guest speakers from multilingual societies in the world such as Taiwan, Kyrgyzstan and Vancouver in Canada. And it is being planned to give a report from Dakar, Senegal, a multilingual society in West Africa<sup>7</sup>.

Here is the list of languages we showed in class, so far in about 10 years:

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<sup>6</sup> One set of skits in Standard Japanese, Sinhala and Thai was put on the screen as an example at the time of the report in the symposium.

<sup>7</sup> The research in Dakar was done in April and a report based on the research was given in the spring semester in 2013.

(14) Afrikaans, Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, Taiwanese, Hakka and Wu Chinese), Czech, English, Dutch, Ewe, French, German, Japanese/(different dialects +Ryukyuan (Okinawan, Amami), Javanese, Hindi, Hmong, Indonesian, Kyrgyz, Khmer, Korean, Lao, Malay, Miene, Mongolian, Nepali, Palauan, Pashto, Patwa, Persian, Portuguese, Pulaar, Punjabi, Russian, Slovak, Sotho, Spanish, Sundanese, Tagalog, Tamil, Thai, Vietnamese, Xhosa, Zulu

Every semester about 60 to 100 students take the class and about 1/3 of the participants are students from other countries than Japan. By giving this class, the reporter aims to provide for participants opportunities to be amazed with diversity of language communication in the world, to manage to get acquainted with people speaking unknown languages, make friends with them and to notice that communication for the same purposes can be done in different languages. Also, participants realize that they can communicate to a great extent with much limited competency in a foreign language. These are a kind of simulations of the reporter's experiences in a multilingual and multicultural society<sup>8</sup>. Activities, notably group works with people from different societies motivate participants to exchange information, to visit unknown places in the world and learn new languages.

### **3.2. Multilingual communication practice**

This is to present a multilingual communication practice activity organized by the reporter recently on March 5. Some Japanese universities have been receiving young people from different Asian countries as part of the program<sup>9</sup> by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to let the participants discover Japan after the great disaster. The reporter received about 50 East Timorese students at his university and a class specially designed for exchange was held. And almost the same number of people (mostly Japanese and some international students) from the reporter's university joined in the classroom activity.

East Timor is a small but multilingual society. On the eastern side several Papuan languages are spoken. On the western side, in the center of

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<sup>8</sup> Studying abroad in academic year 1986-87 in Montpellier, France, which is a historical university town and cosmopolitan city in which people of 144 different nationalities used to live.

<sup>9</sup> The Youth-Exchange Project with Asia-Oceania and North America (Kizuna (bond) Project).

the island Austronesian language, which are in the same family of languages as Indonesian or Malay. What is called lingua franca in this island is Tetun. Tetun is one of Austronesian languages and with a lot of influence from Portuguese.

There was an ideal linguistic environment from which all the participants could benefit. They did not understand the native languages of people to get to know. And very few of them could communicate in vehicular languages such as English, Indonesian or Portuguese. And the guest participants did not know much about Japan and the host participants did not about East Timor and that aroused interests.

Here are some extracts from the materials used for the class. (15) is to introduce yourself in four languages. The simplest expressions for communication were selected on purpose.

(15) **Activity1: Introduction**

Making your self-introduction in any language you like.

Example:

JAPANESE

konnichiwa.

(name) des.

(thing) ni kyoomi ga arimas.

(thing / person) ga sukides.

yoroshiku onegai shimas.

ENGLISH

Hello,

My name is (name).

I'm interested in (thing).

I like (thing / person).

Nice to meet you.

TETUN

Bondia/Ola/Oi

Hau naran (nome).

Hau interesadu (coisa).

Hau gosta (coisa / pessoa).

PORTUGUES

Bom dia/Olá!/Oi!

Eu me chamo (nome).

Estou interessado em (coisa).

Gosto (coisa / pessoa).

Muito prazer.

(16) is a model dialog to acquire some new vocabulary in the target language.

(16) **Activity3: For the translation between 2 languages**

JAPANESE

○○wa nihon-go de nandes ka? ---- ΔΔdes.

Example: “ikan” wa nihon-go de nandes ka? ---- sakana des.

“sakana” wa tetun-go de nandes ka? ----“ikan” des.

TETUN

○○ ho lian Tetun, bolu halo nusaa? ---- ΔΔ.

Example: “sakana” ho lian Tetun, bolu halo nusaa ---- “ikan”.  
 “ikan” ho lian Japaun, bolu halo nusaa? ---- Sakana.

I distributed a sheet of paper like (17) to note down the new vocabulary they have acquired throughout the activity.

(17)

JAPANESE	ENGLISH	TETUN	PORTUGUES	
example <i>hana</i>	<i>flower</i>	<i>funan</i>	<i>flor</i>	example Thu <i>dok mai</i>

And (18) is to ask the name of a person or to ask the birthplace and to continue conversation by saying, “And you?”

(18) Activity4: Satisfying your curiosity

JAPANESE: o-namae wa? --- Yoshida des.

ENGLISH: May I have your name? --- My name is Yoshida.

TETUN: Ita naran saa? ---- Hau naran Yoshida.

PORTUGUES Como é seu nome? ---- Meu nome é Yoshida.

JAPANESE: go-shusshin wa? --- tookyoo des.

ENGLISH: Where are you from? --- I'm from Tokyo.

TETUN: Ita hosi nebee? ---- Hau hosi Tokyo

PORTUGUES De onde você é? ---- Sou de Tóquio.

JAPANESE: (name) -san wa?/ anata wa?

ENGLISH: And you?

TETUN: No ita.

PORTUGUES E você?.

With these expressions the participants extend exchanges. And all the participants seemed to have fun. This activity could be considered a simulation of contact between communities having different languages and cultures from each other.

### 3.3. Summary of the Part 2

In the activities described in this chapter, we could practice planned multilingual communication. The ideas for the activities are not so much based on some educational theories, but rather on the reporter's own multilingual communication experiences. The activities could be considered linguistic experiments<sup>10</sup> that simulate some snapshots of verbal communication, especially of encounters between people of different cultural and social backgrounds. We can expect based on these experiments to make some suppositions working hypotheses on linguistic facts.

## 4. Conclusion

By reexamining key concepts in linguistics in relation to language and culture, we have noticed that some elements of culture are closely and inevitably related to language communication. In other words, we could support the weak hypothesis of linguistic relativity that language affects how the speakers think and then how their culture looks like. (Part 1)

And we have viewed that by focusing on cultural aspects of language on purpose we can motivate and facilitate to learn foreign languages. (Part 2)

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<sup>10</sup> I am much grateful to have opportunities to join in several linguistic experiments held in Professor Tomimori's research unit in my graduate student days at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, opportunities that enabled me to learn such spirit of experimentation.

## **Rethinking Language Learning and Culture Learning**

**Kazuhiko YOSHIDA**  
**(Utsunomia University)**

This presentation provides two viewpoints regarding 'language' and 'education' in order to make the whole discussion in this international symposium as fruitful as possible. The first viewpoint is to summarize the arguments on in/divisibility of foreign language education and learning of cultural elements, and reconfirmation of key concepts. The second is the presenter's own approach to teaching focused on the 'multilingualism' that verbal communication bears in itself by nature.

Part 1: Summary the arguments and reconfirmation of the key concepts.

1. Before we begin the discussion on the methods of 'learning and teaching', we are going to examine an extreme argument of 'infalsifiability' of the theory of linguistic relativity. Then, we will try to draw a conclusion of the necessity of the two ideas that appeared to be directly opposed: A: To distinguish -even as a working hypothesis- something 'cultural' from 'linguistic', and B: To take a weak hypothesis: 'language defines culture'.

2. Then we will examine the criteria that specify 'individual' language and culture in order to discuss the relationships between language and culture. The argument will be whether it is possible to specify the hierarchy of 'culture' as in the well-known linguistic terms: languages > dialects >, that are defined in relation to the concept "society".

3. Then we re-examine the question concerning 'arbitrariness' of language. The question we are to raise is: Should the non-arbitrary use of linguistic forms be called 'culture'? The examples of speech acts and idiomatic phrases, that are difficult to be eliminated from the use of language, will be examined here.

4. We will look at the examples of non-verbal communication that inevitably occur in verbal communication and discuss whether it should be called 'culture'.

## Part 2: Education of multilingual communication.

We will rethink the purpose and the meaning of foreign language education and redefine the learner as a 'multilingual' individual. Then, we introduce the presenter's own teaching activities on multilingual communication and we would like to discuss the positive effects of 1) Switching the perspectives and 2) Communicating with limited (linguistic) competence. The final topic for discussion will be the possibility of respecting individuality while using the language for international communication.

# **Cultural-based Material Development for Teaching Indonesian for Non-Native Speakers (BIPA)**

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## **Abstract**

There have been numerous and endless discussions during scientific forums about whether or not cultural contents need to be taught to second language learners or to foreign language learners. The discussion has been polarized into language teaching which involves the cultural values system and language teaching which excludes cultural contents. This paper comes from the main thesis that it is important to include cultural content in the teaching of Indonesian language for non-native speakers (BIPA). The diversity of Indonesian culture shapes Indonesian culture and become the background of the main thesis. In developing teaching material, there are four aspects of competence which need to be considered: communicative functions, socio-cultural aspect, linguistic aspect, and language skills aspects. The proposed holistic model in developing teaching material is designed to be able to integrate the four aspects which can guide the non-native students of Indonesian to communicate naturally and avoid *cultural mismatches*.

## **1. Introduction**

Any talks on the position of culture in teaching a language as a second language or as a foreign language have always been interesting and endless discussions. There are some important questions that are often addressed, for example is necessary to include cultural contents in the language teaching material or would the teaching of culture in language class only generate a lengthy explanation and take a considerable amount of time in the classroom session. These are some of the questions asked to confirm

whether or not it is necessary to include explanation on culture or cross-cultural knowledge in language teaching.

In Indonesian case, the development of teaching Indonesian for non-native speakers program (henceforth referred to as BIPA or *Bahasa Indonesia untuk Penutur Asing*) has just been booming in Indonesia in the last twenty years or so if the first International Conference on Teaching Indonesian for Non-native Speakers (KIPBIPA) held in Salatiga, Central Java, in 1994 is considered as the starting point. Despite its long period of existence, the attention to culture in the teaching of Indonesian to non-native speakers still needs to be developed— if saying lack of attention to the matter seems too inconsiderate. This lack of attention is indicated by the small number of scientific papers presented in conferences and textbooks for teaching Indonesian for non-native speakers. In each conference, there may only be one or two papers highlighting the importance of including the teaching of culture in BIPA. For example, in the 1995 International Congress on Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language held by the Universitas Indonesia, there was only one out of 39 papers presented in the congress which discussed the teaching of culture despite the wide range of themes offered by the congress committee. The same situation goes on from one conference to other conference. Eleven years later, in the Sixth International Congress on Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language held in 2006 there was still only one paper which discussed the teaching of culture. Nonetheless, Mustakim (2001) did an observation of the published teaching textbooks and found that the percentage of Indonesian textbooks for BIPA which includes materials on culture was not high. Based on Mustakim's research on cultural contents in 43 textbooks, it was found that only 24 textbooks (56%) included the cultural aspects. The other 8 books (19%) only gave the cultural contents within the reading texts. The last 11 books (26%), the socio-cultural aspects were not mentioned at all.

This paper attempts to revisit the question of whether or not it is necessary to give cultural contents in the teaching of Indonesian language as a foreign language. I would refrain to elaborate the theoretical aspects of culture or the cross-cultural aspects in this paper. Instead, I would like to describe my own experience in developing the teaching material for teaching Indonesian as a foreign language by paying significant attention to the cultural aspects.

## **2. Why the Contents on Indonesian Culture Have Not Been Explicitly Stated in BIPA?**

The condition as described in the previous section does not mean that the organizers of BIPA program entirely neglect the teaching of culture in

BIPA. There are obviously some reasons why culture has not been explicitly stated, in general, in the teaching of Indonesian for non-native speakers in Indonesia. The opinions concerning the teaching of culture in language teaching as expressed by some language teaching experts are presented below.

*First*, there is a viewpoint that it is necessary to distinguish between learning Indonesian in the learners' home country and learning Indonesian in the native country of the Indonesian language, Indonesia. Learning Indonesian in Indonesia clearly gives the learners direct opportunities to be exposed to Indonesian culture within the everyday life of Indonesian people in Indonesia. On the other hand, the learners who do not have direct exposure to Indonesian culture might have to listen and watch more of the culture visually. This is why, for instance, when I had the honor of teaching at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) seven years ago, I was more than willing to carry various cultural items and cultural content materials from Indonesia to be shown to the students there. Within this view, the foreign language learners who learn the language in the learners' native country must be given a bigger portion of cultural contents than the foreign language learners who learn the language in the country where the language is originated from.

*Second*, there is a view which believes that culture covers a broad range of aspects which makes it difficult and complex to determine which cultural aspects need to be discussed, to be given in the earlier stage of learning, or to be given in the later stage. This kind of complexity is different from the easier activities of arranging language teaching materials into certain levels based on the level of difficulties or complexities of language use. For instance, once there was a student of BIPA program at the Universitas Indonesia who protested the learning materials about historical structures and buildings in Indonesia given in a subject called Cultural Aspect. This student believed that the discussion on historical structures and building as one of Indonesian cultural aspects should not be given to non-native speakers learning Indonesian language and culture as there was no urgency for the students to know them. To address this kind of problem, a survey needs to be conducted as the means of introspection. For example, the non-native learners can be asked to fill in a questionnaire about the essential aspects of Indonesian culture that are needed by the non-native learners of Indonesian language and culture.

*Third*, it should be admitted that the presentation method of cultural contents at BIPA program is still limited to lecturing or discussion. Enrichment of presentation methods is required to avoid monotonous and dull presentation of Indonesian cultural contents. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) has developed an interesting model to introduce the

culture of nations by organizing a culinary bazaar and an art performance which enable the foreign language students to be more familiar with the foreign culture which they are learning. Similarly, learning foreign culture and its development from foreign literary works has always been an interesting method of learning culture.

Fourth, in contrast to the second view, some people believe that language is like DNA sequences which are able to display the complete entity of the language owners. From the language they are learning, learners can see the culture of that language as a whole. In this case, language is identical with culture. Grammar is the structure of reality showing how the speakers of a language view the world. Accordingly, learning a language, including its grammar, is learning its culture.

*Fifth*, there is an opinion saying that explanation about culture should be detached from language learning because learning culture takes a long time. This can be seen in some universities in Indonesia which offer specific subjects about Indonesian cultural aspects for foreigners who are learning Indonesian. However, these subjects are generally given for advanced learners who have endured enough time to create their own perception and understanding about Indonesian culture. In the event that the subjects are given to the beginners, the language which is used to explain the aspects of Indonesian culture is the native language of the learners or English.

*Sixth*, for some people in Indonesia, including academicians, *culture* tends to be defined as something which has certain tangible forms (materials) such as art products, handicrafts, clothing, and food, all of which are easily enjoyed in daily life. Wibawarta (2012:3) confirms this when he voiced his view on how Indonesian people understand culture by saying,

“Inherently culture has a broad range of definitions which covers ideas, mood, and acts. Culture can be ideas, activities (patterned actions of individuals in a society), and artefacts (physical forms of culture). Nevertheless, the meaning of culture is often reduced into only arts. This can be seen in our daily life practices in which culture which is full of values is taken only as spectacles or tangible forms of culture.”

This view derives an understanding that things which actually can be met easily have not been given a high priority to be used in language teaching. The *intangible* things like language, which displays cultural contents such as politeness, are overlooked and grammar becomes the tangible thing taught to students.

### 3. The Background to Why It is Necessary to give Indonesian Culture Contents in BIPA.

The facts show that Indonesia is one of the countries which are rich in diversity. With a big population of 241 million people in 2012, Indonesian people live together in diversified cultural background: 1.128 ethnic groups with 742 languages scattered in 6.000 islands. The facts obviously show that Indonesian people is not a monolithic society. The distinctive feature of Indonesian society is its diversity in which every ethnic group in Indonesia has their own entities and characteristics. For example, the characters of the Sumatran people which are open, straightforward, and loud are different from those of the Javanese which are gentle and considerate. There was a Japanese asking me a question with a puzzled look, "I was surprised when I traveled to Padang. Why does everyone there speak so loudly?" Likewise, the method of serving foods in Padang restaurants is different from that of the Sundanese restaurant. In another occasion, a Korean student learning Indonesian told me his experience of drinking plain water from a small tin bowl with a slice of lemon on its side served by a waiter in a Padang restaurant. It turns out that a Padang restaurant always serves plain water in a small tin bowl to wash the hands of the customers (not to drink from it), who usually eat with their hands.

On the other hand, amongst the numerous distinctive characteristics of its ethnic groups, Indonesian culture also has certain general patterns: all of which makes Indonesia a mosaic of culture. One of the examples of this is the rural-nomadic culture which is deeply rooted in the minds of most Indonesian people and generate a general world view that a person must firmly hold on to ideas planted by his/her parents since childhood. This primordial view is reflected in language as seen in proverbs. For example, parents who have to let go of their son to seek fortune overseas might give him some advice such as "*Jangan pohon lupa pada akarnya*" (literally: "A tree must not forget its roots"—you must not forget your origin), "*Jangan melupakan adat*" ("Don't forget your (traditional) custom"), and "*hidup dikandung adat, mati dikandung tanah*" ("live by the customs, so one must follow the customs until s/he dies"). Another proverb, "*Bagai kacang lupa pada kulitnya*" (literally: "like peanuts which forget about their shells"), is often used to condemn a person who forget his customs and cultural values which have been planted since childhood. Besides proverbs, there are numerous traditional limericks portraying children's obligation to respect their parents. Similarly, colonialism era in Indonesia gave its legacy of social stratification within the traditional agriculture system and has created the feudalism culture in which the tenant farmers must respect the land

owners. Consequently, people with power, e.g. have lands, become the employers, or become the rich patrons shall receive high respect from other people with less power. In Java, there is even a saying, “*Sampeyan ki sopo lan Panjenengan ki sopo?*” (literally: “Who are *you* (respectable person) and who are *you* (more respectable person)?” which warns people to give respect to those who deserve such a respect.

These diversified characteristics of Indonesian culture are also reflected in Indonesian language. Indonesian language becomes a signifier of culture which is full of differences. For instance, there is a big difference between formal language varieties and nonformal language varieties in Indonesian. The nonformal varieties are strongly influenced by dialects which are originated from the local languages in Indonesia. Takiyama (2000:50), a Japanese student learning Indonesian language and culture at the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, observed the culture as it is found in Indonesian language and found some interesting facts as stated below.

Pengaruh bahasa Jawa pada bahasa Indonesia begitu kuat karena—seperti kita tahu—penutur bahasa Jawa berjumlah banyak sekali. Meskipun tinggal di tempat yang bukan berbahasa Jawa, mereka biasanya menggunakan bahasa Jawa dengan teman-teman mereka. Oleh karena itu, kita bisa dengar bahasa itu di mana-mana di seluruh Indonesia. ...

Adanya pengaruh bahasa Jawa menyebabkan sebuah kata berarti banyak dan begitu sebaliknya. Kalau belum tahu artinya, semua kadang-kadang salah paham. Hal itu berbahaya. Sebagai contoh, apabila orang dari suku Jawa berbahasa Indonesia dan mengucapkan *besok*, itu bukan berarti ‘satu hari setelah hari ini’ (yang lazim digunakan orang Indonesia dari suku lain), melainkan berarti ‘kapan-kapan’ atau ‘di suatu saat nanti’.

Translation:

The influence of Javanese language in Indonesian language is very strong because—as we know it—the number of Javanese native speakers is so big. Thus, eventhough the Javanese people do not live in an area whose inhabitants do not speak Javanese, these Javanese usually speak their first language with their Javanese friends and colleagues. This is what we can hear Javanese spoken in all over Indonesia.

...

The influence of Javanese language might cause a word can have more than one meaning or vice versa. If one has not grasp the

meaning, one might end up in a misunderstanding situation. This is quite risky. For example, a Javanese man using an Indonesian word, *besok*, would tend not to refer to “the day after tomorrow” (as understood by Indonesians from other ethnic groups). “*Besok*” used by the Javanese can mean “some time in the future” or “some day in the future.”

Now one can imagine what would happen if the culture underlying the semantic interpretation of the word “*besok*” (“tomorrow”) is not given in the teaching of Indonesian for non-native speakers. Naturally there is a potential of *cultural mismatch* which is experienced by foreigners living in Indonesian culture environment. Cultural mismatch can be defined as ‘the gap which distinguishes two cultures in saying or doing the same thing, but with different meanings; and in saying or doing two different things which has the same or similar meanings.’ (MacNeal 1995). There is an example of culture shock experience with regard to language as reported by Yamamoto (2001:46-47).

Sebelum tinggal di Indonesia, negara kesatuan dan persatuan ini saya anggap sebagai negara yang amat berdisiplin sebab lebih dari Sembilan puluh persen penduduknya menganut agama Islam yang sangat tegas pada pemeluknya. Namun, fakta yang saya temui sehari-hari bagaimana?

Salah satu kata yang tidak saya sukai adalah kata *nanti* dan *sebenjar*. Walaupun saya mengimbau atau menginstruksikan sesuatu pada orang lain di kantor, mesti dia mengucapkan kata tersebut pada saya, “Pak Yamamoto, sebenjar ya, nanti saya coba *deh*. Nanti saya akan telepon, ya.”

Akan tetapi, ternyata sebenjar ini lama sekali. Atau, jika saya tidak mengingatkan hal itu lagi, nyaris tidak ada kelanjutan atau tindaklanjutnya atas kesadaran sendiri. Itulah hal yang sangat mengecewakan. Jadi, ketika saya mendengar kata seperti *nanti* atau *sebenjar*, kata berikut saya ucapkan, “Sebenjar itu berapa lama? Satu jam? Satu minggu? Atau satu tahun kemudian? ...

Kemudian, pengalaman berikut pun sering terjadi. Waktu penyerahan produksi nyaris kami selesaikan, pertanyaan saya pada bawahan saya adalah “Penyerahan telah selesai?”

Dia membalas, “Pak Yama, udah, udah.” Akan tetapi, acap kali saya menyadari ternyata dikibuli karena penyerahan yang

dilakukan hanya sebagian saja atau tanpa konfirmasi apa pun dia menjawab pada saya. Hal itu mengagetkan dan menjengkelkan. Maka terhadap jawaban tersebut, pasti saya katakan, “Penyerahan diselesaikan secara total atau sebagian? Kalau cuma sebagian, jangan hanya sekedar menyenangkan hati saya atau jangan hanya berusaha menyelamatkan diri kamu sesaat! Toh, sekarang atau nanti hal itu pasti saya ketahui,” kata ini terpaksa saya keluarkan.

Translation:

Before living in Indonesia, I was under the impression that this unitary country must have been a very discipline country just because more than ninety percent of its population professes Islam which is known to be strict to its believers. Nevertheless, the facts that I have encountered in their daily life show quite the opposite.

Two of the Indonesian words that I dislike are *nanti* (“later”) and *sebentar* (“just a moment”). When I strongly suggest or give instructions to somebody at the office, this person would use those two words in his/her response: “*Pak Yamamoto, sebentar ya, nanti saya coba deh. Nanti saya akan telepon, ya.*” (“Mr Yamamoto, please wait for *just a moment*. I will try it *later*. I call you *later*, okay.”).

Then it turned out that this “*sebentar*” takes longer than I expected; or even worse, if I had not reminded that person again about the matter, s/he would not have followed it up without being asked. This was really disappointing. Consequently, whenever I hear the words *nanti* or *sebentar*, I always ask, “this *sebentar* means how long? An hour? A week? A year later? ...

Then, the next situation often happens to me. When the production submission deadline was almost due, I asked my subordinate a question “*Penyerahan telah selesai?*” (“Has the submission been completed?”).

S/he replied, “*Pak Yama, udah, udah.*” (“Mr. Yama, yes, already, already.”) However, I found out later that I was being fooled because the submission was only half completed, and s/he did not bother to ask for confirmation (from the person in charge) when s/he gave me the reply. This is both shocking and disappointing. Ever since that time, I whenever I hear similar response from my subordinate, I would forcefully and directly say, “Is it totally completed or just partially? If it is just partially, don’t say that it has

been completed just to make me happy or just to protect yourself for a while! You know sooner or later I will know the truth.”

What happened to Yamamoto is not just a matter of language or misunderstanding in using a language because Yamamoto, at that time, was already fluent in Indonesian. It is more than that because Yamamoto obviously experienced cultural mismatch which created certain psychological effects on his mind. Fortunately, Yamamoto immediately snapped out of it and tried to find the source of the matter, namely *culture*. He explained further,

Meski demikian, boleh dikatakan, suatu kekurangan sebaliknya merupakan kelebihan. Saya menilai, orang Indonesia amat bertoleransi terhadap apa pun. Pada orang asing seperti saya pula, sikapnya wajar saja. Jika seorang Indonesia ke Jepang, memang orang Jepang cenderung diskriminatif kepada orang asing itu, kecuali kepada orang Barat. Jadi, luasnya toleransi tersebut sangat dihargai dan bangsa Indonesia boleh membanggakan hal itu baik pada negara Asia Tenggara maupun pada seluruh dunia.

Kalau orang Indonesia menilai orang Jepang, orang Korsel, atau orang Tiongkok, bagaimanakah penilaian tersebut? Mereka berkeyakinan bahwa orang Utara cenderung bersifat terlalu tegas dan terlalu disiplin. Nada bicara melulu besar. Gaya bicaranya pun ceplas-ceplos. Orang Utara menganggap diri mereka lebih superior, dibandingkan dengan bangsa lain.

Translation:

Nonetheless, it can be said that one's weaknesses might also be one's strength. I consider that Indonesian people are very tolerant towards others. This also applies to their tolerant towards me as a foreigner. In contrast, when an Indonesian comes to Japan, it is likely that s/he experiences certain discrimination acts from the Japanese people who tend to favor western people than other foreigners. This is why the extent to which Indonesians are very tolerant is something that you can be proud of amongst the South East Asian countries or even amongst all the countries in the world.

Now what if Indonesian people are asked to value Japanese, Korean, or Chinese? They might believe that the Northern people tend to be too strict and too disciplined. Their tone of speaking is

always high. The way they talk is very straightforward. These Northern people consider themselves as more superior than other people.

This “tolerant” culture becomes Yamamoto’s key to understand his subordinates’ talks. This is what happened to Takiyama and Yamamoto. The “tolerant” culture might become the general culture of Indonesian people amongst the diversified cultures of Indonesia as reflected in the use of time adverbials such as *besok*, *sebenjar*, *nanti*, *sudah*—in which pointing out the exact time reference is not the focus of attention. What needs to be appreciated here is the good intention of what will and has been done by the speakers and if the discrepancy of time reference occurs, the interlocutors are expected to be tolerant. Brilliantly Yamamoto wants to convey that his unfortunate experiences had led to his discovery of one of the Indonesian local wisdom.

There are many examples of cultural mismatches as experienced by foreigners who are studying in Indonesia. Yamamoto’s experience and introspection have raised the awareness about the importance of both cultural understanding and cross-cultural understanding. What if, in contrast with Yamamoto’s experience, an Indonesian is forced to judge the culture of the “Northern” people (Japanese, Korean, and Chinese)? Would it be normal to expect that the Indonesian might have similar feelings with those of Yamamoto’s or, even further, s/he can brilliantly find the “culture” of the “Northern” people just like Yamamoto who found the ‘tolerant’ culture from the Indonesian language used by his subordinates? Mutual cultural understanding and the ability to place oneself accurately in diversified cultures can be the key to cross-cultural understanding. This is exactly what is needed to be considered in language teaching.

For additional information, the list below shows some matters with Indonesian cultural background which are often complained by foreigners and which have the potential of causing *cultural mismatches*.

- (i) Like to chit-chat.
- (ii) Like to talk.
- (iii) Easy to be close to new acquaintances and be familiar with other people.
- (iv) Like to praise someone on something.
- (v) Like to touch some of the body parts (shoulders or arms) of other people to show the solidarity.
- (vi) Like to listen to music, sing aloud, and follow the song or music.
- (vii) Not used to queuing for anything and waiting in queue.

- (viii) Like to lift their chins to signal that they give the hearers the next turn to talk.
- (ix) Doing things with left-hand is considered taboo.
- (x) Like to compare people.
- (xi) Fond of superstitious objects or events.
- (xii) And many others.

The matters listed above involve not only language, but also action and gestures. To maintain the phatic function of language, namely to ease and to resolve communication, Indonesians like to touch the body parts of the interlocutors such as the shoulders or the arms. This act of touching might not be acknowledged in the culture of other nations. In another occasion, Masami Kuwayama, a Japanese student who once studied Indonesian language and culture at the Universitas Indonesia gave her own view about Indonesian students.

“Mahasiswa Indonesia selalu kelihatan gembira. Saya tinggal di rumah kos. Setiap hari, baik siang maupun malam, keadaan selalu berisik. Mereka main gitar, menyetel radio, ngobrol-ngobrol tidak kenal waktu. Padahal, mereka harus menghargai kepentingan orang lain. Ini rumah kos, bukan rumah pribadi. Ini mengherankan saya. Kapan mereka belajar?”

(SYX. 2000. “Mahasiswa Indonesia, Kapan Mereka Belajar?” In *Teroka: Majalah Budaya*, Vol. 2 No.2, p. 29.)

Translation:

“Indonesian students always look happy. I live in a boarding house. Every day and every night, the boarding house is always full of noise. The students, regardless of the time, are playing guitars, listening to the radios, and chatting. Yet, they should have had respect towards other people’s interests. This is a boarding house, not their own house. This is really puzzling. Moreover, when will they study?”

#### **4. Cultural Content Material Development**

The thesis I would like to convey in this paper is obvious. Cultural aspects need to be included in the teaching of Indonesian language for non-native speakers. In the previous sections, I described the background on the importance of Indonesian cultural content to be given in BIPA program. I refrain myself from choosing whether or not the cultural content should be separated from the language content or whether the cultural content need to

be integrated with the language content. In this section, I would explain an example of cultural content material development for BIPA program—in particular, the adult class.

In developing teaching materials, the first thing to be done is the mapping of competence which is necessary for teaching language to foreigners. This mapping consists of (1) the competence to recognize the communicative functions, (2) the socio-cultural competence, (3) linguistic competence, and (4) language skills competence. The knowing of communicative functions is put in the first list as it can generate the other competence aspects. The socio-cultural competence consists of the ability to understand the communicative situation and the ability to understand culture. The ability to understand the communicative situation can be divided further into two dimensions: formal-nonformal situations and spoken-written situation. The linguistic competence covers the two pillars of language formation, namely grammar and vocabulary. The cultural competence consists of attitude aspects, act aspects, and the facilities aspects of cultural items or cultural artifacts if the communication uses one of the artifacts. As for language skills competence, it comprises the four skills of communication, namely listening, speaking, reading, and writing. These types of competence should be unified and integrated in language teaching. In the next section, there is a model of competence mapping involving the four competence. It is then followed by the teaching materials sample taken from the materials which focus on *Basa-Basi* (chit-chat) in Indonesian language. The development of teaching material shows that the students' cross-cultural competence is involved in it by comparing *basa-basi* in Indonesia with that of the students' native countries.

**An Example of Cultural Aspects Mapping on  
The Teaching Material Plan of Cultural-Based Teaching Indonesian for Non-Native Speakers**

Communicative Function	Socio-cultural Competence		Linguistic Competence		Language Skills			
	Contextual Aspect	Cultural Aspect	Pronouns	Grammar and Vocabulary	Reading	Listening	Speaking	Writing
Introducing Oneself	Formal; spoken and written	<p>Attitude Pattern: Observe social variables of the interlocutors (sex, age, origin, occupation)</p> <p>Action Pattern: 1. Verbal 2. Nonverbal: Do not produce any move to address the hearer (no pointing finger at the hearer); sometimes the speaker lifts one's chin as a turn-taking signal that the speaker wants the hearer to take the next turn to talk; or the speaker lifts up one of his/her arm and directs the palm to face the sky and points it towards the hearer.</p>		<p>First Person: 1. Singular: neutral: <i>saya</i> ("I") 2. Plural: (a) inclusive: <i>kita</i> ("we") (b) exclusive: <i>kami</i> ("we")</p> <p>Second Person: 1. Singular: (a) older; superior: <i>Bapak</i> (m.) ("sir"); <i>Ibu</i> (f.) ("ma'am") (b) younger; subordinate: <i>Anda</i> ("You") (c) same age; younger: <i>Saudara; Mas</i> (m.) ("Brother"); <i>Mbak</i> (f.) ("Sister")</p> <p>2. Plural: (a) older; superior: <i>Bapak-bapak</i> (m.) ("gentlemen"); <i>Ibu-ibu</i> (f.) ("ladies") (b) younger; subordinate: <i>kalian</i> ("You" pl.)</p> <p>Third Person: 1. Singular: (a) older; superior: <i>beliau</i> ("s/he") (b) same age; younger; subordinate: <i>dia</i> ("s/he")</p>	<p>A text on self identity (brief biography)</p>	<p>A dialogue to introduce oneself</p>	<p>Introduce oneself and others (role-play); invite older and younger people who are not members of the class.</p>	<p>Fill in a form; introduce oneself in a letter and e-mail.</p>

	Nonformal; relaxed; conversa- tion	<p><b>Attitude Pattern:</b> Observe social variables of the interlocutors (sex, age, origin, occupation)</p> <p><b>Action Pattern:</b> 1. Verbal 2. Nonverbal: Do not produce any move to address the hearer (no pointing finger at the hearer); sometimes the speaker lifts one's chin as a turn-taking signal that the speaker wants the hearer to take the next turn to talk; or the speaker lifts up one of his/her arm and directs the palm to face the sky and points it towards the hearer.</p>	Pronouns	<p><b>2. Plural:</b> (a) older, superior: <i>beliau-beliau</i> ("they") (b) younger, subordinate: <i>mereka</i> ("they")</p> <p><b>First Person:</b> 1. Singular: (a) same age; older: <i>aku</i> ("I") (b) dialect (Jakarta): same age; older: <i>gue</i> ("I")</p> <p>2. Plural: (a) inclusive: <i>kita</i>; <i>kita-kita</i> ("we") (b) exclusive: <i>kami</i>; <i>kita-kita</i> ("we") (c) dialect (Jakarta): inclusive and exclusive: same age; older: <i>kire-kire</i> ("we")</p> <p><b>Second Person:</b> 1. Singular: (a) same age; younger: <i>kamu</i> ("you"); <i>kau</i> ("you") (b) dialect (Jakarta): same age; older: <i>lu</i>; <i>elo</i> ("you")</p> <p>2. Plural: (a) same age; younger: <i>kalian</i>; <i>kamu-kamu</i> ("you" pl.) (b) dialect: same age; older: <i>lu-lu</i>; <i>elo-elo</i> ("you" pl.)</p>				
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Phatic communion (social chit-chat)	Formal and Nonformal; spoken	<p>Attitude Pattern:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emphatizing; drive to start the communication or to become closer to other people; observe the positive things about the hearer to be used as icebreaker</li> <li>Observe the social distance of the interlocutors</li> </ol> <p>Action Pattern:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verbal: pointing finger at the hearer; kindhearted (smile and kind)</li> <li>Nonverbal: No pointing finger at the hearer; kindhearted (smile and kind)</li> </ol>	<p>Third Person:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Singular: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>same age; younger: <i>dia</i> ("s/he")</li> <li>same age; older: <i>beliau</i> ("s/he")</li> <li>dialect (Jakarta): same age; older: <i>dite</i> ("s/he")</li> </ul> </li> <li>Plural: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>same age; younger: <i>dia-dia</i> ("they")</li> <li>same age; older: <i>beliau-beliau</i> ("they")</li> <li>dialect (Jakarta): same age; older: <i>dite-dite</i> ("they")</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	<p>1. Interrogative Sentences:  <i>Mau ke mana?</i> ("Where are you going?") Response: <i>Mau ke depan.</i> ("Just to the street.");  <i>Sedang apa?</i> ("What are you doing?") Response: <i>Sedang santai</i> ("Just relaxing.");  <i>Eh, Budi. Sudah mandi?</i> ("Eh Budi, have you taken a bath?") Response: <i>Sudah.</i> ("Already have.")  <i>Tidak minum dulu?</i> ("Come, drink first?") Response: <i>Terima kasih.</i> ("No thanks.")  <i>Mau minum apa?</i> ("What would you like to drink?") Response: <i>Tidak usah repot-repot.</i> ("Oh please, don't bother yourself.")  <i>Berapa umurnya? Kelihatannya muda sekali.</i> (How old are you? You look so young.) Response: <i>Terima kasih.</i> (Thank you.)</p> <p>2. Exclamation:  <i>Bajumu bagus sekali!</i> ("Your dress is so lovely!") Response: <i>Terima kasih.</i> ("Thank you.")</p>	Text "Come across a neighbor on the street"	Text "Passing by a neighbor's house"	<p>Dialogue (Role-Play):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"Meeting a neighbor on the street";</li> <li>"Becoming a guest"</li> <li>Starting an introduction in an event.</li> </ol>	Writing a chit-chat on non-formal e-mail
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Inviting someone to do something	Formal and nonformal; spoken-written	<p>Attitude Pattern: Polite</p> <p>Action Pattern: 1. Verbal: avoid mentioning interlocutor, if the verb of the sentence has an object, the sentence is transformed into passive.</p> <p>2. Nonverbal: extending one's palm to invite someone to do something.</p>	<p>Imperative Sentences: 1. Active: <i>Silakan minum.</i> ("{You} have a drink, please.") <i>Silakan isi formulir ini.</i> ("{You} fill out this form, please.")</p> <p>2. Passive: <i>Silakan diminum.</i> ("{Please} {this drink} should be drunk.") <i>Silakan formulir ini diisi.</i> ("{Please} {this form} should be filled out.")</p> <p>3. Active Transitive (in written formal language): <i>Kami perlihatkan Saudara intuk berkunjung ke kantor kami pada jam kerja.</i> ("We invite you to visit our office during working hours.")</p>	Reading "Visiting"	Texts	Texts "selling-buying"	Dialogue (Role Play): (1) Selling-market (2) Eating at a restaurant	Writing a quotation letter.
			<p>3. Imperative Sentences: <i>Mari mampir.</i> ("Please come in for a second.") Response: <i>Terima kasih.</i> ("Thank you.")</p> <p>Wah, cantik sekali kamu hari ini. ("You look so pretty today.") Response: <i>Terima kasih.</i> ("Thank you.")</p>					

## UNIT 8 BASA-BASI (CHIT-CHAT)

### TEACHING PLAN

- ❖ Students are asked not to open their books first.
- ❖ Explain and discuss the meaning of “*basa-basi*”.
- ❖ Discuss their experiences involving *basa-basi* in Indonesia. Then compare with *basa-basi* in their own countries respectively.
- ❖ Next, the instructor elaborates the teaching materials on *basa-basi* (explain the forms of *basa-basi* and its common expressions).
- ❖ The instructor also explains the forms of responses to chit-chat expressions. For example, for the question *mau ke mana?* (where are you going?), the responses can be: a verb, *makan* (eat); a prepositional phrase *ke pasar* (to the market); or a noun *pasar* (the market).
- ❖ Distribute the teaching materials. Then discuss the context in which *basa-basi* is used in the miscellaneous part.
- ❖ Students are asked to do the provided exercises. If the time is not enough, they can do the exercises for homework.

### LANGUAGE FUNCTION → *Basa-basi* (chit-chat)

In their social life, Indonesians like to *basa-basi* (chit-chat). *Basa-basi* is used to convey politeness in an interaction. The function of this *basa-basi* act is not to interfere with other people’s business. *Basa-basi* can be used, among other things, to start a conversation (as an icebreaker) with a person whom the speaker has already known or with a stranger (who is sitting next to you on a journey, for instance); to greet someone.

### THE FORMS OF *BASA-BASI*

#### 1. Interrogative Sentences

*Basa-basi* using interrogative sentences can be responded with a variety of responses.

- ‡ : *Mau ke mana?* (“Where are you going?”)
- ‡ : *Ke sana.* (“to that direction.”)
- ‡ : *Ke pasar.* (“to the market.”)
- ‡ : *Pasar.* (“the market.”)
- ‡ : *Makan.* (“eat”)

- ‡ : *Dari mana?* (“Where are you from?”)  
‡ : *Dari sana.* (“from there”)  
*Dari kampus.* (“from campus”)  
*Kampus.* (“campus”)  
*Jalan-jalan/Main.* (“just strolling along” / “play”)
- ‡ : *Sedang apa?* (“What are you doing?”)  
‡ : *Biasa beres-beres rumah.* (“The usual. Cleaning up the house.”)  
*Hai. Dari mana?* (“Hi! Where are you from?”)

...

## 2. Invitation Sentences

Invitation used as a form of *basa-basi* is not a real invitation. Usually, this *basa-basi* invitation would be responded by a polite rejection (decline).

- ‡ : *Mampir dulu!* (“Wanna stop by?”)  
*Nggak mampir dulu?* (“Why don’t you stop by?”)  
*Sudah kesiangan.* (“I’m running late.”)
- ‡ : *Ayo makan!* (“Let’s eat!”)  
*Nggak makan dulu?* (“Why don’t you eat first?”)
- ‡ : *Tadi sudah. Terima kasih.* (“I already have some. Thanks.”)  
*Masih kenyang. Terima kasih.* (“I am still full. Thank you.”)

## 3. Miscellaneous

- ‡ : *Besok aku mau ke Bali!* (“Tomorrow I am gonna go to Bali!”)  
‡ : *Jangan lupa oleh-olehnya, ya.* (“Don’t forget the souvenirs for me.”)

...

## EXERCISE

Make *basa-basi* expressions based on the situations below.

1. You use *basa-basi* expression to greet your neighbor who is just passing by. You are sitting on your porch at that time.
2. You are eating. Before you are finished eating, a guest comes. You produce a *basa-basi* expression to your guest.

...

(Source: Modul *Komunikasi Situasional* (situational communication) BIPA Program, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia)

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the teaching of culture is important to be given in language teaching, especially in BIPA program. The inclusion cultural competence and cross-cultural competence is important because it is expected that they can prevent cultural mismatches. The diversity of Indonesian culture makes Indonesia a huge training laboratory for those who wish to enjoy the differences of cultures. Many foreigners in Indonesia have experienced numerous cultural mismatches because they do not have adequate knowledge during their orientation program before they came to Indonesia. Language training which integrates communicative functions, socio-cultural aspects, linguistic aspects, and language skills aspects is expected to have the benefit of being able to provide an ideal and holistic competence for language students. One thing needs to be aware of and to be highlighted is that the objective of the cultural content inclusion in language teaching is not to teach culture or teach the theories about culture. The objective is just to raise the cross-cultural awareness to people who are learning a foreign language.

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## **The Bio-data**

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# ベンガル語を学ぶ ——その文化的背景を知ることの必要性——

丹羽 京子（東京外国語大学）

## 1. はじめに

私は文学が専門で、言語教育や言語学を専門としてきたわけではありませんので、どれだけ皆さまのお役に立てる話ができるか少し心もとないのですが、この4月より本学において、日本で初めてベンガル語を専攻するという場が開設され、その貴重な機会に携わることになりました関係で、この場を借りてベンガル語教育についてお話させていただくことになりました。もちろんそれ以前からベンガル語を教える経験はありましたが、そうしたこれまでの経験を通してベンガル語を学ぶに当たっての問題点などについて簡単にお話しさせていただきたいと思います。

## 2. ベンガル語とは

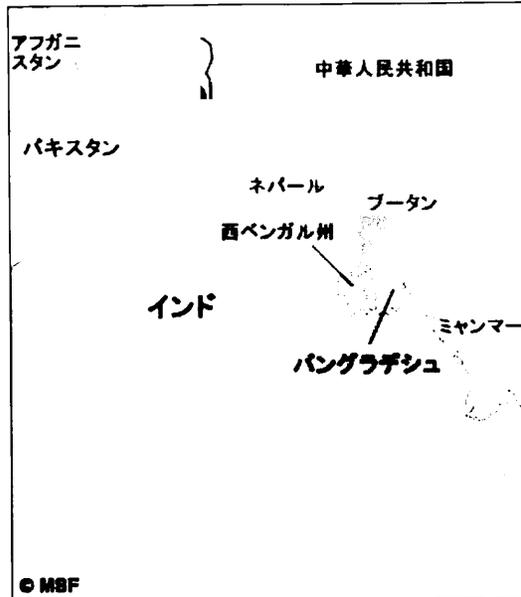
### 2.1. ベンガル語の概要

まず、ベンガル語教育の話に入る前に、ベンガル語とはどういうものなのかという概略から説明させていただきます。

図版1は、ベンガル語の使われている地域を示しています。ベンガルという単語は皆さんお聞きになったことがあると思いますが、どの地域なのかが明確でない場合もあると思います。ベンガル語は、現在は国としてはバングラデシュとインドの西ベンガル州という2国にまたがって用いられています。ただ、この地域は本来ベンガルという一つのつながりの地域でした。その地域が現在2国に分かれているわけです。

ベンガル語話者の総数ですが、まずバングラデシュはほぼ全域がベンガル語地域となっており、ベンガル語を母語とはしていない少数民族はいるのですが、かなりの割合でベンガル人が占めている関係で、ベンガル語を唯一の国語と設定しております。そしてその人口が現在約1億5000万人となっています。そして、インド側の西ベンガル州の人口は、1億人には届きませんが、それにかかなり迫っています。インドの場合は多言語国家ですので、西ベンガル州だけではなくて近隣の州にもベンガル人が多数居住しており、全体を合わせるとインド側で1億2000万人ほどの話者がいます。それから、世界中に散らばっている移民の方々などを合わせると、現在の話者数はおよそ2億8000万人と考えられています。

図版 1 : 地図



2億8000万人というと、決して少なくはありません。数だけで見ると、世界第7位の言語になります。ただ、それにしてはベンガル語はマイナー感が非常に強い言語であると思います。それは故なきことではなく、ベンガル語というのはこのベンガル地域という土地との結び付きが非常に強く、その外で用いられることがほとんどありません。その点において英語のような、あるいはインドにおけるヒンディー語のような、lingua franca としての役割は全く果たしていないのです。そのため、ベンガルの外では非常にマイナーな言語という扱いを受けるのも故なきことではないと思われます。

## 2.2. 「ベンガルはひとつ、されどふたつ」

ベンガル語を考える場合に一番注意しなければいけないのは、「ベンガルはひとつ、されどふたつ」ということです。ベンガル語は単一の言語です。単一の言語ですが、現在は2国に分かれて使われているということからも分かるように、大きくわけて東側と西側というふうには、カルチャーも違いますし、言語にも若干の差があります。ですから、どこが共通でどこが違うのかということをも心に留めて学ぶなり教えるなりしなければいけないということが、ベンガル語の大きな特徴になっています。

そもそもベンガル語は、文学用語として長らく用いられてきた言語です。ベンガル語の歴史はおおよそ1000年と言われていますが、それは最も古い文献として10世紀のものが出

てきているからです。その後ベンガル語は——現在のものとはもちろん違ってはいますが——中世にわたってずっと文学用語として用いられてきて、近代に入って文章語がさらに整えられ、ついには大詩人タゴールが現れて、それまでずっと引き継いできた文学的伝統をそこで開花させたわけです。そういう意味で単一のベンガル語というのはずっと存在しました。けれども、そのベンガル語が公用語として用いられたことは、ごく最近までなかったのです。

ベンガル語が公用語 (official language) として使われるようになったのは、実にインドとパキスタンが分離独立した後のことになります。われわれはいつもインド独立とは言わず、インド・パキスタン分離独立というのですが、2国になって独立したということが、特にベンガル地域では非常に大きな意味を持ちました。なぜならば、それまではただひとつのベンガルだったものが、東側がパキスタンとなり、西側はインドの一部となったからです。なぜそうなったかという、当然ながら、東側はイスラム教徒が多数住む地域であり、西側はヒンドゥー教徒が多数住む地域だったからなのですが、こうしてこの分離独立の1947年の時点で、同じベンガル人がほぼ半々の状態で二国に分かれたのです。同じ言語を使った同じ民族のなかで、不思議なことに、東側はイスラム教徒が多数、西側はヒンドゥー教徒が多数という状態になっていたのです。

公用語の問題に戻りますと、分離独立のときにインドの西ベンガル州においては、州の公用語はベンガル語であると認定され、ここで初めて公用語としてベンガル語が使われるようになりました。一方、東側では、——当時パキスタンでしたので、東パキスタンと呼ばれましたが——パキスタン政府が当初、ウルドゥー語を唯一の国語にするという方針を取っていましたので、ベンガル語の使用は基本的に公用語としては認めないという方針が出されていました。それに対して、ベンガル人の母語はベンガル語ですし、ウルドゥー語とベンガル語にはかなり開きがあり、文字も全く違うものですから、ウルドゥー語をいきなり公用語と言われても、とてもではないけれど受け入れられないということで、大変大きな運動が起こりました。

最初の衝突は1952年に起こりました。この出来事を言語運動、もしくはベンガル語国語化運動と呼んでいますが、この言語問題をひとつの契機として、だんだん西パキスタンと東パキスタンには距離ができていき、最終的に東パキスタンはバングラデシュとして1971年にパキスタンから独立することになります。そしてバングラデシュは、独立した暁には、真っ先にベンガル語を唯一の国語であると規定して今日に至ります。ですから、東側ではベンガル語が公に使われるようになったのは1971年以降ということになります。

ただ、公用語になったといっても、その位置付けが西と東では違っています。バングラデシュはほぼ単一民族で占められているので、基本的にベンガル語一言語でやっていくという体制なのに対して、西側は多言語国家のインドの中の一部であるということで、西ベンガル州では公用語だけれど、一歩州の外に出ると違う言語と接触するという状況になっ

ています。もちろん同じインド国内になりますから、西ベンガル州内にも多数の非ベンガル人が居住しており、完全にベンガル語だけで暮らしていくのはなかなかむずかしい状況です。このように、ベンガル語が置かれている状況が違うというところが、社会的に見る際の大きな特徴であると言えます。

これまでベンガル語、ベンガル地域などと言ってきましたが、ベンガル語自身では、ベンガルのことをバングラといいます。バングラデシュの「バングラ」です。そして「デシュ」は国という意味なので、バングラデシュは「ベンガル国」という意味になります。ただし、この「デシュ」という単語は国家というよりも、もともとの「くに」、日本語でいう「お国言葉」などの「くに」に近い単語です。ですから、バングラデシュという言い方はずっと以前からあり、このベンガル地域全体を指してバングラデシュと言っていたのです。それをそのまま国名にしてしまったために少し厄介なことになっているのですが、つまりベンガル語で書かれたものを読む場合、古い時代にバングラデシュと書いてあるときにはベンガル地域全体を指していて、最近のものでバングラデシュと書いてある場合は国家としてのバングラデシュを指しているというようなことが起こるわけです。そしてそれが混在している場合もあるので、自分が書いたりするときに、ここで私が言っているのは国家としてのバングラデシュですよとか、私が言っているのはベンガル地域のことですよ、など、いちいち注釈を打つ場合もあります。

そのようにして、同じベンガルなのだけれどやや複雑な状況を持っているのがこの地域なのですが、このベンガル地域を外から見ると、特に風景などは西も東も同じに見えます。同じインド人といっても、ベンガルは東の端ですから、西の端のインド人、例えばラージャスターンなどのインドの人たちとは、言語も違うし風習も違うし、ありとあらゆることが違います。なにより高温多湿のベンガルと、砂漠に近い西端のインドでは一見して風景も違います。それに対して、国は違うけれど、すぐ隣のバングラデシュのベンガル人とはほとんど風習も一緒、言語も一緒という状況になっているわけです。ベンガルは広大なデルタ地域を中心としていますから、特に航空写真などで上から見るとまったくのひとつながりに見えます。そうしたなかで、東側はイスラム文化を背景に持っていて、西側はヒンドゥー文化を持っているという、そこがベンガルの大変面白いところでもあります。

### 2.3. ベンガル人が共有するもの、しないもの

よく知られたベンガル人に、非ヨーロッパ人として始めてノーベル賞を取った詩人のタゴールがいます。ベンガル語発音は、タゴールではなくタクルとなり、ロビンドロナト・タクルというのが本名です。彼は1861年に生まれて1941年に亡くなっているのです、100%、英領インドの時代の人です。つまり彼は、分離・独立以前に亡くなっており、ということは、この人の書いたものはすべて東西ベンガルの共有の遺産ということになるわけです。蛇足ながらここで一つ付け加えておきたいことがあります。皆さんはご存じだと思います

が——今でも時々彼を英詩人だと思っている人がいるので必ず言うことにしているのですが——タゴールはベンガル語詩人です。生まれてから死ぬまで基本的にベンガル語以外でものを書いたことは一度もありません。自分の書いたベンガル語を英語に訳したことはあります。しかし、いきなり英語で書くということはしたことがないし、恐らくできなかったと思います。そういう人、この大詩人が英領インドの時代、公用語は英語で、学校教育は英語で行っているという時代に生まれたわけで、そのことをベンガル人は非常に誇りに思っています。ここにも文学用語として成り立ってきたベンガル語という側面があらわれているとも言えますが、このようなベンガル語をベンガル人は非常に大事にしてきました。ある意味、国家語として国家主導で引っ張ってきた言語ではないというのもベンガル語の特徴であり、おもしろいところでもあるのです。

タゴールが出ましたので、続けてノーベル賞を受賞したベンガル人をあと二人挙げたいと思います。一人は経済学者のアマルティア・センです。これもベンガル語発音だとオモルト・シェーンとなります。彼はシャンティニケトンという西ベンガルにある学園都市で生まれています。この学園都市はタゴールが作ったもので、ちなみにタゴールがアマルティアの名付け親だったと言われています。彼は1943年のベンガル大飢饉、そして分離独立をめぐる宗教対立などを10歳前後で体験し、そのときの衝撃から経済学者の道を歩んだとされています。高等教育は西ベンガルのコルカタで受け、次いでケンブリッジで学位を取りました。イギリスやアメリカでの活動も顕著ですが、インド人としてのアイデンティティーもしっかり持っている人です。

もう一人のムハマド・ユヌスはアマルティア・センより少し年下で、同じく経済学者ですが、グラミン・バンクの活動が評価され、ノーベル平和賞を受賞しました。ムハマド・ユヌスは東側、現在のバングラデシュのチッタゴンの出身で、ダッカ大学で経済学を修めたのち、アメリカに渡りさらに研鑽をつんでいます。バングラデシュ独立時にはアメリカで支援組織を率い、独立後の72年に帰国、以後はバングラデシュで活動しています。

この3人は、3人ともベンガル人で、ベンガル語話者でもあります。国家的には微妙に立ち位置が違います。モハマド・ユヌスは通常「バングラデシュ人」として捉えられずし、アマルティア・センはやはりインドに軸足があるので——ただし、センの一族は、もともと東側のダッカの出身で、分離独立の際に完全にダッカを引き払って西側に移ったという経緯があります——「インド人」と考えられるのですが、タゴールを同じように「インド人」として括ってしまうことには、ベンガル人、特にバングラデシュのベンガル人には抵抗があるようです。

もちろんタゴールはベンガル人であると同時にインド人であるわけですが、タゴールの場合は英領インドの時代の「ひとつのインド」だったときのインド人ですから、今日の国家としてのインドとは異なるわけです。ですから今日の文脈で「インド人」と言われてしまうのは、ちょっと承服できないというのが、バングラデシュでの感じ方であると言える

でしょう。

バングラデシュのベンガル人、ということで付け加えるなら、ベンガル語に対する思いや取り組みも違うということがよく言われます。先に述べましたが、バングラデシュでは東パキスタン時代にベンガル語国語化運動が盛り上がり、まさにベンガル語を守るために独立戦争まで戦い抜いたという意識があります。ダッカにはベンガル語国語化運動の象徴である「ショヒド・ミナル」という記念碑があり、記念日である2月21日も盛大に祝われます。こうしたことはバングラデシュの歴史であって、同じベンガル語話者として気持ちは共有するにしても、西ベンガルの人々はこの歴史は共有していないのです。このように共有しているものと共有していないもの——たとえばタゴールは東西で完全に共有しているけれども、モハメド・ユヌスの存在はそうではない、など——が混在しているのがベンガル語の世界です。

### 3. だれがなぜベンガル語を学ぶのか

#### 3.1. 日本の各種教育機関によるベンガル語学習

学んだり教えたりするときの話に入る前に、日本ではこれまでどんな人がベンガル語を習ってきたかをざっと見てみましょう。

まず、外務省では長年ベンガル語の研修がなされてきました。これは1961年以来行なわれているのですが、毎年ベンガル語の研修は行わないので、現在までで15名程度になります。

それから、東京外国語大学にあるアジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所でも、ベンガル語の研修が行われてきました。こちらも毎年は行われないので、1968年以来、現在まで5回研修を行って、受講生が全部で50～60名という数字が出ております。

また、JICAの駒ヶ根研修所では海外青年協力隊員の人に特化した研修がなされています。ここで研修を受けた全員が、ボランティアとしてバングラデシュに行くわけです。こちらの研修が始まったのは1973年、当然バングラデシュが成立した後なのですが、それ以来、現在まで1000名以上の方がベンガル語を習い、バングラデシュに赴任しています。一番数が多いのがここです。ですから、現在ベンガル語を話せる、あるいは習ったことがあるという人に会った場合、この協力隊員のOB・OGである確率が非常に高くなっています。8割以上がそうだというのが私の実感です。

それに加えて、早稲田奉仕園でも一般の学習者の人にベンガル語を教えています。こちらもスタートが1973年で、教えていらっしゃるのがバングラデシュ人のネイティブの先生なので、このJICAの研修所と並んで、バングラデシュのベンガル語を中心とした学習が行われています。

つまりこれまでのベンガル語学習は、総じて学習の動機が明確で、どのようなベンガル語を学習すればよいかについてあまり迷いがなかったということが言えるのではないでし

ようか。つまりボランティアでバングラデシュに行くであるとか、外務省で近い将来ダッカの大使館に赴任するというのであれば、なにをどの程度学ばよいか明確であるわけですし、また若手の研究者が参加することが多いアジア・アフリカ言語研究所の言語研修においても、フィールド調査のためであるとか、ある文献を読むためであるとか、比較的目的が明確であったと言えます。

具体的な例で言えば、JICA のベンガル語研修ではバングラデシュでのベンガル語に特化したテキストが作られていて、西ベンガルでのベンガル語には注意を払わなくてよいわけですし、また、より実用的な能力が求められていますから、文献を読むための文語体など必要がないことになります。

### 3.2. 大学におけるベンガル語教育

それに対して、去年からこの東京外国語大学でベンガル語専攻が開講されたわけですが、今までのベンガル語学習とこの外大のベンガル語学習では違ったスタンスが要求されることになると思います。つまり、これまでとは違い、大学でベンガル語を学ぶということは、まだその将来の道筋が分からない学生に対して教えるということになりますので、その先をオープンにしておいて、どんな可能性にも対応できるような、標準的かつ広いビジョンでベンガル語を教えなければいけない、そういうカリキュラムを組まなければいけないということになるわけです。

ですから JICA で使っているテキストやカリキュラムを適用するわけにはいきませんし、外務省のものであってもそのまま使えません。将来どのようにベンガル語を役立てるのか、西ベンガルとバングラデシュのどちらと密接なかかわりを持つのか、それが定まっていない場合の、価値中立的で、かつ効率的なベンガル語教育とはどのようなものか、ということが問題になってきます。

## 4. 価値中立的であるということ

### 4.1. 東西ベンガル語の差異

先ほどから東と西、バングラデシュと西ベンガルなどと言っていますが、どのくらいベンガル語が違うのかということをお話しなければなりません。同じベンガル語にどれくらい違いがあるのか、またどのような違いなのか、ということです。ベンガル語の違い、特に語彙における多面性を視覚的に説明するのに、よく図版 2 のようなカレンダーを使うのですが、まずこれについてご説明しましょう。



言葉からして、西と東では違います。なぜかという、再三申し上げているように東側はイスラム教国なので、「こんにちは」はイスラム教徒共通の挨拶、「アッサラームアライクム」を用います。しかし、西側はヒンドゥー教徒が多いので、「こんにちは」と言うのに「ノモシュカル」という全く別の単語を用います。ちなみにこちらはヒンディー語の「ナマスカール」——ヒンディー語ではこれに加えて「ナマステー」も用いますが——と同一のもののベンガル語発音です。それから、人に対する呼称や親族名称もイスラム教徒とヒンドゥー教徒では全く別のものを用います。そういう比較的初期の段階で学ぶことに意外と違う点が多いのです。逆に、どんどん学んでいってアカデミックな文章のようなものになればなるほど、東西の違いはほとんどなくなってくるのですが、最初に学習者が触れるような部分で違いが目立つのです。

ですから、先ほど申し上げたように、初めからバングラデシュに行くということが分かっているケースでは、西側のもは捨ててしまつて東側のものだけを学ぶ。あるいは、インドに行くということが分かっている場合には、東側のもは捨てて西側のもだけ学ぶということが行われてきました。

語彙面では今挙げた以外にもいろいろな違いがあります。ベンガル語の語彙には、サンスクリット語から来ている語彙——ベンガル語ではタトサム系の語彙と言ひ、サンスクリットがベンガル語化したものを指しますが——がかなりあります。それにペルシャ語、アラビア語から入ってきている語彙も多数あります。というのは、ベンガル語だけではなくヒンディー語もそうなのですが、ムガル帝国の時代は公用語がペルシャ語でしたので、ペルシャ語からの語彙がたくさんインドに入ってきたからです。そういうこともあつて、ベンガル語では同じものや事柄を指す単語が、二通りある場合が少なくないのです。それに加えて最近では英語からの借用語も増えてきたので、似たような単語で英語から入ってきたものもあるということが起こつてきて、どれを選択するかということに迷ひが生じます。その選択の仕方に、西側と東側では若干の差があるわけです。東側だところら側の単語がよく使われるのだけれども、西へ行くと別の単語がよく使われるということが起こってきます。

次に、発音と活用形も若干違います。これに関しては国が二国になってしまったということが大きく作用しています。通常、どんな言語でも標準語というものが設定されるわけですが、ベンガル語の場合は、もともと標準語とされていたのはカルカッタ——現在のコルカタ——のベンガル語でした。分離・独立以前は、ベンガル地域の中心地というのはコルカタだったのです。ですから、東ベンガルの人であろうが西ベンガルの人であろうが高等教育を受けようと思うとコルカタに出できます。そこに文壇があり、詩壇があり、知識人が集まっているということで、コルカタのベンガル語が標準語ということです。ずっと来たわけでは、

ですから、発音であれ何であれ、コルカタをベースとしたベンガル語から外れたものは

方言という扱いになるわけで、ここまでは通常どこでも見られる現象です。ところが、国が分かれてしまったてからは、バングラデシュでは首都のダッカがもう一つ別の求心点として立ち上がることになりました。もはやダッカのベンガル語は方言ではない、ということですね。ダッカのベンガル語とコルカタのベンガル語とは若干発音が違い、活用形にも若干の違いがあるのですが、かつては方言と見なされていたものが、国家となったが故にそちらがもう一つの標準語となるわけです。現状としてはどちらのベンガル人も、このベンガル語が標準だと思っているという状態で、二本立てになっているところを、ベンガル語が母語ではない者がベンガル語を学ぶときに、どちらを標準と見なして学んでいったらいいのか、あるいは両方、二本立てで常にやっていくのかというのは迷うところです。

もちろん国が独立した瞬間に「標準語」が立ち上がるわけではありませんので、しばらくの間はコルカタのベンガル語が標準であるという考え方は残存していました。現在でも年齢が上になればなるほどそうだと思います。ただ、すでに独立後40年以上が経ちますし、最近では「いつまでも西側のベンガル語規範に従っている必要はない」というような意見も聞かれるようになり、完全に「ふたつの標準」を設定せざるを得ない時期に来ていると思います。

もう一つ、綴りの違いもあります。綴りというのは日々変化するものでもありますが、先ほど申しましたように、ベンガル語にはサンスクリット語から入ってきた語彙がたくさんあり、そのことがひとつの問題になっています。つまり、これらの語彙に対して、ベンガル語はかなり発音がずれてしまっているのですが、実際の発音に近づけたいという傾向がある一方で、どんどん綴りを変えてしまうと、同じところから来ている語彙を使っているヒンディー語やほかの言語と離れていってしまうという考え方もあるのです。綴りを変えないでいけば、ベンガル人がヒンディー語を学んだときに、これは同じ単語だということが一目で分かるのに、綴りを変えてしまうとそれが分かりにくくなってしまいか、少なくとも改めて綴りを覚えなければならなくなります。

ですから、西側、インドの中で使われているベンガル語に関してはあまり綴りを変えたくない、変えないでおこう、ほかの言語との共通な要素をなるべく残しておこうという傾向があるのに対して、バングラデシュではそういう必要が全くないので、発音に近づけて発音どおりの綴りにしようという傾向が顕著です。今のところ西と東の綴りはそんなに離れていないのですが、徐々に離れる傾向があり、国が別々である限り、離れていくことはあっても、それがまた近づくということは考えにくく、今後もっと離れていくだろうと予測されます。そうした場合、どちらの綴りを採用したらいいのかということが問題になります。教室で教えるときなどに、いつも二通り教えるのか、例えばテストをしたときに、どこまでであれば綴りが違っていると言えるのか。これもあり得るのか、これもいいしあれもいいしと、全部いいというふうにしてしまっているのか、あるいは一つに統一した方がいいのかと迷うところです。

## 4.2. ベンガル語学習の際の注意点

こんな背景があるので、ベンガル語学習をするときには、まずいろいろなことを決めてかからなければならないのです。どの辞書を使うかということも問題になります。ベンガル語の場合は、残念ながらベンガル語－日本語の辞書がありません。そういうものを作ってしまうのが一番早いのですが、現状ではありませんので、今はベンガル語－英語の辞書を使うしかないので、そしてそれらの辞書はインドもしくはバングラデシュで出版されているものになるので、どちらの辞書を使うかによって、やはり語彙の選択やつづりや説明の仕方に若干の違いがあります。理想を言えば、両方並べていつも両方を読んでいることですが、なかなかそうもいかないので、当面、初歩の学習者にどの辞書を買ってもらい、どれをよりどころにしてもらうのかということを考えなければなりません。

また、購読テキストを選んだりするときにも、なるべく大学ではバランスよく、バングラデシュのものばかり読むのではなく、インドのものも読み、インドのものをしばらく読んだなと思ったらバングラデシュのものを読みというふうにはバランスを取ることも大切でしょう。もちろんこれまで述べてきたように、語彙や言い回し、さまざまな局面において違いがあるので、通常の、標準語がひとつの場合よりも苦労が増すことも少なくないのですが、それをおもしろさや奥深さに転換していく努力も必要です。また、講読の際には、ベンガル語には文語体というものもありまして、20世紀の半ばぐらいまでは使われていましたのでこちらにも慣れる必要があります。文語体の文章になると、動詞の活用や代名詞が異なるだけでなく、また語彙の選択が若干異なってきます。

あるいは発音も、きれいな発音、いい発音ですねと言われるために、どういう発音を学んでもらうか、この辺のところをまず始める前に考えなければなりません。発音の問題は、本学ではネイティブの先生を必ずお呼びして教えていただくというシステムになっていますが、どこからネイティブの先生をお呼びしたらいいのかということにもつながってきます。バングラデシュから先生をお呼びするのか、インドからお呼びするのか。それによってその方の発音が若干異なります。発音だけでなく、活用形やつづり、先ほどまでお話ししたことすべてにおいてネイティブの先生は若干違うので、そしてそれぞれがそれぞれのベンガル語こそが標準語であると思っていらっしゃるので、その辺りのバランスを取っていくというのが難しい点になっています。

## 5. おわりに

今までずっとお話ししたようなことは、この場で議論されていることと少しずれてしまうかもしれませんが、ベンガル語の場合はこのような事情があるので、ことばを学ぶにあたって、文化的背景を知ることは必須であるという例としてお話しさせていただきました。今日お話ししたような事柄は、言語を学びながら徐々に知っていくこと、あるいは言語を学

ぶに当たって、その背景となる事柄を知ることがいかに有効であるかというようなこととは少し違う角度のものになるかもしれませんが、ベンガル語を学ぶ場合は、今お話ししたような簡単な歴史や東西の違い、なぜこうなっているのかというようなことはまず知っておく必要があると思われまます。教える側は当然知っていなければなりません、学ぶ側もそれを知った上で、自分が学びたいのはどういうベンガル語なのか、自分が学んでいるのはどういうことばなのかという立ち位置をちょっとやはり初めに明確にしてスタートすることが、ベンガル語の場合は合理的に学習を進めていくための一つのポイントになると思っています。

もちろん学んでいながら、もっといろいろなこと、文化的な背景は出てきます。最初にお話ししましたように、ベンガル語というのは文学用語として長らく用いられてきたもので、文学によって牽引されてきたという側面があるので、文学作品が一つの基準になっています。ですので、そういうものを読むことが欠かせないのですが、当然、文学作品を読むにはかなりの文化的なバックグラウンドを知っていなければなりません。ベンガル人の場合は、タゴールのベンガル語がやはりお手本となっていて、小学校の教科書の最後の方から必ずタゴールの作品がどんどん出てきます。そうしたものを読まない、なかなかベンガル語ができるようになったという実感も持てないのですが、それらを読むためには、かなり文化に対する親近感を持っていかないとなかなか難しいというところがあると思えます。

最後にベンガル文字をお見せします。(図版3)

ベンガルは東西で多々違いがありますが、用いられているのは同じベンガル文字です。その点は、ほぼ同一の言語であるウルドゥー語とヒンディー語が、アラビア文字とデーヴァナーガリー文字と言う異なる文字を用いているのとは対照的です。東パキスタン時代にはベンガル語をアラビア文字であらわすという「実験」も行われたようですが、まったく定着しませんでした。

ベンガル語は表音文字ですし、文字の数はそれほど多くありません。ただ結合文字という子音字と子音字をあわせたものが多数あり、また、文字と発音がやや離れているのが難点です。また、活字と手書き文字の差も大きく、慣れるまでは手書きの文字はなかなか読めません。例としてタゴールの手書きの文字を挙げてありますが(図版4)、これは『書きなぐさみ (Lekhan)』という短詩集から取ったものです。

ただ、ベンガルの人々はベンガル語に愛着を持っていると同時に、この文字に対してもたいへんな愛着を持っています。それらを使いこなせると一気にベンガル人との距離が縮まることは間違いありません。

以上、ベンガル語を学んだり教えたりする際の留意点を中心にお話させていただきました

た。日本ではこれまでベンガル語を教える場所があまりありませんでしたので、こうしたことも広くは知られてこなかったかと思い、お話しした次第です。どうもありがとうございました。

図版3：ベンガル文字（活字）

অ	আ	ই	ঈ	উ	ঊ	ঋ	এ	ঐ	ও	ঔ	
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au	
[ɔ, o]	[ɑ:]	[i, e]	[i]	[u, o]	[u]	[ri]	[e, æ]	[oj]	[o]	[ow]	
ক	কা	কি	কী	কু	কূ	ক্	কে	কৈ	কো	কৌ	
ka	kā	ki	kī	ku	kū	kṛ	ke	kai	ko	kau	
ক	খ	গ	ঘ	ঙ	চ	ছ	জ	ঝ	ঞ		
ka [kɔ]	kha [kʰɔ]	ga [gɔ]	gha [gʱɔ]	ŋa [ŋɔ]	ca [tʃɔ]	cha [tʃʰɔ]	ja [dʒɔ]	jha [dʒʱɔ]	ña [ɲɔ]		
ট	ঠ	ড	ঢ	ণ	ত	থ	দ	ধ	ন		
ṭa [ʈɔ]	ṭha [ʈʰɔ]	ḍa [ɖɔ]	ḍha [ɖʱɔ]	ṇa [ɳɔ]	ta [tɔ]	tha [tʰɔ]	da [dɔ]	dha [dʱɔ]	na [nɔ]		
প	ফ	ব	ভ	ম	য	র	ল	শ	ষ	স	হ
pa [pɔ]	pha [pʰɔ]	ba [bɔ]	bha [bʱɔ]	ma [mɔ]	ya [jɔ]	ra [rɔ]	la [lɔ]	śa [ʃɔ/sɔ]	ṣa [ʃɔ]	sa [ʃɔ/sɔ]	ha [ɦɔ]
য়	ড়	ঢ়	য়	ড়	ঢ়						
ya [jɔ]	ḍa [ʈɔ]	ḍha [ʈʰɔ]	য়	ড়	ঢ়						

図版4 : ベンガル文字 (手書き)

অসমীয়া লোক লেখা আশুতোষী আশী,  
মিস্ত্রী কুন্তলা লেখা মিস্ত্রী কুন্তলা ॥

প্রাচীন কুন্তলা লেখা কুন্তলা লেখা দান,  
প্রাচীন দিগা লেখা কুন্তলা লেখা কুন্তলা ॥

এম লেখা নাই মেখা বহু কিছু লেখা,  
এম লেখা লেখা কুন্তলা লেখা লেখা ॥

এম লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা,  
এম লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা ॥

আশুতোষী আশুতোষী লেখা লেখা লেখা  
মিস্ত্রী মিস্ত্রী লেখা লেখা লেখা ॥

প্রাচীন লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা  
প্রাচীন লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা ॥

দুঃখের লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা  
এম লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা ॥

এম লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা,  
এম লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা লেখা ॥

## 言語教育における文化的知識の重要性 —オーストラリア先住民語教育を例にして—

拝田 清（四天王寺大学）

富盛先生から先ほど「同僚」と言っていただきましたが、もともとは言語学の道に導いてくださった師匠で、不肖の弟子としては非常にこそばゆい感じがします。私は先ほどご紹介にもありましたように、現在は二足のわらじ、最近は三足のわらじと自分で言っていますが、四天王寺大学では教育学部で英語教育学という形で教員養成に関わっています。オーストラリア先住民語とどう関係があるかというところ、言葉の教育ということでは関わるといって進めております。

まず今日の発表の概要です。「はじめに」というところでオーストラリア先住民語との出会いをお話しします。それから「用語の定義」、こちらはハンドアウトに予稿として出しているところを少し簡単に見直します。3番目がオーストラリア先住民のいる調査地の概要、それからオーストラリア先住民の中にヨルング (yolngu) という部族がいるのですが、その人たちについての概要です。4番目がメーンで、ヨルング、さらにヨルングの中のグパプイング (Gupapuyngu) というクラン (部族) がいるのですが、その人たちの言語文化についてお話をします。このときに文化が言語に相当程度影響を及ぼして、なぜそうなるかを考えるときに、文化的なことを考えていくと、なるほどと分かるところがあるのではないかと思っています。さらに具体的なところでは、5番目の「双数 (dual) と人称代名詞について」になります。最後は「おわりに」という形で、まとめという形になっていくと思います。

### 1. はじめに

#### 1-1. オーストラリア先住民語との出会い

まず、どうしてオーストラリア先住民語と出会ったかというところ、大学院の博士課程前期を修了した後、アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所で1年間、研究生をさせていただきました。そこで言語類型論を少し深めようと思ったのですが、いろいろと先生方とお話をしているうちに、そのときは予備校で教えていたものですから、「拝田君の場合は英語をいろいろ教えているし、どこか英語圏の国へ行って英語教授法を勉強して、同時にもし言語学的に、その地域の言語をやれたらいいんじゃないの」という話をしてくださる先生がいたのです。それでいろいろと考えた結果、英語教授法プラスアルファを求めて、カナダに行くか、オーストラリアに行くか、はたまたパプアニューギニアに行くかと、いろいろ悩んだ末、安全策を取ってオーストラリアに行くことにしました。この辺は偶然というか、腰が

引けた状態で行っているわけです。

最初はシドニーに行って、シドニー大学で英語教授法のコースにまず入りました。オーストラリアの大学院は、非常に楽と言えば楽なのです。午前中で授業が終わってしまって、あとは空いているので、夕方からコミュニティーカレッジで、オーストラリア先住民語の授業があるということで、そちらに申し込んで週に2回ほど、その地域のウィラジュリという言語を学びました。ウィラジュリは、もともとは「持たない」という意味です。要するに所有物を持たないという意味で、貧しいという意味ではなく、むしろ肯定的にとらえられているのですが、そういう人たちの言語を学びました。そこで本格的にこの言語をやりたいと思い、その当時もオーストラリアの正規の大学院教育で先住民語を教えているところは、チャールズ・ダーウィン大学という、ノーザンテリトリーにあるパプアニューギニアのすぐ下辺りの大学しかなかったものですから、そちらに移ることになりました。

もう一つ言えば、もともとオーストラリア先住民語があるのを知ったのは、富盛先生の授業で角田太作先生の『世界の言語と日本語』という本を読んで、その中で角田先生はオーストラリア原住民語とおっしゃっていましたが、そこでワルビリなどの言葉が出てきて、こういう言語があるのだと知りました。当時は音声も聞いたことがないし、どんな人たちかも全く分かりませんでした。そういったところで興味があったということです。これが2004年、10年ぐらい前の話です。

シドニーの大学を途中で抜けて、1年間通わなくても集中講義でサーティフィケートはもらえるので、修了後にノーザンテリトリーに移りました。当初は修士課程に入るはずでしたが、オーストラリアはなかなか厳しいところがあり、15人いないと講座が廃止されます。それで、僕の入るはずだった修士課程が廃止になりました。僕が事務局へ書類を持っていった瞬間に、事務のお姉さんが“Uh-oh”と一言言いました。何のことかと思ったら、要するに僕が入ることを忘れていたらしいのです。結局、修士課程がなくなったのですが、「心配しないで (No worries)」と言われて、単位を落とした人の授業が幾つかあるから、それを拾っていけば、修士までは行かないけれどディプロマという資格が取れるよという話で、まあいいかと思って入ったわけです。

ただ、レベルが高い人たちが単位を落としているところへいきなり初心者で入ったものですから、その後はすごく苦勞しました。マイケル・クリスティー、ジョン・グレートレックス、ベティー、ワイマンバという先住民の方々と出会い、日本からわざわざ自分たちの言語を学びに来てくれるなんて気に入ったということで、養子にしてもらって、そこで私は良きヨルングとなる誓いを立てるわけです。ヨルングというのは、オーストラリア先住民の中の一部族の名前で、さらにその下にまたたくさんのクランがあるのですが、ヨルングには「人」という意味があり、良きヨルングになるということは、良き人間になるということになります。

どのような誓いを立てるか、いろいろあるのですが、一つは、教わるときに質問をして

はいけない。これは言語研究では非常に困ります。分からないときに質問をしてはいけない。教えてくれるまで待たなければいけない。従って、当初の4~5年は研究がほとんど進みませんでした。帰ってきてからも、夏休みを1カ月使ってオーストラリアにいて、何か学べたか、1回だけ話が聞けて少し分かったということが多々ありました。これが変わってくるのが、この後紹介する東京外国語大学での授業が始まってからです。こういう感じで私はオーストラリア先住民語を始めたわけです。

## 1-2. 東京外国語大学「オーストラリア先住民語入門」実践報告

今日の発表は、基本的には本学で、当初は非常勤で始めて、今も新年度からは残念ながら通年ではなくって集中講義になるのですが、「オーストラリア先住民語入門」という授業を作って担当させていただきました。それを2010年から開講するに当たり、実は私は、先ほど良きヨルングになると誓いを立てたのですが、まだ大人としては認められていないのです。ヨルングでは、男の子は大体7~8歳で割礼の儀式に出ます。それが終わると大人として認められるのですが、私はまだそれを済ませていないので、もう48歳なのですが、大人ではないのです(笑)。そうすると、僕がヨルングの文化や言語について語るのは、実は正しくないのです。

そういうこともあって、富盛先生から授業をやっているですよと言っていたのですが、彼らに連絡を取って、やっていかどうか稟議してもらったわけです。ところが、頼んでから答えが出るまで半年かかりました。彼らは議論して、いついつまでに結論を出すということをしらないのです。たまたま会ったときに「清がやりたいそうだけど、どう」「うーん」という形が半年ぐらい続いて、最後に「まあいいか」となるわけなのです。こういうところが彼らの意思決定なのです。上下関係が基本的にありませんから、みんな常道で意見を言い合うわけで、そういったところからも民主主義ではコストが掛かるのが本当なのだと思うような状況で、決定したのが半年後なので、後期から始めたことになりました。

当然、先ほど言いました適切な人間ではないことを向こうにも申し上げましたら、では助けてやろうということで、先住民のヨルングの方々、特に長老たちが、彼らは昔ながらの生活を送りながら、一方では携帯電話を持っていますし、Macや、最近ではiPadなどを使っているのです。Skypeを使って授業に出てやるからということで、それで講義を3部構成にして、私が教える部分と先住民たちがSkypeを通して授業に出てくれる部分、それをまとめたりする時間という形で始める事になりました。Skypeは既にご存じだと思うのですが、簡単に言えば無料のテレビ電話システムです。インターネットがつながれば使えることになります。

2010年後期からの授業は16回行いましたが、一つの授業は90分で、初めの30分は前回の復習、質問への回答をします。日本人教員(私)が語彙や文法、あるいはその後にSkype

による講義で出てくる文化の前説明もしていました。ただ、先住民たちは極めて自由な方々で、時計をそもそも持っていませんし、それから今日こういうことを話すと言っている、そのときの気分で違う話が始まったりするので、かなり苦勞はしました。

この30分説明が終わった後、実際に Skype で先住民による講義があって、その後の時間は映像資料による文化理解ということで、映画やドキュメンタリー映像を流して、僕が補足していきました。例えば、「裸足の1500マイル (Rabbit-Proof Fence)」「十艘のカヌー (Ten Canoes)」といった映画、あるいはハリウッド映画で、これはむしろネガティブに、この映画はうそだからと言いながら、「オーストラリア」というヒュー・ジャックマンとオーストラリア女優のニコール・キッドマンが出ている映画などを見せていきました。実は、Skype の遠隔講義は先住民の都合で突然キャンセルになったり、電波状態が悪くて Skype がつながらなくなったり、そういう事故が割と頻繁に起こるのです。そこで、このようなものを設定しておけば、この時間を延ばせば90分が無駄にならないと考えたのです。

最後の10分ほどは、リアクション・ペーパーに質問・コメントなどを書いてもらいます。書いてもらった質問には翌週に僕が答えて、皆さんの感想をフィードバックします。このような授業形態です。

教科書についてはチャールズ・ダーウィン大学も協力してくれていて、ヨルングの中のグパピング語を教えるための教材が出来上がっています。もともとこれは遠隔地教育のもので、一人で学習できるように組まれているものです。これを安く譲ってもらって、学生さんと一緒に使いました。

プロジェクター画面では、実際に Skype で授業をしている風景、向こうの講義棟の教室、先住民の女性と長老を映します。授業では、学生に直接 Skype を通じて話をして、質問をしたり、答えてもらったりしています。媒介言語は英語で行われますが、ただし英語もオーストラリアン・イングリッシュではなく、アボリジナル・イングリッシュというもので、かなり先住民のアクセントが強く影響した英語になっています。

## 2. 用語の定義

ここからは用語の定義に入ります。まず昨日の議論でもとりあげられましたが、「文化」の定義は非常に難しく、研究者の数だけあります。そこで、この辺りはオーストラリアで研究するようになってくるのかもしれませんが、「僕がこう決めますからこれでいきますね」という、誰かのものを持ってくるのではなくて、取りあえず僕はこれで話を進めますという形で決めてしまいました。ご了承ください。

次に「言語教育」、言葉の教育ということです。私は英語を教えたりもしますし、遠い昔は日本語を少し教えたりもしたのですが、今は英語とオーストラリア先住民語を教えています、その考え方についてです。まず、「外国語教育」にかなりこだわっています。日本における英語教育もそうなのですが、第2言語ではないということです。教室から一歩外

へ出れば、その言語は使われていません。役に立つかどうかといえば、ためにはなるけれど、どちらかといえば役に立たない。そういう言語を教えるのだということで、当然オーストラリア先住民語も、そうした扱いでとらえています。

外語大は語学好きの学生が多いと思っていました。僕自身もそうでした。ただ、オーストラリア先住民語の文法、音韻体系、言語学プロパーっぽい授業をすると、登録人数が10名少しになるのです。ところが、文化中心に行くと言うと、25名ぐらいの登録が出てきます。東京外国語大学ではかなり大きなクラスサイズです。

そこで、僕がオーストラリア先住民たちから託されているのは、ヨルングたちのことを世界で宣伝することです。ですから、Chan先生の企画によるシンガポール国立大学のシンポジウムでも発表させていただきましたし、先週はソルトレイクシティでも発表してきました。そういう形で、なるべくいろいろな人に聞いてもらわなければいけないので、少し数が多い方がいいということで、外国語教育として、そして文化をなるべく教えるという形で、言語もその中に当然入ってくるということで組んでいます。

ですから、僕の言葉の教育、言語教育の立脚点は二つです。まず、「外国語教育の目的は、人格形成と恒久平和である」ということです。なぜ英語を教えるのか、なぜオーストラリア先住民語を教えるのかと聞かれたら、僕はニヤッと笑って「世界平和のためです」と言います。最初みんな失笑するのですが、よくよく考えていただくと、これはまず日本の教育基本法の中にしっかりとうたわれていて、学習指導要領の中でも確認されていることです。人間性を高める、それから世界の恒久平和に貢献する、そのために日本の教育はあるし、外国語教育、英語教育、ひいてはオーストラリア先住民語教育もあるのだということでやっているわけです。そして「オーストラリア先住民語教育は、外国語教育である」と。ですから、オーストラリア先住民語を教えながら、できれば世界平和に貢献したいと考えているわけです。なかなか道は遠いですが。

### 3. 調査地の概要

調査地の概要に参ります。オーストラリアの地図のなかで、真ん中にあるのがウルルです。昔で言えばエアーズロックですが、先住民の言葉ではウルルと言うので、今はこう呼ぶようになっています。画面の点線で囲んだ部分がノーザンテリトリー（北部準州）で、ダーウィンが僕の拠点で、チャールズ・ダーウィン大学もここにありました。

さらにダーウィンから進んで奥地へ入っていくのですが、北部準州（ノーザンテリトリー）の概要をお示しします。ノーザンテリトリーだけで、フランスの2倍半の州面積があるので、かなり広いです。少し古いデータですが、首府のダーウィンは12万5000人の港湾都市です。気候は熱帯性または砂漠気候なのですが、僕の入っているところは熱帯性で、平均気温は30℃、季節は基本的に雨期と乾期、今はちょうど向こうは雨期、暑い夏で雨がたくさん降る時期になっています。

ダーウィンの中にアーネムランドといわれる地域があります。ここは先住民たちの特別居住地域で、政府の許可がなければ簡単には入れません。さらにアーネムランド全域の中で、僕がお世話になったヨルングの人たちが暮らしているのがノーザンテリトリーの先端の地域です。僕が特にお世話になっているヨルングの中でも、グパピングという人たちは、海に近いところで暮らしている海洋民族というのでしょうか、北東アーネムランドと言われる地域に暮らしています。地域としては、ミリンギンビ、ガリウィンク、イリカラというところに暮らしていて、この3地域から Skype を使って授業を交互にしてもらっていました。

ちなみに、この地域は海のものを食べるので、例えば一昨年、僕が先住民たちをこちらの世界言語社会教育センターでお呼びして、沖縄料理を食べに行き、ラフテーを食べてもらったのです。そうしたら食べた瞬間に「おいしい。ジュゴンと同じ味がする」と言いました。ジュゴンを食べてしまうのか。でも、彼らは取り過ぎることはありませんし、家族が食べる分だけしか取らないので、その辺は聞き流しておいてください。ほかにもウミガメがおいしいとか、8月ごろに行けば、向こうは乾期で涼しい時期で、ガリウィンクの辺りの海岸を歩いているだけでいろいろな食べ物があるから来いと言ってくれています。

オーストラリア先住民はどういう人たちかというと、これも諸説あって、最大7万年という話もありますが、5万3000年前にはオーストラリア大陸に到着したとされています。ちなみにオーストラリア先住民には二つの民族がおり、一つがいわゆるオーストラリア先住民 (Aboriginal Peoples)、もう一つがトレス諸島民 (Torres Strait Islanders) です。これはパプアニューギニアと、オーストラリアの木曜島あたりの間の島々の人たちで、もともとはパプアニューギニアに近いメラネシア系の人たちなのですが、パプアニューギニアが独立する際に、オーストラリアとパプアニューギニアのどちらに行くかでオーストラリアを取ったので、オーストラリアの中の先住民となっていますが、人種的にはオーストラリア先住民とは若干の違いがあります。

現在のインドネシア、あるいはパプアニューギニアから、今のアーネムランド、ヨルングたちのいる地域に到達したのではないか。今から数万年前は海面が低く、パプアニューギニアとオーストラリアはサフル大陸と言われて陸続きだったので、かなりのところを歩きました。それ以前のインドネシアの島々のところも割と小さな船で渡れただろうと言われているので、そういった形で広がってきただろうと考えられています。

ポイントは、先住民たちは「アボリジニ」と言われるのが嫌なのだそうです。では何と言うのと聞いたら、「アボリジナルと呼べ」と。あまり変わらないかと思うのですが、このように彼らはこだわっています。

ただ、実際問題、彼らはどう自分たちを呼んでいるかというと、シドニー辺りのウィラジュリたちは、コーリといいます。ヨルングたちは、自分たちのことをヨルングといいます。これは要するに、「人、人間」という意味なのです。「おまえは何者だ」「人間だ」と答

えたところから来る。例えばイヌイットやアイヌなどと語源的には同じかもしれませんが。要は、人を表す言葉で自分たちのことを呼ぶわけです。

オーストラリア先住民の話をする、近くにニュージーランドがあってマオリがいるので、よく一緒ですかと言われるのですが、全然体格が違います。こちらの平均身長は、僕が目算で出しています。マオリの方は結構データが出ているのですが、マオリの方が圧倒的に体は大きいですし、社会階級もきちんと王様から奴隷まであるのですが、オーストラリア先住民ではそうした階級はありません。言語も、オーストラリアンはオーストラリア先住民なのですが、こちらのマオリはオーストロネシアン、マレー・ポリネシアンと言われていて、ハワイやイースター島あたりの言語とも非常に近いです。文化としては、体に粘土でペインティングをするのです。ところがマオリたちは、ペインティングではなくて入れ墨なのです。それからヨルングたちは一夫多妻制です。マオリたちは一夫一婦制が原則で、ただ、チーフとか王様レベルになると複数の奥さんをもらうことがあると言われてます。これぐらい違っているのです。

ちなみに、ニューギニア高地人とオーストラリア先住民は極めて身体的にも特徴的にも似ています。マスクを作ったりするところは若干違うのですが、ペインティングをしたり、体格もよく似ているのです。

では、なぜこういう違いがあるか。逆にアボリジナルとニューギニア高地人は割と近いのはなぜかという、非常に雑ばくな図で申し訳ないのですが、人類の移動です。画面のこの辺の中国の辺りから、人類が広がっていきました。さらにさかのぼればアフリカの方ですが、そしてこの辺りはずっとインドネシアを通過して、ニューギニア島、そこからさらに広がっていきました。

オーストラリアへ人類が到達したのは、5万～5万3000年前。それに対してマオリたちはどうかというと、いったんインドネシアを通過してから、南太平洋に広がっていった後に、紀元前ではなく、紀元1000年にニューギニアに到達したと言われてます。要するに、これだけ遠回りをしているのです。海の上を移動していきますから、気温が低い、その寒さにも耐えられるように太りやすいというか、強い体格を得たと言われてます。

ちなみにニューギニア高地人とオーストラリア先住民が似ているのは、ニューギニア高地人たちも割と古い時代に到達した人たちだと言われてるので、近いのはよく分かるかと思えます。

この画面は港川人が沖縄で最近見つけたという新聞記事ですが、前こういう復元図があって、これを修正してみたら、どうもオーストラリア先住民と同じではないかと。僕はいつもこういうことを考えて楽しんでいるのですが、日本も台湾も、ベトナムも含めて、インドネシア、パプアニューギニア、オーストラリアまで、人類はずっと旅をしていって、つながりがあると考えているので、こういう記事を見るとうれしくなって、つつい紹介するわけです。

これはボルネオ島で見つかったもので、口の中に顔料を含んで吹き付けると手の跡が残る、これが当然オーストラリア先住民の手形と同じであるということです。ただ、時代的には違うのです。ですから人類が何度も何度も先ほどの経路を通して、オーストラリアにもやって来るということになるのだと思います。

## 4. ヨルング（グパピング）の言語文化

### 4-1. ヨルングの世界観

ここから言語文化に入っていきます。ヨルングはオーストラリア北部準州にある北東アーネムランドに住む先住民の総称です。ヨルング諸語というのがたくさんあるのですが、その中で僕が教わっている、あるいは僕の所属するクランがグパピングなのですが、これも古いのです。1983年にデータを出したまま、この後調べていません。最新の 에스ノログでも同じ Black の 1983 年のデータが使われています。第 1 言語として話す人が 450、第 2 言語が 950 という非常に少ない、まだ絶滅危機にある言語ではないところが救いですが、危ない状況です。

ちなみに、ヨルング諸語は合計 30~60 あると言われています。なぜこれほど幅があるのかは、実は彼らは 1、2 までは数えるのですが、3 以降はないのです。「1、2、たくさん」という数え方をします。調べてみると、ベトナムの少数民族、エデ語をやっていたら APU（立命館アジア太平洋大学）の田原洋樹先生に聞いたら、エデ語も同じだと言っていました。「1、2、たくさん」。さらにいろいろと文化人類学をひもといてみると、同じような民族がたくさんいるようです。そのため、数を聞いても、みんな言うことが違うのです。

ヨルングたちの世界観では、全存在物をまず二つの半族に分けていきます。ポイントは、人間だけではないということです。族というと普通は人間を分けるのですが、机や海流、色が変わっている部分などを、イリチャ（Yirritja）とドウワ（Dhuwa）という二つの半族のどちらかに分けて、世界を把握していくのです。そして、自らが属する半族の伝説や事物を、歌ったり踊ったりして伝承していきます。文字を持たないので全部口承で伝えていくのですが、その意味では踊りや歌は彼らのアイデンティティーになるわけです。

結婚するときは、必ず違う半族と結婚します。もちろん、この場合は人間同士の半族で結婚するのです。産まれてきた子供は父方の半族とクランに属します。僕は父親がグパピングになるのでイリチャの人間で、さらにグパピングに分類されていきます。これだけ教えると女性はどうなるのだとなりますが、もう一つ、親族内では親族内名称という愛称、ニックネームのようなものが与えられます。僕は「ガリ」というのをもらっているのですが、それは母親を基準に決まってくるのです。ですから、これだけ見ると男性中心の感じがしますが、女性の方、母親基準でも自分の親族内での立ち位置が決まってくるので、極めて平等な社会だと考えていただいて結構だと思います。

半族はどうやって決まるかという、もともとは神話から決まっています。ジャンカウという姉妹、クランによってはそこに男の兄弟もいるとされますが、ジャンカウという二人の姉妹がやって来て、さらにバラマとライジュンという二人の男がやって来て、それが北東アーネムランドを旅して回って、われわれをつくったという国づくりの伝説があるのです。このジャンカウ姉妹が旅した方をドウワ、ライジュンの旅した方をイリチャと分けているのです。二人組というのが一つのポイントになるので覚えておいてください。ちなみに、ジャンカウとライジュンのどちらがいいかについては彼らは気にしません。あいつがそう言うのなら、それでいいではないかと考えているわけです。

先ほど言ったように、ヨルング全体では30~60のクランがあるのですが、クランは部族単位であり、当然、同時に言語単位でもあります。クランの言葉は彼らのアイデンティティーを示すのです。本当を言うと、先ほどのグパプینگ語と、ジャンバルプینگ(Djambarrpuynu)語とはほとんど変わらないのですが、違う言語だということで自分たちのアイデンティティーが確立するので、先ほど丹羽京子先生ご発表にありましたベンガル語も同じような状況かもしれません。元は同じでも国が違って、アイデンティティーを示すために違う言語だと位置付けるところがあるのです。そうはいつでも、半族同士は神話を共有しているので、自分たちは違うクランだけれど同じ神話を共有している、ジャンカウの子孫やライジュンの子孫だということで、緩やかにまとまっています。

ポイントはこれで、ヨルングたちはロム(Rom)という、法律、文化、掟、慣習、世界観などいろいろな言葉で訳されますが、これに従って生きています。この中には「人の頭は聖なるもの」という教えがあります。これはどういうことかという、彼がそう考えるのだったら、あの子がそう考えるのだったら、それでいいではないか。例えば先ほどのクランが30だと言う人、60と言う人がいる。どちらだと聞いても「あいつが60だと言うのだったら60でいい」と、こういう話になるわけです。こういうところから、数を聞いても「1、2、たくさん」という数のとらえ方と、人が言っていることを否定しない、それでいいではないかというとらえ方があるので、確定できない状況です。

さらに「人と分かち合え」という教えもあります。ほかにも良きヨルングになるための決まりはたくさんあるのですが、ご紹介できるのは一部だけです。

この画面はヨルングたちの写真です。この辺は、女性たちも踊りが大好きで踊っているところです。本当は上半身裸で踊るのですが、こうやって大学の構内で踊るときは、服を着てくれます。

これが割礼の儀式に出かける男の子です。

これが食事です。昨日の石川先生のご発表でも、こういう極端なものを見せるのはいけないとおしかりを受けそうなのですが、一方でこれを残酷と見るか、この種の食べ物、たとえばエミューのようなものを彼らは食べていくわけですが、冷蔵庫に中に入れてあります。他にも、魚、ワニの頭などもあります。文化的な生活と自然の生活をして、ほとんど

塩などを付けずに、そのまま食べていきます。これを残酷だと言われる方がいらっしやると思うのですが、日本だっているいろいろ食べ方で、生け作りなど、まだ目の真っ黒い、ぴくぴく動いている魚を切り刻んで食べたり、躍り食いをしたりするでしょう。そういうことを僕は学生に話して、極端な例を見せるけれども、もう一方の極、日本文化を振り返ってバランスを取るようにしています。この辺りは石川先生にお伝えしなければいけないところです。

ワニもよく食べます。左側頭部の辺りを一発で仕留めているあたり、腕の良さが分かります。昔は槍ですが、今はライフル銃などで猟をします。これは口直しのような感じで、子供たちの写真です。

ヨルングには「ありがとう」という言葉がありません。ただ、英語にすると Thank you ときちんと言うのです。「ありがとう」の言葉がないのはなぜかという、当たり前だからです。日本語で「ありがとう」と言うのは、その行為が「有り難し（めったにない）」から「ありがとう」と言うわけですが、ヨルングは親切にするのが当たり前なのです。先ほどの分かち合いです。だから言わないのです。むしろ快適なときは、沈黙をします。快適な沈黙と言われていて、しゃべらないのです。

#### 4-2. 文法の概要

音韻体系についてですが、音素の数は31です。ポイントになるのは、文化が言語に影響しているところです。

例えば、ヨルングの言語は語順がかなり自由なのですが、これは言語内の閉じた体系で説明が付きません。日本語と同じように接尾辞が付くので、それによって誰がやったか、誰がされたかが分かるのです。従って、語順を入れ替えても分かるということで、これは閉じた言語体系の中で説明が付くのです。例えば、「Wanha nhuṅu wāṅa?」と言っても、「Nhuṅu wanha wāṅa?」と言っても、「Wāṅa nhuṅu wanha?」と言っても、全部同じ「どこに住んでいるのですか」という意味です。語頭に来ると焦点が当たるので、情報構造上は若干の意味の差異はあると思いますが、心理的価値としての意味は変わらないということです。

それから、代名詞は性の区別がありません。三人称単数の人称代名詞「ṅayi」は、男性単数も女性単数も、さらには無生物にも使ってしまうのです。これがなぜなのかは、先住民に聞いても必ず分からないと言われます。昔からそう使っているからと。僕の答えはどうするかというと、僕が彼らの生活、話を聞きながら「多分こうだと思うんだよね。でも裏を取ってないから、みんな調べてね」と授業で言いながら、こう説明します。ヨルングでは、男女間の差がないのです。先ほどから繰り返していますが、男女の性差をほとんど意識しません。年を取ってくれば男性も女性もエルダーとして尊敬されて、重視されます。

それからトーテム、自分たちの祖先霊、あるいはイリチャとドゥワに分けるときも、生物・無生物関係なくイリチャかドゥワか分けていきます。自分は人間としてイリチャ、で

もあの木もあの石もイリチャだ、自分たちは一つの半族だというとらえ方をするのです。それが代名詞「*nyai*」に反映されていると考えて問題ないと思います。

ただし、これを西洋文化に持ってくると困ります。私は先住民たちを本センターのシンポジウムで呼ぶときに航空券を予約したのですが、男性・女性の別を間違えて20万円ほど無駄にしました。始末書を書いて、これは彼らが男性・女性をあまり気にしないので、ジャッキーという名前の方をすっかり女性だと思ってしまったのです。しかも先住民たちの小学校の先生ということで、女性だと思い込んでしまって、20万円無駄にしたという経験があります。

次に、数のシステムです。英語では単数と複数ですが、ヨルング語にはもう一つ、二つだけを取り上げる「双数」というのがあります。二人だけ、二つだけというのを取り立てるのです。なぜそういうものが必要なのでしょうか。彼らの生活を見ていると、夫婦でも男同士でもそうですが、二人で移動していることが非常に多いのです。もともと小さな家族単位で生活する人たちなので、それほど大きな集団で移動することはないのですが、しばしば見るのは二人で移動しているところです。もう一つ、ジャンカウ姉妹、パラマとライジュンという神話も二人ずつです。もちろん、ジャンカウ姉妹に3人目(兄)が入るところはご愛嬌です。

つまり、双数があると、いろいろ指したり呼んだりするときに便利なのではないかと学生には話しています。ただし、これは裏が取れない。どうやってもなかなか取れない。ですから横並びで類型論的に、いろいろな言語の現象を見て、同じことが言えるのではないかということを考えていくしかないと思います。

もう一つ、代名詞に聞き手を排除する代名詞と、聞き手を包含する代名詞があるのです。英語で「We are going to the beach today.」と言ったら、「私たち(話し手)」の中に「あなた(聞き手)」が入る場合も入らない場合も両方あり得ます。どちらでもいいのかもしれませんが、ヨルングたちは厳密に区別します。おまえを連れていくか、連れていかないか、こういうことははっきり言うのです。これもなぜかというと、家族的なクランの結び付きの強さが、時として排他的な表現を必要とするからではないか。いつも一緒にいるものと、おまえだけは違うということが必要になってくるのではないかという形で、自分では納得しています。

ただし、あくまで拝田の勝手な想像ではないかということではいけないので、補足をおきます。まず、文化が言語に影響する「言語文化の不可分性」を補強する例として、ドイッチャー、角田先生、そしてフンボルトはかなり古いですが、最近の翻訳書があります。こういうものをまずは錦の御旗に掲げて、「ほらほら、こういう先生方も言っていますよ」とやった上で、さらにもう少し、双数に関しては、もともと双数は人間の目でも、鼻の穴でも、腕でも二つが一つの対になっているので、そういうものを取り上げることが多いのではないかと鯖田秀樹先生、さらにフンボルトも同じようなことを言っています。た

だし、「三数」といって、三つを取り上げる言語もあるので、人間で三つは何だろうと考えるとこの説は若干怪しいところもあります。

もう一つは、金子亨先生の論文です。金子先生は東京外国語大学のドイツ語科出身だと思いますが、「1、2、たくさん」というのが、先生も同じような分析をしているということが出ています。1と2という単数と双数が実は一番原初的で、「それ以上」が全部複数だというとらえ方でいいのではないかということです。ですから、むしろ双数があるから珍しいと言ってしまうのは、英語や大言語をやっている人間のいけないところで、もしかしたら単数、双数が元で、双数がなくなっている方が少し違っているのではないかも考えられるわけです。相対化すれば、そのように考えられるということです。

引き続き金子先生の分析ですが、排除系と包含系の人称代名詞がある。聞き手（あなた）を入れるか、入れないかを区別する理由として、戦争をすることまで含めて、おまえは仲間か敵か、家族かそうではないかを区別する。僕がすぐに養子にされたように、極めて気に入ったらすぐ身内にする、でも気に入らなければしないわけです。この辺りが関わっているところかもしれません。

## 5. おわりに

私は、言語研究では「なぜ」に答えたいと思っています。言語を教えるとき、「覚えなさい」と言うのは教員にとっては楽ですが、「なぜ」のところをなるべく説明したい。これは英語を教える場合でも、オーストラリア先住民語でも同じです。ただし、嘘を教えるのはいけないことです。そこで、ものは言いようなのですが、「僕は自分の経験上、こうだと思っているのだけれど、みんなはどう思う？ 調べてみて」と言う。これはずるいですが、僕自身が教わっているときも、外語大で初めて授業を受けたときも、言語に限らず世の中には分かっていることよりも分からないことの方が多いというのが最初の印象でした。ですから正直に、後進の研究者を育てるわけではありませんが、この辺は分かっているから調べてねということを学生に投げ掛けて、でも少なくとも僕の印象ではこういう感じだという物語（story）を語っていきたい。storyは少し字を変えればhistoryにもつながりますし、語源的にも一緒ですから、そういうところを話したいと思っています。

最後に、神田外語大学は「言葉は世界をつなぐ平和の礎」と掲げています。最近これを読んで、いい言葉だと思いました。配付資料では、コピーライトが心配だったので「架け橋」としました。「架け橋を架けるのはあなた」と、昨日のご発表でもありましたが、そうしたことも含めて考えています。ご清聴ありがとうございました。

# **The Renaissance of the Malacca- Portuguese Creole Language and Importance of its Cultural Traditions**

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**MALAYSIA**

## **1 A Short History of Malacca**

Malacca, once a Sultanate, Centre of Commerce and important Port of Call in the Straits of Malacca became the envy of not only Asian Countries and its traders but also of the Kingdoms of Europe and the Middle-East. By the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Malacca was indeed a cosmopolitan township where people from all corners of Asia could be found. Tome Pires states that by this time, 84 different languages could be heard and were spoken in Malacca. However, it was not until the European conquerors arrived in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries did we consciously feel and discover the imposition of their languages, especially that of the Portuguese and English in Malacca. In the early 20<sup>th</sup>.Century, even after a short occupation by the Japanese the only foreign Asian colonial power in Malaya from 1940 -1945, I have still managed to identify a few persons in their senior years who still speak a little Japanese occasionally which they tell me they have learnt during the occupation. I'm sure there are more students of Japanese and many more who speak fluent Japanese in Malaysia today.

It is without a doubt that the Portuguese, Dutch and British left an indelible mark during their governance of the Sultanate of Malacca or Malaya. What is impressive, is that the Creole Language (Papiaih Kristang – the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language) and the Global Language ( English) with a mixed European Cultural Heritage that surfaced and developed during the occupation of these Colonial Masters is still visible in the physical and cultural character of the Malaysian-Eurasians of today.

But is the Community of Malaysian- Eurasians united and excited about seeking to identify themselves with a 500 year old Language that is endangered yet unique or are they content to be fluent in English, the global language and call it their Mother-Tongue or are they the loyal and privileged citizens of Malaysia who say ‘I speak, read and write fluently in the Bahasa Malaysia Language’? Or are they the ones who take their Heritage Language for granted and dismiss it without any sentiment of loyalty to their roots? Are they to be blamed when the prestigious languages, Bahasa Malaysia ( the official Language of the Country) and the English Language (the global Language) is placed more importance than their already declining Malaysian-Eurasian Community Language? Who is and who can be held responsible for this confused attitude among the younger generation of Malaysian- Eurasians towards the diversity of languages found in Malaysia and the harzardous situation ‘ Papiah Kristang’ is in.

## **2 Renaissance or Decline of the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language**

‘Has there then been a Renaissance of the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language and Preservation of its Cultural Traditions?’

The Creole was used extensively during the Dutch Period 1641 – 1825 as it was the trade language that developed during the Portuguese era 1511-1641. What we do know also is that this trade language continued to be the means of communication with the local population of Malacca and the new Dutch Government. That very few Dutch words can be found in ‘ Papiah Kristang’ shows the divide with the then Dutch Government and the local population of Malacca. When the Dutch had to finally cede Malacca to the British we see a reversal in the attitude towards acquiring a new language. Perhaps it was also the British who were adamant that the population spoke and understood the language of the Englishman, the new rulers of the country. This trend to promote the English Language we see very clearly in the quick importation of missionaries both men and women from the UK, Ireland and France who were employed to initiate schools, colleges and Churches for the purpose of tutoring in and expounding the English Language in the daily lives of the Malayan population. My maternal grandmother who was born in 1874 told me that she received her education at home and was tutored in English by an English teacher. I believe and am almost certain that her Mother-Tongue was ‘Papiah Kristang’ as it was the Lingua-Franca of the times and that she had had no formal education until the European missionaries arrived in the East. I do not remember her speaking any Dutch except enunciating a few words that were of her

childhood vocabulary, interspersing them with the Malacca- Portuguese Creole Language. Her maiden name was Louisa Catherine Klyne. She died in 1965 at the age of 91 not before announcing that 'if you want to get on in this world, Speak English'. Was she conscious that she was segregating persons speaking the Portuguese- Creole and those that spoke English? Perhaps it was her way of guaranteeing her daughters, grandchildren and descendents of the safest path to communication success of the times. We went to Churches where we sang and prayed in Latin and English and we went to the Cinemas and Recreational Centres where the language spoken was predominantly English. We went to Schools where the medium of instruction was in English and for Tertiary Education travelled to Colleges and Universities in the United Kingdom. Although we did hear and listen to Bazaar or Market Malay, Chinese dialects like Hokkien and Teochew, Telegu, the Tamil language and Papiah Kristang, we took the diversity of these local languages for granted, unconsciously dismissing them as they were for us merely 'sounds of communication' of a different race of people. I heard, listened and understood 'Papiah Kristang' but I did shun away from speaking it because only the 'elders' of the Community were able to speak it fluently, their so-called 'Secret 'French' Language'. 'Nang beng pertu nos. Nos jenti idadi ta Papiah stori, palabra mal, ki bolotudu empodih ubih' Why did they say French? Yes, they were also, already being influenced by the many French missionaries who were arriving to fulfil religious and educational needs in Churches, Schools and Colleges during the British Military Administration of Malaya. Another strict rule of the household was that we were forbidden to freely engage in the company of the elders or participate in their conversations in Papiah Kristang. In a typical English idiomatic phrase commonly used in Eurasian homes to illustrate this was 'Children should be seen and not heard'. The betel- nut or cigar box was passed to you if you dared join in the conversation or sat in the place where the elders were. So much good that could have been inherited through regular conversations in Kristang, with the elders, was dismissed in favour of good manners and strict disciplinary rules in the homes of the so-called educated Kristangs.

By the age of 6 years when I first attended the formal education classes in the Convent Primary School, I became very curious of the poor, local, Kristang fisherman and his family and the supposedly Portuguese Language they spoke. Some of these children did not attend school because they could not afford the school fees. So I roamed the fishing village of Praya Lane in Malacca where I grew up, scouting for friends who were like me, envying the free and simple life they had, enjoying their food, the swim in the sea close to their homes and the simplicity of their life and engaging in their

'basic language and the 'broken English' which they and their parents spoke so naturally.

The English Language was the Prestige language of the times and therefore the chosen Eurasian population who spoke, read and wrote English were selected to be the backbone of the English Government in Malacca, Singapore and Penang. The idolizing of another European conqueror and the assurance that they gave the Eurasian people was the beginnings of the decline of the Papiah Kristang Language and its Heritage.

### **3 Development of the Papiah Kristang Language**

Very quickly, English superseded all other languages spoken in the country but those who did not learn or could speak English or very little of it grouped together and formed an interesting community of tri-lingual speakers. They were mostly Chinese, Malay and Kristang fishermen. These, I conclude must have been the persons who were the first to develop the Papiah Kristang Language during the early 20<sup>th</sup>.century. So it came to pass that Papiah Kristang' was called the Language of the poor Eurasian fishermen who did not have any education, who lived on the suburban shoreline of Malacca and who were religiously Catholic.

More so, when the majority of these Catholic fishermen were grouped and settled in a swampy-palm fringed village close to the sea, about 6kms from the Centre of Malacca Town in 1932. This proposal of grouping the so-called descendents of the Portuguese, came from 2 Portuguese missionaries Rev. Fr. Croado and Rev. Fr. Marciano who were concerned about the welfare of the families of these poor Catholic fishermen. Here we see the beginnings of a Revival and Renewal of the Papiah Kristang Language, with greater influence of the Portuguese language coming from the Portuguese priests. Through the practice of their Catholic Faith and the formulation of prayers translated from Portuguese to Papiah Kristang we see the formation of a single strong community of Papiah Kristang speakers, enforcing their Creole language. Other Eurasians who lived outside this Settlement visited relatives and friends there speaking in 'English' at first but reverting to 'Papiah Kristang' during the most part of their conversations. This Language reached other ethnic minorities integrated through inter-marriage, through persons being in the same professions and through educational institutions. Two decades later, at least 10.000 persons or more in Malaysia and Singapore were speaking Papiah Kristang, the Malacca- Portuguese Creole or in Malaysian ' Bahasa Serani. My father only learned Kristang

from my grand-mother when he married her daughter, my mother, in 1929. As I had said in 2007, even Chinese and Malay shopkeepers were heard speaking to their customers in 'Papiah Kristang'. That is how popular the language was in the 1950s. Although some educated Eurasians and others of different ethnic backgrounds felt the language was only for the fishermen of Melaka, they never disrespected it. They used it if they had occasion to use it, with a fellow Kristang speaker or Chinese shopkeeper or Malay fishermen.

#### **4 Revoking the 'Bahasa Gerago' term. Have you heard of a 'Shrimp Language'?**

The derogatory term 'Bahasa Gerago' was never heard or used among the Malays, Chinese, Indians or the Kristangs themselves until Ian Hancock did his Research on the 'Papiah Kristang' Language in Malacca in the early 1960s. What we do know is that the Eurasians especially the fishermen were sometimes called 'Serani Grago' because they were the majority of fishermen who caught shrimp to make many delicacies like shrimp paste, shrimp patties, shrimp relish, shrimp curry etc. No Eurasian, for that matter, would like to be called 'Grago' or 'Shrimp' because it only indicates we are as small as shrimp and are of no use or economic value. This is why at this Symposium in Tokyo I want to garner support from you and ask the Linguistic World, to formally revoke this derogatory term 'Bahasa Grago' the 'Shrimp language' being used in Theses, Surveys, Language Books or in Language discussions. I personally take offence and treat this as an insult to my community especially when attempts are already being made to REVIVE our Endangered Language, the Heritage and the Culture of all Malaysian – Eurasians who seek to identify our small, yet vibrant Community in today's developing Malaysia. Disrespect for a Language increases the tendency of it declining further, and prompts the younger generation of Malaysian-Eurasians to feel uncomfortable about their language and Heritage. Already Malaysian Language Researchers like Eileen Lee of Sunway University and Haja Mohideen of the Islamic University of Malaysia have been influenced by Ian Hancock's unintelligible invention of the term and have repeatedly used 'Bahasa Grago' in their Doctoral Theses. This is read over and over again on the internet and a derogatory picture has been painted of the Malaysian- Eurasian community and its 500 year old strong, ethnic Language and Heritage belittled. I ask for your understanding and cooperation for an official correction.

## **5 An Official Statement**

To set the records straight I would like to make an OFFICIAL STATEMENT and let it be recorded at this Symposium that the Malaysian-Eurasians speak a 500 year old Language called 'Papiaih Kristang' translated into English, called 'The Malacca – Portuguese Creole Language and translated into Bahasa Malaysia called 'Bahasa Serani'. This call and statement is for all Linguists, Researchers and Anthropologists and my own Community in Malaysia and the diaspora who are still loyal to their roots. I hope this stand that I make here today, will reflect the positive beginnings of a conscious, Renaissance of the Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language and Heritage among the Malaysian – Eurasian Community and will be a positive response of the International Community who are interested and respect the Survival, Revival and Development of Ethnic Mother-Tongues found around the world.

## **6 The Malaysian- Eurasian in Democratic Malaysia / Dispersion/ Migration**

In 1957 when Malaysia became an Independent Nation, the newly-formed Government did not find a Eurasian or a Kristang Group of persons who would represent the Eurasian Community as did the Indian and Chinese race Communities. The Eurasian Union tried to safeguard the rights of the Portuguese/ Eurasian Community and a memorandum was submitted to the Constitutional Commission through the President, Datuk G. Shelley. When Independence was proclaimed on 31<sup>st</sup>. August 1957, Datuk Shelley was nominated Senator representing the minorities in Malaysia. There has been no Representation since his demise. Only one Eurasian, Mr. Bernard Sta Maria (deceased) on joining the Opposition Democratic Action Political Party became the first member of the Malacca – Portuguese Community to be elected to the State Assembly. Since then up to now, the Malaysian – Eurasians have no representative in the Parliament or in the Federal Legislative Assembly. The Eurasian population fell apart and so did the language that kept them together in prayer, persecution and prevalence for almost 5 centuries. Without a seat alongside the other ethnic representatives in Parliament and unsure of a safe, fair and new Democratic Nation in Malaysia, Eurasians went in search of better pastures abroad. This nomadic trend among the Eurasians began in the early 60s especially after the May 13<sup>th</sup>. Riots between the Chinese and Malays in 1969. Many Eurasians that remained in Malaysia, inter-married with the other races and gradually we account for the loss in numbers of Malaysian- born Eurasians, Speakers of

'Papiah Kristang' and the diminishing mores of the community. With the separation of Singapore from New Malaysia, we lost the majority of educated and talented Eurasians who moved from Malacca to Singapore in search of better jobs and promises of a better life-style. Some moved from Penang to Singapore and Australia.

## **7 Malaysian- Eurasian Nationals 1957- present**

Today, the Eurasians, like me who remained in the country after Independence from the British in 1957, owe our allegiance to the King and Government of Malaysia and feel that in return we must be recognized as one of the successful ethnic Malaysian Communities who possess a 500 year old Language and Heritage, who have contributed much to the development and success of the Nation. Although small in numbers, we are a vibrant part of the total population. There is a piercing need that we should be named and identified accordingly. We do not want to be identified as 'Others' anymore. We are a minority Community that is certainly reinventing ourselves and progressing in today's context. If we name and identify ourselves as an Ethnic community that belongs to Malaysia it will command the respect from the Sultans, the authorities and the other races in Malaysia. Surprisingly, the younger generation do not remember the word Eurasian or Naserani. Much needs to be done to relate the Eurasian/ Naserani Story to them.

In 1984, alongside the Malays and other ethnic minority groups , the Eurasians who spoke 'Papiah Kristang' or had European surnames had the privilege of purchasing National Unit Trusts or Shares that guaranteed a minimum of 10% interest annually. About three years ago the Government again allowed children of a mixed- Eurasian heritage, that is, those having a mother who is Eurasian and a Chinese or Indian father to purchase these Amanah Saham Bumiputra Shares. I see this as a step taken in the right direction by the authorities. Now it is up to the leaders of the Eurasian Communities, in Eurasian Associations, spread throughout East and West Malaysia who must capitalize on this privilege. There will be expansion in numbers of the Eurasian Community that will soon be among the privileged 'elite' Bumiputra (so-to-speak, the Princes/ Princesses of the Land) in Malaysia. With a poll showing about 30,000 Eurasian men, women and children in East and West Malaysia, at least, and hopefully a nominated Representation should be forth-coming in Parliament in the very near future.

## 8 Unity among Eurasians of Different Ethnic Backgrounds

While there is talk of Unity among the diverse Eurasian community, today, some stubbornly want the community to be named Malacca Portuguese, Dutch-Eurasian, Portuguese-Eurasian, Malaysian- Eurasian or simply Eurasian. What is in a name?

Here I would like to extract a few paragraphs of 'Family Names' taken from a Paper 'Kristang Family Heritage' presented at the 'Save our Portuguese Heritage Conference 1995 at the Portuguese settlement in Malacca, By Anthropologist: Prof. Dr. Brian Juan Oneill – I.S.H.C.T.E.C. Lisbon, Portugal.

“We already know that the Naming processes in the Kristang Culture draw from 3 major European languages- Continental Portuguese, English and Dutch. While first and second names of residents of the Portuguese Settlement are predominantly Portuguese and English. surnames can also be Dutch-derived (Goonting, Minjoot, Danker etc.)

Some of the commonest Portuguese last names are da Costa, de Mello, De Silva, Fernandes, Santa Maria etc. These are definitively Portuguese, although of course, over the centuries, their spelling and local pronunciation have clearly distanced them slightly from the 'Settlement' those deriving from Chinese dialects, Tamil and occasional Punjabi or Malay names. We cannot forget nicknames, known or unknown by the person referred to and sobriquets, usually identifying an individual but not as harsh or exaggerated as a Nickname. Place Names and Street Names in Malacca are also important.....

Does a Portuguese surname necessarily indicate direct descent from the original Europeans who came in 1511? Surnames are transmitted in the paternal line only..... because last names only pass through men, therefore , all we need to know is that one ascendant of a given person was an ethnic Chinese, Malay or Indian and converted to Catholicism upon marrying Kristang wife, to conclude that the 'direct descent' link to 1511 was broken.

Name's alone are not proof of a person's or his family's direct descent, because the names may have come directly from the Church at some genealogical moment or another. What's in a Name? Perhaps more flexibility and plasticity than we can or wish to admit. We have the social fact that the Kristang Surname is predominantly Portuguese- based, but the

historical facts of their derivation, manipulation and transmission between individuals and families remain largely obscure.

Kristang names are thus both a past and present Heritage and Patrimony. They are certainly not disappearing.”

## **9 Documents/ Publications in English and in the Malacca- Portuguese Creole Language.**

In 1942 we see the first publication ‘Dialecto Portugues de Malaca’ by Dr. Padre Antonio Da Silva Rego, printed by Agencia Geral Das Colonias in Lisbon. This publication was written specifically for Students of Languages. In it we find registered in the First Part – the beginnings of Grammar for the Creole, an Analyses of verses of songs, phrases and expressions and a short Vocabulary list. In the Second Part - Padre Dr. Silva Rego works in collaboration with Mr. Simon De Souza, a great friend and parishioner of the Portuguese Mission Church in Malacca and in Macau. A selected item which Mr. Simon de Souza translated in English is ‘ The Betrothal of Maria and John’. The script was first written in Standard Portuguese by Rev. Padre Jose Machado Lourenco, a distinguished poet and patient investigator of the the Customs of the the Jenti Kristang of Malacca. Rego presents the Customary Wedding celebrations and Speeches in Dialecto Kristang. He also publishes the prayers said in Kristang, into Latin and then translated them into Portuguese. The final section of the Book records some popular Kristang songs with musical notation.

Rev. Fr. M. J. Pintado, a Portuguese missionary, was only in his early 30s when he arrived in Malacca. He was made Vicar of the Church of St. Peter in Malacca. He envisaged the urgent need for the preservation and development of the Kristang Heritage in Malacca and for almost 35 years was passionately involved in the romantic return of the Portuguese and the Portuguese Culture.

In 1953, with the help of the Resident Commissioner of Malacca and the Malacca Historical Society of which Father Pintado was a member, the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary Celebrations of the Arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Malacca were organized. The Saint’s sojourn in Malacca was re-enacted in a spectacular pageant which won worldwide acclaim. Costumes and technical advice came from Portugal and the local British Government in Malaya. The Actors, Actresses and those who worked behind the scenes came ungrudgingly from many Eurasians, both men, women and children of the Catholic congregation, from Government Offices and Catholic Schools in Malacca.

Despite his 30 years of active and dedicated service as the Parish Priest of St. Peter's Church and the Assumption Church, Fr. Pintado found time to write. He also translated 16<sup>th</sup> century documents for the National Archives of Malaysia and the National Museum from archaic Portuguese to English. In addition to the few books he had published in the English language, he also wrote the History of Malacca based on Portuguese sources which was published in 'Heritage', a Singapore biennial publication. He also revived Portuguese culture in Malacca by introducing to the Malacca-Eurasians, the folk-songs, dances and costumes of their forefathers of Portugal. This Revival and Cultural presentation has become one of the many tourist attractions in this country and has gained government support and recognition.

Was this Revival, in a true sense, a Renaissance or was it a 'Second Sentimental Entry' of only Portuguese missionaries imposing their religious Customs, Culture and Traditions of Portugal on the residents of the Portuguese Settlement and those who belonged to the Portuguese Mission Parish? With much support from Portuguese Foundations and the Malaysian Government through the recommendations of Rev. Fr. M. J. Pintado and Mr. Bernard Sta Maria, only the residents of the Portuguese Settlement showed off their Portuguese Roots. The Creole that developed was almost forgotten. Some of the people of the Portuguese Settlement are still happy to sing Fados and dance rhythmically the Farapeira and other traditional folk dances of Portugal. The Malacca- Portuguese Creole Culture in the Portuguese Settlement is stunted and artificial. Of course there has been on many an occasion to celebrate in grandeur the Feast days of the Church and a slight recess to expose the Branyo and a few traditional Kristang songs like 'Bong Bong Fila' and 'Jingkli Nona'. These Traditional Kristang songs and the Branyo are also fast fading. The Senior Eurasians who speak the 'Papiah Kristang' language fluently and believe that they speak Portuguese and not the Creole have composed several Kristang Songs and Verses wish that there would be the younger generation of Eurasians to pass their work and compositions on to. Then again, some seniors of the Portuguese Settlement have reservations about sharing their so called 'Portuguese' Culture, their food, their art of music and dance of yore to the younger generation.

Yes, Fr. Pintado has to be admired and credited for all he has done to keep the spirit of the Portuguese Rule and Influence in Malaysia, Alive. And I do honour him.

However as I understand and as Linguists, you all know....Falar Portugues is not Papiah Kristang..... and Cultural Portuges is not Kultural Kristang. So does the Malaysian Eurasian have a defined character

to portray in multilingual and multicultural Malaysia just because he comes from the Portuguese Settlement in Melaka, has a Portuguese Surname and knows what is Bredu terung Soy Limang. or Is he /she made of everything nice with spice and still dance the O Maliao Maliao with gusto or are we seeking to reinvent the Malaysian-Eurasian Joget Serani, the Balu trompah Olandes, the Barn Dance of the British or the International and popular Line Dance of today.

## **10 Writing ‘Papiah Kristang’ down**

We must give priority to projecting the Language before we can other cultural art forms because ‘Languages are not just a means of communication but they represent the very fabric of cultural expressions, the carriers of identity, values and worldviews..... UNESCO World Report 2009

The Malacca-Portuguese Creole Language should not only be a subject of Research for Linguists and Anthropologists, but, it should, by now, have developed and assumed the written form with pedagogical materials to support the Development and Reinstatement of its presence as a valued cultural heritage for the Eurasian community still existing in Malaysia, Singapore and the diaspora.

It was the artist, in me that drove me to tell my story in a language that I had not even had the chance of speaking to my grandmother, parents and relatives in. How did I pursue this interest.

Curiosity and the passion to ‘belong to’ rather than be excluded from a Community and Culture which I could only admire from afar, made me go forward and investigate how and what was necessary to document the Papiah Kristang language. It was also the Right to Possess this Heritage and the mysterious freedom to speak the Language of my forefathers that made me more adamant to register the language.

My first book ‘Ungua Adanza’ (An Inheritance’) is the responsibility and inspiration of 3 persons close to my heart. Rev. Fr. M. J. Pintado (deceased) My mother Mrs. E. L. Marbeck (deceased) and with us here today Prof. Dr. Pierre F. G. Guisan..... He said to me, ‘Joan, you will be famous, one day Start writing in Kristang’. This happened 23 years ago in Melaka, the Historic City where I was born and remained to write my first book in the Kristang Language until a few years ago, when I was forced to move away from Melaka. It was too much to bear to see the charm and beauty of ‘Old Historic Malacca’ desecrated and to feel and realize that the ambience of the

Portuguese Settlement and the vicinity of Praya Lane with its people change so drastically. With a strong desire to save the Language and Culture of my Community, I awoke from that bad dream in Melaka to the refreshing retreat among the hills in Seremban where it was conducive to continue writing the Creole which I have come to love very much.

As my formation is not in Linguistics, I had first to consult Prof. Graham Thurgood who was visiting Language Professor at the University Kebangsaan Malaysia in 1994 and who volunteered to help me. There was also some long distance consultation with Prof. Dr. Pierre Guisan on the first orthography for 'Papiah Kristang'. After much discussion and serious arguments, among the Professors, native-speakers and me, I accepted and acknowledged that a similar orthography to Bahasa Malaysia would be applicable to writing my first book in the Papiah Kristang language. 'Ungua Adanza' An Inheritance was published in 1995 in the Kristang Language with English translations. It consisted of An Anthology of Malacca Memories, Poems, Songs idiomatic phrases and expressions which were illustrated with community and family photographs. The Publication was supported by the Calouste- Gulbenkian Foundation.

Anxious to at least leave as much as I know of my native- tongue to the present and next generation of Malaysian-Eurasians, I produced 2 more publications 'Linggu Mai' ( Mother Tongue in 2004) and recently in 2012 'The Serani Series'. Thanks to Prof. Guisan I can look back with fondness and pride that I am the first Native- speaker of 'Papiah Kristang' to document the language and continue to be a Eurasian Heritage Activist. Besides these 3 publications, I have 'Kazamintu na Praiyya' ( Wedding on the Beach) A Kristang Musical which I scripted for 60 school children and adults in Melaka for Digi's CSR Project when I was honored as "The Kristang Poet of Melaka" in 2007. I also have a short Monodrama 'Seng Marianne' in English and Kristang which I had written for the Lusophonia Festival in Macau 2006. As it was a late entry it was not staged. I still look forward to publishing and staging them.

## **11 Learning and practicing to Speak, Read and Write 'Papiah Kristang'**

An Awareness and Knowledge of speaking, reading and writing Papiah Kristang is crucial to those who were forbidden to speak it, who spoke very little of it, who have felt embarrassed to speak it but who are now conscious that it is endangered and who want to revive and promote it. Can 'Papiah Kristang' as the language of the Malaysian-Eurasian Community be the

Unifying factor of the diverse Malaysian-Eurasian population? I have some interesting quotes below

Prof. Dr. David Cheong, Chief Technical Adviser, ILO, UN, Geneva - He states that 'because the number of Kristang speakers are dwindling rapidly, in today's context, the Papiah Kristang Language is used as a means of discommunication rather than to communicate. Hence Kristang is already in decline and perhaps used only as a 'Secret language' to the Kristangs who speak it irregularly.' 2011

Prof. Dr. Camela Umbro a Researcher, delving deeply into my work 'Ungua Adanza' suggests that the mimetic - memetic translations found in the book would be useful in promoting 'Malaysia' as 'Truly Asia'. 2010

Prof. Dr. Alan Baxter, speaks of my 2nd publication 'Linggu Mai', comprising Linggu Mai Reader 'A Kristang Phrase Book' and 'A Kristang Speech and Song CD' as suitable pedagogical materials for the Papiah Kristang language. 2005

Mr. Gerard Fernandis (deceased) - at the Mini-Conference on A Revival of Spoken Kristang and the Development of the Malacca- Portuguese Heritage 1996 had this to say 'We already have an active -speaking Kristang Community. We also observe that the language is continually evolving. With more books being written and the registering of words long forgotten but coming to the fore and with this strong Kristang awareness campaign, the Kristang Language will develop and more Malaysians will be attracted to speak it and keep it alive for generations to come.' 1996

Prof. Dr. Brian Juan O'Neill - Researcher/ Anthropologist - 'My impression is that there exists within Kristang society something extremely difficult to locate or define which incorporates or 'absorbs' individuals from many other ethnic, linguistic or religious fields. Non- Kristang spouses by and large learn the Kristang language, adopt many forms of Kristang Culture, festivities, cooking styles, names and more subtly the habits and qualities of social comportment. 1995

Prof. Dr. Pierre F. G. Guisan - at the Melaka Mini- Conference on 'A Revival of Spoken Kristang and the Development of the Malacca - Portuguese Heritage 1996' had this to say 'We must underline this linguistic plurality in multi-racial Malaysia which is very precious. This is their Cultural wealth. The Kristang Language contributes to this linguistic richness. Diversity provides potential, therefore wealth. Nothing truer in respect to languages of a Nation. Do not be mistaken with the notion that linguistic uniformity will make the Nation stronger. Malaysia has such a

wealth and must conserve it. Only by conserving the diversity of minorities will Malaysia remain rich. 1996

Prof. Dr. Mario P. Nunes – Although on one hand, promoting the Revival of the Kristang language supposedly implies increasing its speakers, which in turn implies teaching it, we would also be giving it greater value, in the opinion of the Malaysian public and diffusing the knowledge of its existence, internationally. 1996

## **12 The Cultural Traditions of the Jenti Kristang**

Most Eurasians acknowledge the Roman Catholic Faith and therefore their Customs and Traditions are built on important Feast days of the Church and on the rules, practices and declarations of their religious beliefs. Not only did they pattern their Customs and Traditions on the Catholic faith, they like many in Malaysia, adhere to some superstitious practices, consult local medicine –men and women and recently pay special attention to Feng Shui, a Chinese Wind and Water Astrology. Food unique only to the Eurasian is cooked to celebrate the Feast Days of the Church, Birthdays, Engagements and Weddings. Most know the choice- dishes of Kari Devil, Kari Ambiller, Dauper, Soy-Limang, Semore, Chicken- pie, Pikadel and Kari Keluak. Cakes like Bolu Koku, Sugee and Fruit Cake are only baked for special occasions. Some of the best cooks in Malaysia are from among the men and women of the Eurasian Community.

Because of the vitality of the Jenti Kristang, its Papiah Kristang Language and Customs and Traditions, it is possible to predict that the Malaysian-Eurasian Community would survive another 500 years if not more.

My wish and hope that it is yours too, that this Symposium will undertake and view the possibilities of a visible and an active ‘Renaissance of the Papiah Kristang Language, its Art, Culture, Customs and Traditions’ It should be the first ethnic Creole language in Asia to be recognized, systematically revived, developed, written and taught in schools in Malaysia.

Let us together celebrate ‘the diversity’ that has enriched the Papiah Kristang Community, its Language and Heritage.

Before I conclude, may I make some pertinent proposals to the WoLSec 2013 Symposium

## **Proposals to WolSec 2013 Symposium- 7<sup>th</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> March**

### **Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, Japan**

1. Can this Symposium assist, professionally and technically in the Research and Preparation of Pedagogical Materials for 'Kristang Language Teaching' and its dissemination among University/ College Trained Language Teachers of Primary/ Secondary Schools in Malaysia to be trained to teach 'Papiah Kristang' POL ( Pupils' Own Language) Target Age 7 – 17 years old

Can this Symposium form a Committee, identify and delegate a Co-ordinator for the Project at a suitable University or College in Malaysia with Language Developing Facilities?

2. Can WoLSEC2013 according to the Terms and Conditions of your Constitution be engaged, participate and invest in the production of 'A STORY OF A LANGUAGE' as a Documentary film? or Others – eg. Publication, Web-Page on Asian Ethnic Languages.

I ask this Symposium to deliberate on these 2 proposals as it will also be a Tribute to One of the Surviving World of Creoles in Asia and probably a final assessment and celebration of my Kristang Writing and Contribution to the Malacca- Portuguese Creole Language and Cultural Heritage.

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\*The presentation was given on 24<sup>th</sup>. February 2013.

# **Makista: Past, Present And Future**

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## **Abstract**

The increasing awareness of the endangerment and loss of minority languages across the world has progressively had effect on the linguistic and anthropological community that studies the Portuguese-based creoles of Asia, as well as on the respective speakers and heritage communities themselves. These communities were victims of a trend which lasted until as recently as the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where these creole languages and these communities of speakers were ignored by their former colonial powers, their national governments and very seldom studied by the academia. Breaking away with this, since the late 1980s they have been ever more frequently the subject of research, national protection policies and internally generated community preservation projects. This paper looks at the only one of these creoles that was formed in East Asia namely, Maksita (or Macau Patois or Patuá). This creole is endogenous to Macau, a special administrative region of the People's Republic of China since its handover from administrative rule by Portugal for almost 500 years. Along this general overview we take a brief look at the socio-linguistic context that led to the formation of this creole – particularly the influence of Malacca and its endogenous creole Kristang: a glimpse of some of the linguistic similarities and differences among these two, and the current status of vitality and prospects for the future for Makista. In summary, our paper is a brief introduction to Makista, a look at the pioneering work in the fight against extinction carried by the heritage community.

## **1. Introduction**

The introductory section will provide a very general and brief overview of the main approaches to the formation and typology of creole languages that have existed in this field of study. The aim is to provide insight on the formation and the continuum of Makista, in particular, and other Portuguese-based creoles of Asia, closely related to it. From among those approaches we

shall look a slightly more detail at those that seem relevant to the particular scenario of Makista, in view of the socio-historical and linguistic data pertaining to this particular creole (the subject of section 3).

### **1.1. Some existing definitions for creoles**

Within the sphere of language contact, several phenomena have been the subject of attention from linguistics: codeswitching, bilingual mixed languages, and processes of pidgin and creole formation. The association of creoles as the result of an SLA process was not a possibility considered in the earlier stages of the study of these languages. However, more recently, distinct fields such as natural second language acquisition and the emergence of indiginized varieties of an L2, have been considered as belonging to the general field of contact linguistics. (Winford 2003). Siegel (1997) notes that in the type of language contact present in creole formation, “adult second language learning is clearly involved”. In essence, comparing the formation of a creole to SLA processes implies the idea of the acquisition of an L2 by adults in extreme conditions of language contact, and that such an acquisition is continued and gradually regulated by the subsequent generations of children L1 speakers.

The debate on how creoles are formed has basically been considered according to two alternatives (Pinharanda Nunes, 2011):

- i) As variants of their lexifiers with common internal features among them. These common features are owed to their common origin as relexifications of an Afro-Portuguese pidgin.
- ii) As variants of European lexifiers created through language contact in extreme socio-historical conditions, resulting in morpho-syntactic features that distance them from those lexifiers. This explanation entails 4 different types of possible processes:
  - a) Resulting from a complexification process (for pragmatic reasons) stabilization and vernacularization within the speech community of a pidgin, by the same generation of adults who had created the pidgin. Termed by Thomson & Kaufmann (1988) as abrupt creolization.
  - b) Resulting from a complexification and vernacularization process, according to universal and innate language formation processes, performed by the first generations of children born

from parents who spoke different L1 and a common pidgin or jargon.

- c) As languages formed in extreme conditions of language contact, by adults.
- d) Resulting from a process of language acquisition, by adults, in L2 contexts, following L2 acquisition studies on the European lexifiers of those creoles, particularly English and French (Perdue and Klein, 1977 and Perdue 1993).

Hypothesis c) considers creoles as a process of L1 acquisition by the children of the linguistically heterogeneous (slave) populations. It implies contexts with an absence of a robust linguistic *input*, leaving the children to heavily rely on innate and universal cognitive restrictions. Such a formation would have occurred in the space of one generation and relied heavily on innate and universal cognitive restrictions. This was sustained by Bickerton (1981) in his Bioprogram Hypothesis, and further developed in Lightfoot (1999); Roberts (1999). According to this approach, first generation children of the transmigrated heterogeneous populations would have had to reset their innate parameters based on the poor linguistic input available. In face of the insufficient input from the adult speech they would rely on their default universal grammar (i.e. their innate bioprogram).

Hypothesis d) considers creoles as particular cases of SLA by the first waves of adults in the mentioned colonial settings. It implicates that SLA processes eventually stabilized with the birth of successive generations learning the emergent creole as their L1 (Alleyne 1971, 1980; Andersen 1980; Mufwene 1990; Thomason e Kaufman 1991; Siegel 2006; Muysken 2001; Mather 2006), to mention a few.

The proposition that one of the possibilities for creole formation may have been by processes akin to SLA in language contact situations in general, implies the applicability of concepts from this field. Among them, we will concentrate briefly on the following which, given the sociolinguistic panorama of Macau during the earlier phases of Portuguese settlement from 1557 onwards we consider may have been operative during the formation of Makista: (i) feature pool; (ii) transfer; (iii) leveling; (iv) morphological reduction versus morphological elaboration.

**Feature pool, or pool of variants**<sup>1</sup>, transposes to language contact situations the biogenetic concept of **gene pool**, relating to the evolution of species. Thus, as Mufwene (2001) explains, similarly to genetic evolution the pool of genes of one generation to another will receive new elements and lose others, through a process of competition and selection, shaped by environmental factors; so too in language contact situations akin to the formation of creoles, the initial members of those highly linguistically diverse speech communities would have contributed with many variants of certain linguistic features to the common linguistic pool. Many features will have passed from each of the L1s present at this stage over into that pool, and then into the emerging creole language. This passage from L1 to an L2 has been coined in SLA as transfer (Mather 2006). From it, some variants were dropped, others maintained or even transformed, finally resulting in a negotiated common language code understood and used by all. The selection process is known as **levelling**. Siegel (1997, 2006, 2008) explains that this is the process of elimination of certain idiolectal and sociolectal variants before the stabilization of the retained forms used by the new speech community. He further notes that the transfer of elements from L1 to L2 is conditioned by certain acquisitional constraints (Siegel, 2008:204) namely:

- a) “there must be a morpheme (or string of morphemes) in the L2 [...] that can be used or reanalyzed according to the rules of L1.” (ibid)
- b) the transferred morpheme must have **perceptual salience**. i.e., be a stressed word, or sequence of words, or a syllable and be functionally or semantically similar to the corresponding morpheme in L1.
- c) There must be **syntactic congruence** between the corresponding morphemes of L2 and L1.
- d) The transferred morpheme must possess **transparency**, i.e., be invariable in form and function.

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<sup>1</sup> A concept introduced to creole studies by Siegel (1997) and taken up by Mufwene (2001).

- e) **Frequency** of occurrence of any particular element. As summarized in Pinharanda Nunes (2011), on the one hand it implies that the more frequently occurring structures in L1 have greater probability of being transferred than those that are seldom. On the other hand, the more frequent structures in L2 have greater possibility of being restructured or reanalyzed by transfer.

According to Siegel (2008), **frequency** may explain the high degree of influence of substrates in creoles or pidgins which share typologically similar substrates:

*(...) The larger number of substrate speakers having transferred feature in their language, the greater chance it has of being understood and being used repeatedly as successful communication strategy.*

Those that consider creolization as an analogous process to SLA through transfer, aim at proving that creolization does not constitute in itself a specific nor special process. Mather (2004:231) summarizes that view as follows: *(...) creole genesis does not involve any specific mental processes or strategies than those found in ordinary language acquisition.* We do have to add though that, in spite of the parallels between the two processes, the difference lies in the specific and extreme socio-linguistic contexts in which creoles were formed. Given the specific context of the formation stage of Makista, we believe that the theories of creole formation in (c) and (d) above, are those that we consider most applicable to the study of the formation process of Makista. The socio-historic context which shaped the emergence of this creole as well as its morpho-syntactic matrix and lexicon suggest its formation as a process of SLA, first by adults and later progressively stabilized by the following generations already born in Macau.

## **2. The Early Stages of Portuguese settlement in Macau**

In this section we look at the sociolinguistic context prevalent in the initial stages of the Portuguese settlement in Macau which we consider to be relevant to the understanding of the formation of Makista

## 2.1. The Portuguese Presence in the Orient

The beginning of the Portuguese presence and colonial rule in the Orient was marked by the arrival of Vasco de Gama in Goa in 1498. It was progressively extended to several other port cities and trading posts from along the Western coast of India (Daman, Mombay, Diu, Korlai, Cochin) , Sri Lanka (Galle, Jaffne, Trincomalee); to Southeast Asia (Malacca, Tugu and Batavia, Flores, Timor, Islands of the Moluccas and the Celebes) and to East Asia (Macau, in China). In all these locations, Portugal established cities or trading posts mostly by force, but also in some cases by treaty with local forces and authorities. The latter was the case of Macau. In most, if not all, of these locations, communities of Luso-Asian stock emerged in multilingual contexts which fit the models covered by the theory of creole and pidgin formation, as revised in section 1.1.

The permanent settlement of Portuguese administration, military forces and tradesmen in Macau is accounted for from 1557 onwards (Barreto 2006). The Portuguese had thus already been in the Orient, specifically South and Southeast Asia for 59 years (in India) and 46 in Southeast Asia. A long enough time for the emergence of at least the first generation, (or even the second) of Luso-Asian native speakers of different South and Southeast Asian Portuguese lexified creoles. As with previous Portuguese controlled ports in the Orient, the population brought by force (slaves, servants, wives and children) and on their own free will (tradesmen, seamen) during the advent of Portuguese Macau were necessarily of varied ethnic and linguistic origins. Census data of population brought to Macau during the first few decades were primarily from South and Southeast Asia, all areas where the Portuguese held strong control of the trade routes, and where South and Southeast Asian Portuguese lexified creoles, or pidginized varieties thereof had become the lingua franca for such trade (Baxter, 1996 & 2009; Pinharanda Nunes 2012). In a complex and diverse linguistic situation as the one we can envisage for Macau in its early stages, the language contact and practices provided input to the feature pool where pidginized versions and variations of Kristang would definitely have been the richest and most frequent source. Whereas some would have had Kristang and close varieties as their first language (the Luso-Malays coming from Malacca, Java, Moluccas and Flores), others would have had those any of those varieties as their second language. The emerging creole from that rich pool of variants would have constituted a third or fourth language (L3 / L4) to the latter, and a second language to the others who had no previous knowledge of an Asian Portuguese creole. Following a period of selection and filtering (leveling) of the input features, a situation of bilingualism or diglossia of speakers of

Kristang and several other South and South Asian languages, Makista would have emerged as the L1 of later generations already born in Macau. The role Kristang and Malay had in the formation of Makista, while there were still L1 and L2 speakers of these languages in the earlier settlers of Macau, can be attested for in Makista's morpho-syntax and lexicon. And so can the role of standard Portuguese – a continuous presence throughout the Makista continuum, contrary to the case of Kristang and its Southeast Asian varieties and most of the South Asian creoles too.

In the following section we shall take a brief look at some linguistic features of Kristang that trace back to both its substrates (Kristang and Malay), but also indicate continued influence from the presence of its superstrate (Portuguese) and the adstrate (Cantonese).

### 3. Retained substrate features

Bearing in mind the linguistic demographic context in which Makista emerged (as was described in the previous section), we claim the substrate language of this creole to have been a combination of Kristang and pidginized varieties of it, with a considerable amount of Malay input, either through Kristang or directly from L1 and L2 Malay speakers.

As far as Makista's morphosyntax is concerned, studies on this creole's verb phrase (specifically verb forms and TMA marking) have concluded on the greater proximity of these categories in Makista to those in Kristang, compared to the remaining Asian Portuguese lexified creoles (Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004), Pinharanda Nunes (2011; 2012). Little to nothing is known yet as to the morphology, syntax and lexicon of Makista until the emergence of 19<sup>th</sup> century texts and descriptions. However, comparing this data with the first recordings of natural speech in Makista by its last L1 speakers (born in between the 1890s and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), we evidence indicating that until the latter generation, the verb form paradigm and TMA marking was practically identical to that of Kristang (Pinharanda Nunes 2011; 2012).

In Kristang, the ubiquitous verb form is a form derived from the lexifier's infinitive forms, ex., *morá* > Ptg.inf. *morar* (to live); *vivê* > Ptg.inf. *comer* (to eat); *partí* > Ptg.inf. *partir* (to break something / to depart). Thus, in all three thematic vowel groups, the /r/ is dropped, but the stress on the final vowel is retained. The only other verb form found in Kristang and in the earliest data on Makista one containing the non-functional 3s marking of the lexifier for a very restricted set of verbs: *vai* < Ptg.inf. *ir* (to go); *vem* < Ptg.

inf. *vir* (to come); *sai* < Ptg.inf. *sair* (to exit / leave); *cai* < Ptg.inf. *cair* (to fall). Both groups of non-functional (or fossilized) verb forms is shared by all the other Asian Portuguese lexified creoles. However, whereas in those creoles other functional and semi-functional lexifier-derived markings are also active in the verb paradigm and TMA systems they are not to be found in Kristang and almost not existent in such earlier data regarding Makista.

The mode and aspect marking of these lexifier-derived forms in Kristang and Makista is operated by preverbal markers which in themselves are grammaticalized forms of lexifier elements. As such, both creoles exhibit a completive aspect marker *ja* > Ptg. adverb *já* (already); a continuous and habitual marker *ta* > Ptg. auxiliary *estar* (to be); and for the *irrealis* / future mode *lollogo* > Ptg. adverb *logo* (later). At this point it could be argued that this could be a calquing of the mode and aspect marking of Cantonese and Hokkien (two adstrate languages of both Kristang and Makista), as in Chinese dialects such markings are also operated on non-functional verb forms. However, in both those adstrates, the marker is post-verbal, not preverbal. Should the mode and aspect marking in Makista have been a direct transfer from Cantonese and Hokkien, one would expect the markers to be post verbal too. Just as in Kristang they bear similarity to their Malay equivalent which also occupy a preverbal position. Another difference is that in the Chinese dialects mentioned, the marking is obligatory, whereas in Makista its use presents considerable variation with both  $\emptyset$  marking - and even with standard verb forms in the decreolizing speech of the last L1 speakers of this creole. This variation could be owed to the fact that the corpora available corresponds to the early stage of decreolization (the 19<sup>th</sup> century texts and descriptions) and the later stages of that same process (the 20<sup>th</sup> century oral corpus).

Besides this brief sample of similarity between the morpho-syntax of Makista and Kristang – in support of the influence of the latter on the former as its substrate, the lexicon of Makista also evidences a number of elements sustaining this theory. In Batalha (1988) and Senna Fernandes and Baxter (2001) the lexical items derived from Malay exceed by far those borrowed from Cantonese. Given that Malay is not an indigenous language to Southern China where Makista was formed, we can only presume that such items were borrowed via Kristang during the selection and levelling processes of the items fed into the initial feature pool.

The Makista continuum is rich with evidence of continued and successive influences both from its lexifier (since it was never deprived of access to it) and its adstrates – Cantonese and English. As for the latter, Makista added it to its already rich pool of feature input from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

when the neighbouring British colony of Hong Kong was established (*circa* 1854). Many Macanese Makista speaking families migrated to that soon-to-be prosperous colony (and soon after to the European concessions in Shanghai) and added English to their linguistic repertoire<sup>2</sup>. Evidence of an acquisition phase of English and an L2 or an L3 still bears its marks in verb forms such as *ordená* > Eng. ‘to order’ or *cruzá rua* > Eng ‘to cross the street’, where the Portuguese-derived infinitive form typical of the Makista creole verb matrix was suffixed onto the English base form.

#### 4. Current sociolinguistic issues facing Makista

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the expansion of the Makista speaking community out to Hong Kong and European Concessions in several Chinese port cities after the Opium War, mainly to Shanghai. The 20<sup>th</sup> century would once again witness changes and the spreading of this community’s diaspora to much farther places. Both the Japanese occupation of Shanghai in the early stages of WW II, as well as the creation of the People’s Republic of China under the communist army of Mao Dse Dong in 1949 forced the Macanese communities established in those port cities to flee back to Macau and to Hong Kong. But the fear of the encroachment of the P.R.C. on Macau and Hong Kong, especially from the 1960’s onwards till the end of the Cultural Revolution policy, led many families to opt for a more secure future in other parts of the world. This diaspora took the Makista heritage community and its creole mainly to the USA (San Francisco and Seattle), Canada (Vancouver and Toronto), Brazil (Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), Australia (East Coast) and to Portugal. Their trilingual proficiency in Portuguese, English and Cantonese or Mandarin came as an advantage to them in their newly adopted homelands. Both to those who moved to the English speaking countries, but even for those who went to Brazil. As

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<sup>2</sup> Although it were the Macanese communities of Hong Kong and Shanghai the ones to borrow more heavily from English, even those who remained in Macau came under the influence of this new European language to the region. Pinharanda Nunes (2014), basing himself on Teixeira (??) and Braga (??), touches on the educational concerns of the Macanese in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wherein the learning of English became a priority. It was seen as an added asset for the community to gain access to the newly competitive and lucrative work market created by the British arrival in the region.

reported by several of the earlier settled members in Rio and in São Paulo<sup>3</sup>, in the 1960s and 1970s, English was a very rare commodity in the local work market, highly valued. Most, very easily obtained good posts in American companies, or even with foreign Embassies. At the same time, knowledge of Portuguese helped in the social integration. This was even further facilitated by the religious factor, as Catholicism has always been a central point in the Macanese identity. For those who went to the USA, Canada and Australia their proficiency in English also was an asset for employment and a more rapid integration into the society.

The bonuses they carried with them for a successful integration into these new social, linguistic and cultural environments, however, accelerated the loss of generational transmission of their heritage language, Makista. It is now only spoken by the elderly who still had it as their L1 or L2 in Hong Kong, Shanghai or any of the other Chinese cities where they had established themselves. Proficiency in their heritage language soon ceased to become an element of the Macanese identity for these communities in the diaspora. The elements of their identity has grown to be based on: i) the common ancestry ties with Macau, and by extension Hong Kong and Shanghai; ii) the mixed ethnicity of European (mainly Portuguese) and Chinese stock – but extending also to other Asian ethnicities such as Japanese, Philipino and Goanese; iii) the heritage food – a rich *mélange* and recreation of the cuisine of all those origins and ties the community has incorporated throughout the centuries since its formation; iv) the possession of a unique heritage language (creole language), even if it is now very nearly only a vague memory to the younger non-Makista speakers; v) the Macanese frame of mind, or attitude towards life. This latter element was repeatedly mentioned and argued as being one of the core constituents of the Makista heritage community (the Macanese) during a debate on the community's identity at their last bi-annual international gathering in Macau in December 2013. Albeit its fluidity and vagueness, it reflects the consciousness of the community (both among the Macau members as well as all those in the diaspora) of the threat posed on them by the different societies they and their children and future generations are integrated in. The loss of their Heritage language does not seem to be held as a loss of their identity, but it seems to create a need for finding other even less tangible identity traits to hold on to in order to preserve a common identity within a community so wide spread and exposed to such a vast diversity of cultures. Even if it means resorting to

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<sup>3</sup> Information collected through sociolinguistic interviews conducted in the São Paulo Macanese community in August 2013.

feeling that one of the core identity traits includes some sort of common psychological characteristic.

For the part of the community that did not leave Macau, even though the identity factor may be stronger and clearer defined, the heritage language loss is also applicable. Here, the coexistence with its lexifier and especially the social and educational changes from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards lead to a progressive decreolization of Makista, and then, before the advance of that process, more abruptly, to a cut in the generation transmission. The reasons for these two events in Makista's existence and evolution can be directly traced to social and education policies implemented by the Portuguese colonial administration from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards: a generalized public education for the community in Portuguese; progressive employment of Macanese workforce in the Macau Portuguese administrative civil service<sup>1</sup>.

The nearing of the handover of administrative power over Macau, from Portugal to the P.R.C. in 1999, was felt by the Makista heritage community as yet another threat to its long term survival. With the support of the Macau Portuguese government and the Fundação Orient, the communities in the Diaspora were able to purchase clubhouses for the already existing Macanese Associations. Those Associations in the USA, Canada, Brazil, Australia, Hong Kong and Portugal have ever since maintained close ties with APIM (Associação para a Promoção da Instrução dos Macaenses), formed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as the ADM (Associação dos Macaenses). Each of these associations have individually tried to perpetuate the Macanese identity among its founding members and extended families in those respective countries through a number of initiatives: regular social gatherings; celebration of festive and religious occasions; Macanese cooking classes; sports events. As for the preservation of the heritage language, Makista, some have held classes for those members who have lost practice in the language and for those who never learnt it due to the generation transmission cut after their families' migration. These initiatives have not been systematic, nor coordinated among the different Associations. Some of them have also put on sketches and plays in Makista, at the gatherings and festivities. These types of initiatives are normally undertaken by the older members of these Associations. Increasingly the Macanese Associations are faced with the reality of the distancing and disinterest of the younger members. Several measures have been taken more recently to try and captivate their interest in the Associations' activities and revive the feel of *Macanese*ness among the younger members. Some casas have made it a point to bring in youth into their Board of Directors. On a universal scale, a Macanese Youth Council

was formed in 2011, constituted by young members of each of the communities in the diaspora as well as in Macau . They have met in 2010 and 2012 in Macau to discuss the preservation of the Macanese identity and feeling of belonging among this younger age group. The internet has also become a means of promoting that identity and unity as well as trying to perpetuate the heritage language – if not as a functional spoken language, at least the memory of it. Several blogs and websites are kept by individuals, from Macau to Brazil to the USA and Portugal. No concerted unified project has guided these initiatives so far.

In Macau, the preservation of the Macanese identity and culture is mainly fought for by APIM and ADM. Through their concerted action a Macau Culinary Association has been formed with the aim of preserving and promoting the Makista heritage community's cuisine, within the community itself, but also to others. The theatre group *Docí Papiaçam*<sup>4</sup>, created in 1983, has played an ever greater role in the promotion of the heritage language of the Macanese, within the community and to all the other communities in Macau. They have regularly put up one or two plays every year, and have for the past few years showcased their annual play in the Macau International Arts Festival. The scripts are written by the Macanese lawyer Miguel Senna Fernandes, who is also the director of the plays. The group is an amateur group, but has gained considerable prestige within the Macanese community as well as the Portuguese and Chinese and expatriate community residing in Macau. The genre follows the humorous type plays put up by the community in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – some of those scripts are still known to us today as they were compiled in Danilo Barreiro's anthology (1944/47). The scripts of the *Docí Papiaçam* plays have in the last five to six years, increasingly incorporated loanwords from Cantonese and standard Portuguese, and even whole dialogues in Cantonese or where extensive code-switching between the two languages. Makista has always included considerable variation and code-switching, even when most of the community was proficient in the language, given the multilingual profile of this community. Now that the language is only spoken by a handful of older members, it makes all the more sense to incorporate Cantonese or standard Portuguese forms in the dialogues, as it reflects more closely the present reality, in the opinion of Senna Fernandes. This is not a consensual opinion among the community, though. As in many cases endangered languages, the community wishes to preserve what they perceive as the 'pure' stage of the language. Nevertheless,

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<sup>4</sup> *Docí Papiaçam*, Makista for 'sweet language' (literal translation), is one of the several names by which the Portuguese-based creole of Macau has been termed along its existence. The other are: *Patua di Macau* and *Makista*.

the *Docis Papiaçam* plays have placed a definite and enduring mark in the existence and preservation of Makista, and any preservation project for this endangered heritage language cannot be done without reference their work. All the more so, as in 2013 the government of the Special Administrative Region of Macau acknowledged the Makista theatre plays as intangible heritage of this region. In 2013 as well, this group was give the 'Identity Prize' form the International Institute of Macau.

The above very general perspective of the Makista heritage communities' actions and concerns makes it clear that the language is practically dormant, with the exception of the remaining elderly L1 and L2 speakers. Yet this status does not make it a forgotten element of its heritage community's identity. Nor does the community exhibit a negative attitude towards it. Quite on the contrary. Both young and old are proud of the fact their cultural and ethnic identity includes a heritage language – even if no longer vibrant and functional. In a preliminary survey of the community's attitude toward the language and its documentation and preservation in Macau and in the São Paulo community undertaken by Pinharanda Nunes in 2013, the vast majority of opinions favored such initiatives and did not reveal any negative attitude towards the heritage language. Given these concerns and positivity in the preservation of their heritage (including the linguistic element), and considering the potential provided by the existent social network among the different Macanese communities worldwide, one can encouragingly hope for a concerted action and project for the preservation of Makista in the near future. Hopefully still in time to benefit from the input of those few to whom it was their first language and remain proficient in it. For that, the communities i(in Macau and the diaspora) will have to agree and compromise on modes of preservation, coordinating groups, levelling minor linguistic variations between the Macau and the Hong Kong and Shanghai varieties, and .last but not least, on a common written form.

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# National Identity, Linguistic diversity and Education

- Historical and Controversial Political perspectives in Brazil -

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## 1. Observations on the importance to consider language and culture as different aspects of the same reality.

As a first remark, we shall observe that it is a common sense assertion to say that languages, as communication media between people, contribute to create links of comprehension and fraternity. In fact, idioms, as for the different cultures they contribute to express, can also become a serious threat for peace and harmony for humanity, and represent a **negative factor**, when they become an instrument of power, as modern history and recent events of the actuality showed us, unfortunately.

Secondly, **language and culture** seem to be intimately linked, but History show many examples of people sharing numerous aspects of their culture, although speaking different languages; or, after some historical tribulations, adopt another language, and conserve most characteristics of their culture.

From these two preliminary remarks, we are already able to feel that an avalanche of questions will result, about the reality – and the ambiguity – of the concept of language, especially in English. *Langue X Parole*, will be the epistemological cut proposed by SAUSSURE, followed half-century later by CHOMSKY, who described language as an innate mental or neurological faculty. Nevertheless, sociocultural studies on language(s) developed themselves considerably along the 20th century, so that it seemed that linguistics research focused completely different objects.

Now, in 2014, more than one century after that epistemological cut, it is an emergency task to overcome those boundaries between disciplines which are complementary, and not at all some religious sects, whose

members maintain contempt and incomprehension for those who work with other concepts, theories and hypotheses. That is why we are proud to consider that a line of research like languages and cultures in contact will contribute to a new synthesis of research and a positive balance for interdisciplinary sciences.

Briefly, from a theoretical point of view, the research becomes really productive when assuming this dialectical movement, from analysis and epistemological cut, to synthesis and interdisciplinary options. Language is a neurological faculty, **and** a social institution: these are the two faces of its reality.

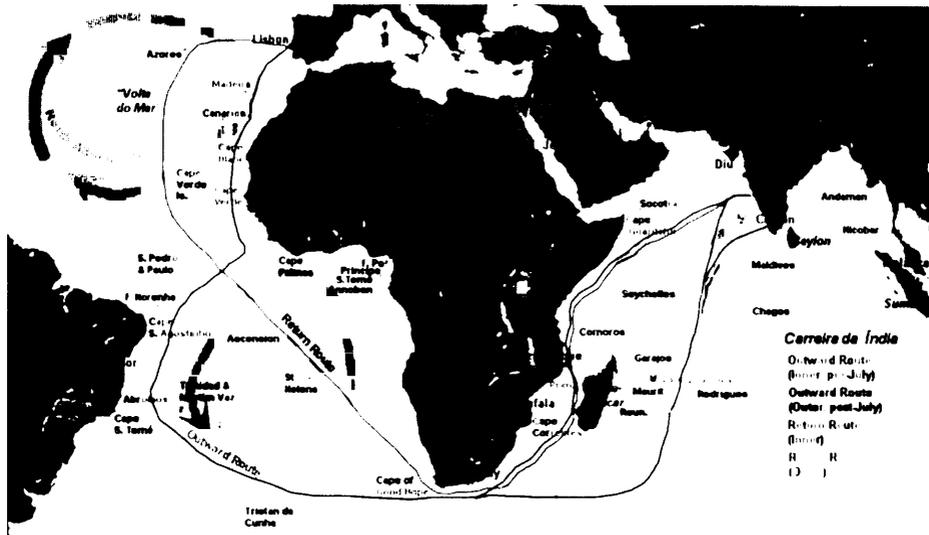
Many of our researchers in Brazil are now sensible to these multiple aspects of linguistic reality, for some obvious reasons, like the multiethnic base of Brazilian population. But strangely, during a long period of its history, instead of being considered as an advantage, such diversity - ethnic, linguistic and religious - was seen as a real danger for the national cohesion and unity, so that the construction – or adoption – of a unique national language seemed to be a necessity. Portuguese language – in its Brazilian variety – was chosen to fill that role of a unifying institution, with the prohibition of practice of any other language, at least in the schools and in the public administrations. Nevertheless, such a political decision ignored completely some facts like the existence of an important indigenous population, whose numerous languages are autochthonous, and of immigration from all continents<sup>1</sup>, which reduce the Portuguese descendants to a minority...

A last important remark is the fact that Brazil, although situated on the western side of Atlantic Ocean, was during centuries a stopover land for the ships sailing to East. Such a reality is generally forgotten nowadays, but it was only with the generalization of the steamers that the route from Europe to Asia abandoned definitively the Brazilian harbors. The first Portuguese navigators discovered an important way to get to South Africa, going round the Cape of Good Hope, to get to the coasts of Southeast Asia through the Indian Ocean. Instead of navigating near the coasts, the discoverers understood they would find good streams and favorable winds far from the coast, sailing to West first, and then coming back to Southeast, a few thousand miles from Africa; this constitutes a dangerous navigation, although possible thanks to new techniques like the use of compass. They called this detour “*a grande*

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<sup>1</sup> Arabs, Africans, Japanese. Germans. Chinese, Italians, Spanish. Russians. Polish, Turkish. Swiss... it could be fastidious to produce an exhaustive list. In fact, it would probably be easier to constitute a list of countries which did **not** furnish a considerable number of immigrants!

*volta*”, that is, in Portuguese, “the big turn”. Until now, the name *Volta* is being used to designate a river and an African country. geographic place of the coast from where it was necessary to begin that “big turn”.



*The Portuguese route to India (Wikipedia)*

With all that explanation, it is possible to understand why an important part of the international trade initiated by the Portuguese elected Brazil<sup>2</sup> as a point of rest, an intermediary stage on the route to Orient. This explains many cultural, anthropological, botanical, linguistic and agricultural marks of proximity between our two continents, which remain until nowadays<sup>3</sup>.

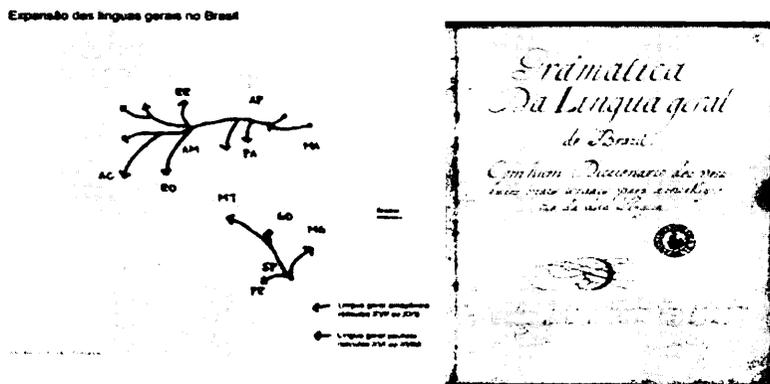
## 2. The importance of language diversity.

We already mentioned how the myth of national identity was built on the concept of linguistic unity – as formerly it was the paper of religion, at

<sup>2</sup> During a few decades, Brazil was considered a big island, called *Ilha de Santa Cruz*.

<sup>3</sup> Canella, pepper, coconut, mango, are some example of vegetal products that could not be found in Brazil before 16<sup>th</sup> century. But chili, manioc and tapioca, star fruit or cashew did not exist in Asia. Today, people of these two parts of the world, who use these vegetal products as everyday ingredients have some difficulty to believe it! This represented an important contribution of the Portuguese navigators, but rarely mentioned, with a considerable change in the landscapes of those regions.

least in western countries. In the case of Brazil, the choice of Portuguese language was not that evident. Indeed, until the end 18<sup>th</sup> century, the main language which was spoken in that Portuguese colony of Brazil and “Grão Pará”<sup>4</sup> was the so-called *Língua Geral*, that is, “General Language”, a kind of synthesis between several indigenous Tupi idioms, whose grammar and lexicon were codified by the Jesuit priests. From the year 1800 on, Portuguese language began to assume the role of a national language, sometimes called “Brazilian”. The cult to the National State needed to have a national language to grant the ideological unity, that is, the sentiment of national identity.



*The “Língua Geral”, its expansion in 18<sup>th</sup> century, and its grammar*

Such a process is not exclusive to Brazil. It is a characteristic of the period called Modern Times, from 16<sup>th</sup> century – the Renaissance – to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when national language becomes a new kind of religion, supra-individual, and accept in this unifying function by all members of the national community, even if they do not speak it. Actually, most subjects or citizen did not have linguistic competence; the popular crowds were excluded from this process which transformed the language of the Court the national language, with, as first models, France or Spain<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, such a model will be realized incompletely, as it will be demonstrated by the force of the

<sup>4</sup> Grão-Pará. at colony time, was considered as a separate entity. and is now the Northern part of Brazil. mainly constituted by the federal states of Pará, Amazon. Roraima.

<sup>5</sup> Let us remember here that most rural population of France did not speak French until World War I. The generalization of public. free and obligatory primary education began to establish French as the general language of all citizens only after the year 1918: most French are not really aware of that historic situation.

dialects in Italy or in the German-speaking countries like Germany, Austria or Switzerland. Some of those countries keep holding the banner of multiculturalism, more or less successfully, some with many obstacles or difficulties, others more pacifically, like Switzerland or Belgium in Europe, or like Paraguay, Bolivia or Peru in South America.

Recently were rediscovered the benefits of plurilinguism – or multilinguism –<sup>6</sup>. Many resisting linguistic minorities are now protected by law. It is the case of Brazil, where today they are considered as a part of the national patrimony. The national borders, at least since the hegemony of national states at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, constitute an untouchable myth in modern societies; nevertheless, they are not any more necessarily identic with linguistic frontiers. National states accepting multilinguism inside their political limits are more and more numerous, and idioms are each time less instruments of national identity, which remembers us the same decline process suffered by religions from the end of Middle Age. The many millions of immigrants who move from one country or from one continent to other contribute certainly for such an evolution, although this phenomenon explains also irrational nationalism and racist reactions.

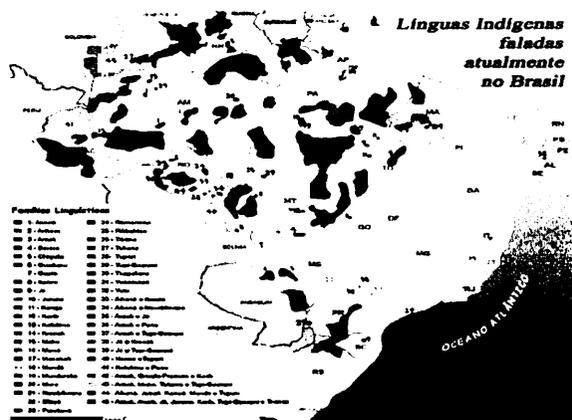
### **3 Historical Paradigm: the case of Brazil**

Official state politics are changing, becoming more realistic, and, although maybe too slowly, are trying to create a new model of nation. In Brazil, indigenous communities – called *índios*, “Indians” – have been destroyed, sometimes by massive massacres, until the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, allowing the expansion of vast areas to be colonized, for agriculture or cattle grassland, euphemistically called development. It has to be observed that such expansion was frequently disguised under a disdainful paternalism, through the Christian missionaries, who, in the reality, represent another way to destroy the indigenous cultures, under the name of “assimilation” process. More recently, these communities were more respected, when their rights to compensations were recognized by the courts, to repair the historical collective damages. And finally, Brazilian federal as states constitutions recognized idioms of minorities as “national” languages, including the

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<sup>6</sup>These two denominations are not necessarily synonyms. Indeed, various definitions exist according to different authors. Our choice is to understand plurilinguism as an individual competence, and multilinguism as the coexistence of various idioms in the same area.

languages of the so-called immigrants, that is, of people who arrive at Brazil mostly after the year 1800<sup>7</sup>.



*Map of indigenous idioms in Brazil, as spoken today  
([contextohistorico.blog.terra.com.br](http://contextohistorico.blog.terra.com.br))*

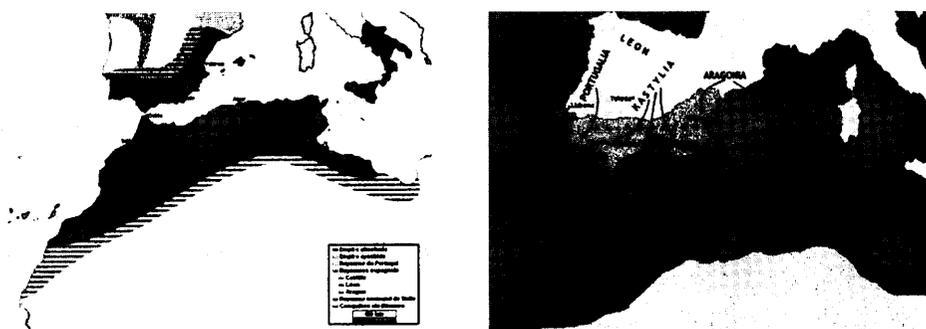
In fact, even the indigenous character of the Amerindian communities could be called in question, by the fact that most of them were mostly nomads, moving regularly to other regions; and until now, along the frontiers, the same communities can be found on both sides of the official borders. Anyway, each one of their idioms constitutes a particular case, with its own history.

#### **4. After all, what is a frontier?**

That term of frontier takes its origin from low medieval Latin (*frontiera, fronteira*); as mainly it was spoken and written in the peninsula of Iberia, which constitutes today's countries of Spain and Portugal. The word

<sup>7</sup> The traditional terminology in Brazilian educational system distinguished the colonizers (that is, the Portuguese who arrived since 15<sup>th</sup> century), from the "invaders" (that is the French and the Dutch), and the "immigrants" who arrived from Europe. Asia (mainly from China and Japan) since the 1800s. The French had founded the city of São Luis, today capital of the state of Maranhão, and Rio de Janeiro, under the name of "Antarctic France"; the Dutch founded the city of Recife, today capital of the state of Pernambuco. It is unnecessary to insist on the ideological character of such a terminology...

has no equivalent in classic Latin, where it should be translated as *fines*. In fact, this word is attested only after the 11<sup>th</sup> century, to designate a large area between the Muslim and Christian kingdoms, region of trade, exchanges and also, of course, as it was the usual at those times, regional feudal conflicts between neighbors, although it was not the most general rule. The important character for us now is to consider that the frontier was not a line, but a large area, or a broad strip, a solution of continuity more than a separation line. Until now, names of cities like that of Jerez de la Frontera in Spanish Andalusia, are testimony of that historical acceptance. Andalusia was at that time, from 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the elected region for the exchanges, and its cultural and economic wealth was based on its language, religious and cultural diversity<sup>8</sup>. Today we already know that the Crusades contributed to build a myth which did not correspond to the contemporary reality.

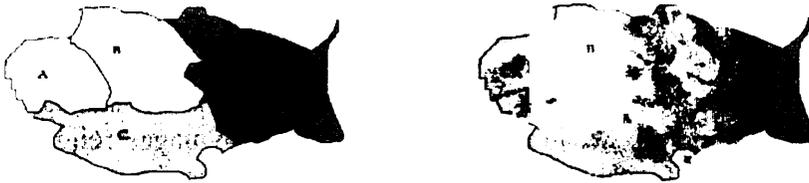


*“Fronteiras” areas at the time of Arabic expansion (Wikipedia)*

In fact, languages always shared large areas of gradual transition, and it is generally impossible to determine a line dividing two territories where one specific idiom is spoken. In the cases where such a line would exist, the cause is certainly a non-linguistic one, but a situation where politics implemented this limit, using languages as instruments for other purposes. For example, it has been always impossible to decide, en northeastern Europe, where people begin to speak a Slavic idiom, and from which geographical limit there was no more German-speaking populations: some communities spoke German along the Volga river, already in Asia, and at the same time some villages spoke a Slavic idiom along the river Elbe, and around Berlin too, and near

<sup>8</sup> The three main monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, lived together relatively peacefully, as the idioms like Latin, vernacular Romanic languages and Arabic, each one with a different function, Arabic being considered as the most adequate for poetry.

Hamburg. Obviously, such a situation became intolerable for the nationalisms which would emerge during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although these rural communities lived as peaceful neighbors during centuries.



*Distribution of languages: mythic representation and "natural" reality*

It is a matter of fact that, since Antiquity, in the Mediterranean area, the idioms lived together, mixed themselves, and the conditions of trade and cultural exchanges founded a real supra-community which constituted that great civilization, whose history provokes today an enormous nostalgia: this splendid sea became today a frontier, in the modern and worse meaning, area of confrontation and aquatic sepulture for thousands of desperate illegal immigrants... As an example, an important Latinist researcher, Florence DUPONT, made the demonstration of the brilliant cosmopolitanism of Rome in several books and publications.

At last, another topic which should be developed is the question of the names given to languages. Why French and Italian, both being Neo-Latin languages acquired different names? Obviously, French is a kind of Latin spoken by Francs, coming from old Germany, with a strong impregnation of Germanic grammatical structures lexical borrowings. Which difference between Thai and Laotian, in fact separated only by the river Mekong? And what about Maltese, which is indeed a Tunisian Arabic Dialect, spoken on a small island by catholic population, using the Latin alphabet? And how shall we consider the Slavic languages, which are understandable by Russians, Ukrainians, Polish, Czechs, Serbians, and so on? Certainly, the denomination of idioms is not completely neutral...

## 5. Consequences for linguistic and educational politics.

We can see today new tendencies resulting of the considerations we made above. First of all, the monolingualism appears always more a kind of debility affecting the individuals; the school has to offer a possibility of access to several idioms. At the same time, more and more countries understand that the plurality of languages constitutes a serious advantage, and not a risk for national unity, as people believed formerly.

The situation in Brazil looks interesting, because it is changing. More and more idioms are declared “co-official” languages in many states, even when the minority population is quite small. For example, it is the case of a Tupi-Guarani variety spoken by less than 1000 people in the South of Rio de Janeiro, and became a co-official idiom of that state, beside Portuguese, of course: so that it can be now a teaching language in the indigenous schools of that remote area (in Angra and Paraty municipalities). At the same time, the German dialects, spoken mainly in the south of Brazil, won the same privilege, under the name of “Brasil Deutsch”. But more to the north, in the rural areas of the state of Espiritu Santo, Pomeranian became also a co-official idiom, teaching language in the primary schools. The curious aspect is that this language is no more spoken in Europe, after the disappearance of Prussia, but is quite alive in Brazil!

Of course, an important motivation for the introduction of these idioms at school is the interest of the children, and pedagogically it is essential to teach in their mother tongue. We know nowadays that it is perfectly possible to teach using the family language of the children, to avoid a brutal shock, a traumatism which certainly not contributes to the equality of chances in such a socially unjust society as we still have in Brazil. It should be possible to teach at the same time a linguistic competence in the official norm of the national language as used by the majority of the citizen of the country. There is no incompatibility between a daily practice of a spoken variety, and teaching at the same time an “official” norm like what is called “good” Portuguese. And there is no necessity to stigmatize as “bad” language the dialect, idiom or variety which is used in the family or on the street, with the risks of all resulting traumatisms.

Indeed, we should valorize a factual bilingualism – or, better, a plurilingualism – which is native by the children; this could include the suburban slang, rejected by the traditional standards but indeed highly considered by the youth – music, songs, and now until literature –; this would not impede the official norm to fill its function of unity between the areas, regions and social classes in a more just, fair and equal country. At the

same time, if such a pedagogical practice could be generalized, it would realize a solution for an introduction of the so-called minority languages at school, in full conviviality.

## **6. Concluding: the force of minorities.**

Indeed, all minority languages are minoritarian only for some circumstances, which allowed other language to become prestigious idioms, for several reasons. From the strict point of view of the linguist, all languages are equal. The time should be over, when a creole language like, for example, Papiah Kristang, spoken mainly in Malacca, Malaysia, had to be considered as a corrupted Portuguese, used by ignorant fishermen in a remote coast of Southeast Asia! There is nothing more preconceived and foolish to see them as languages to be rectified or replaced by a norm, which would in fact contribute for a serious impoverishment. In the case of creole languages, that we shall not introduce here, but so brilliantly defended by our friend Joan MARBECK, we should accept the fact that they are not properly a linguistic category, but a product of colonialist aggressions. All languages, during its evolution, suffer a crioulization process. Back to variation and its manifestation in languages, we can also say that all idioms, unless they die, are evolving, and all the varieties, dialects and slangs should be considered as the positive motor of this change.

In fact, each individual speaker is a minority, as a person, even if we consider that he has been shaped and determined by his material, geographical, historical and social environment. Such an observation might look merely philosophical, but we are convinced that there are some methodological consequences for our present object of investigation and interest. Cultural and linguistic minorities are merely relative conceits, and, for that reason, are always determined by ideological points of views of the enunciator. With such remarks, we feel authorized to affirm that these assertions on minority languages, dialects, suburb or vulgar idioms, could lack of scientific bases, and should be manipulated with an extreme circumspection.

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## 総括及び閉会の挨拶

富盛 伸夫（東京外国語大学）

最後に実行委員長の富盛からご挨拶と、一言お礼を申し上げさせていただきます。

東京外国語大学世界言語社会教育センターの企画による今回のシンポジウムは2日間にわたり10名の参加者をお迎えして、「外国語教育と異文化間教育」をめぐるテーマで非常に根本的な基本的な事柄から、教育現場での経験を交換していただき、誠に感謝申し上げます。

私は最初に、Pierre Guisan 先生のご発表の中の言葉を思い浮かべます。Pierre Guisan 先生は、言語学には二つの方向性がある、と、例えばチョムスキーとソシュールという二つの名前をお出しになりました。その二つの理論的言説とともに20世紀の言語学が展開してきたわけですが、その両方とも言語研究を他の人文諸科学あるいは自然科学に近い一科学にするために、発話の状況や文化的コンテクストの問題を捨象してきました。この結果、大変取り組みやすく見えやすい「記号表現」(signifiant)の分析をはじめ、後に非常に大きな成果をあげた記述言語学、あるいは文そのものの構造や人間のさまざまな能力との関係が解明されてきました。それは決して間違いではなかった。

ただ、もう一つ私たちの共通の土台は言語教育です。言語教育、とりわけ外国語教育という現場には、言語文化的背景を異にする学習者がいて、教師がいて、その発話の場(enunciation)、発話のコンテクスト(場面)と、会話に参加する参加者(participants)が出てきます。参加者には必ず文化的な背景があり、また、どういう媒体(media)で言語が交換されるか、やりとりされるかという基本的なコミュニケーションの本質に言語教育では直接的に関わります。その中では、ほとんどの先生が指摘されたように、文化の問題を捨象(abstract)して考えることはできません。効率よい言語教育のために、言語構造、語彙、あるいはその知識の獲得に教育という名の下に評価・成績を与えて、それでいいかという決してそうではないという指摘も、多くの先生からいただきました。

今回のシンポジウムは、言語教育と文化とのそういう面での関わり合いが一つの軸でありました。特に、今日の先生方のご発表、午前中の拝田清先生、Untung Yuwono 先生、また丹羽京子先生の教室現場からのご報告をいただき、やはり言語教育には、その学習者の持つ文化と、対象言語の歴史的、社会的、文化的な背景を、教員としては決してどこかにしまうわけにはいけないということが指摘されましたが、そのとおりです。

今日の午後のご発表で、恐らく共通してあったキーワードは、多様性(diversity)という概念であったと思います。Pierre Guisan 先生がおっしゃったように、言語はそもそも一つにくくることができない。つまり私たちは記号的な存在ですから、名前を付けることで何々語として線を引いてしまう。極端な場合が国家という単位だろうと思いますが、教える側ももしかしたら、

実際の言語が話されているシチュエーション、場面、現場とは別のレベルの、人為的な記号的なくくりでそれを与えてしまい、学生にも既製の、既存の制度化した記号を学びなさいと言っているのではないか。

そして、もう一言言うと規範 (norm) もキーワードとして先生方から指摘されましたが、これも一種の幻想と言えます。これは、ないと言えば全くないわけですが、あるレベルでは機能している。その言語教育では規範、場合によっては正しさ、美しさ、そしてその背景にある国の素晴らしさまで学生にワンセットで押しつける、(というのは良くない表現ですが、) 美しく見せて、それを学生と一緒に着てもらう。一つのオーバーコートと一緒に着るかのような共同幻想を与えることで教師はやっている。そういう反省もいたしました。

最初のプレゼンターの Chan 先生のご指摘で、critical という概念がありました。これは恐らく、2日間の私たちのディスカッションの中の一番重要な軸となる概念だったと思います。簡単に異文化と言いますが、それに触れるには批判的思考 (critical thinking) がまず必要です。そして、私たち教師がまずトレーニングを受けて、違った文化に触れたときの驚き、発見、気付きといったものを学生と共有し、学生にも体験してもらう。学生自身に批判的思考 (critical thinking) が備わるように、そういう思考と感性の習慣ができるように育てていく。そういう非常に重要な仕事を言語教師はしていると思います。難しい仕事ですが、しなくてははいけません。

特に今回の東京外国語大学でのささやかなシンポジウムは、昨年 12 月にシンガポール国立大学での 200 人以上の参加者による言語教育と文化の問題を正面から取り上げた大規模なシンポジウムの主催者である Chan 先生には、恐らくは狭く浅く感じられたかもしれません。が、このような国際集会を日本でやるというコンテキストの意味は、やはり大きいと思います。一つは、私たちの多くの頭の中では、日本語という単一の言語という幻想がある。実際はいろいろな言語が話されていますから、これは現実をみない幻想です。また、教えるには東京の日本語があり、それさえ学べば外国から来られた学習者も簡単にインテグレート、つまり言語から始まる社会文化的統合へと向かわせられるかのような幻想を持っています。決してそうではないという指摘は今回もなされましたが、このコロークはそういう「日本」という非常に均質的に単純化された一種の幻想を打ち破るケーススタディであり、私たちの頭の中の critical thinking として、今回非常に大きな意味があったと思います。特に実際のケースからの証言として、マレーシアからの Joan Marbeck 先生とマカオからの Mário Nunes 先生のご発表の意義は、複数言語・文化が長い歴史の波を経てなお、アジアにおけるポルトガル語が少数の方々には立派に受け継がれていることを示されたことにあり、私たち聴衆の思考のパラダイムを大きく転換させてくださいました。

今回の東京外国語大学世界言語社会教育センター主催のシンポジウムは、何か有意味なアウトプットを出したいと思います。こういう貴重な知見の交換を、今後この世界言語社会教育センターだけではなく、東京外国語大学、あるいはほかの大学でも引き続き企画していただき、われわれ日本人が気付いたり、発見したり、ご出席の先生方の国の人々と、あるいはそれ以外

の世界の方々と、拝田先生の言葉を引用すると（そのまま引用していいかどうか難しいですが）「共感なき」世界であっても、つまり、必ずしも同じ考えではなく、同じ文化ではなくとも一緒に住める、一緒に住んでいくという世界、地球をつくりたいと思います。

最後に、私たち世界言語社会教育センターのプロジェクト研究のテーマは、EU 統合の言語政策研究、複言語・複文化主義の研究から始まりました。EU では、市民は2 言語+1 言語を学びなさいとしています。この EU の理念のように、自分の言葉と国あるいは上位社会集団の言語、そしてどちらでもない全く別のタイプの、類型的にも全く違う、あるいは何の役にも立たないけれども、例えば日本語でも英語でもない、アジア、アフリカ、オセアニア、その他多くの世界にある全く違う言語を学ぶことによって私たちの考えが変わっていく、パラダイムが変わっていくことが望ましいという展望を抱いている。少なくとも東京外国語大学の同僚は考えている、と私は信じています。東京外国語大学はそれができる大学です。日本中がそうなれば日本も変わっていくのではないかと思います。

本日は大変有意義な、しかも長い議論になりました。また別の機会に別のところで、先生方、ご参列の皆さま方にお会いしたいと思います。本会議の同時通訳をしてくださっている方々にお礼を申し上げます。言語を超えて表現を選び内容を伝えるというのは大変難しい、そして本当に言葉の一番重要な核心的な、言葉の本質に関わるお仕事です。どうもありがとうございました。また、本企画を成功に導いてくださいました多くのスタッフの方々に、またわれわれ教員側からは学生さんたちに深く御礼を申し上げます。最後となりましたが、ご列席の参加者の皆さまに深く感謝申し上げ、閉会のご挨拶とさせていただきます。

（これは2013年3月8日に口頭で行われた総括の文字起こし原稿に修正・加筆を施したものである。）