An Examination of Major Factors Associated With Difficulties Native Japanese Speakers Have in Learning English As a Foreign Language

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English

Abstract. This paper looks at factors giving difficulty to Japanese language speakers who are learning English as a foreign language. There are linguistic and extralinguistic reasons as to why Japanese language speakers often perceive English as being a difficult language to learn. Linguistic factors relate to English and Japanese languages belonging to two different language families, to grammar and syntax differences, and to differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, writing systems, and social rules of language usage. Extralinguistic factors relate to cultural differences between Japan and English speaking societies in regard to such phenonena as social distance, uncertainty avoidance, and societal reasons for learning language, and to individual factors such as self esteem, confidence and motivation, and perceptions of English as a "foreign" or a "neutral" language.

Introduction

Living in Japan for almost fourteen years, I have often been asked the question "What makes English a difficult language for native Japanese speakers?" Many Japanese language speakers seem to have the perception that English is a difficult language to learn and that the Japanese, perhaps more than other peoples, have a harder time in learning the English language. First of all, the difficulty of learning a foreign language of any kind refers to some kind of relative difficulty; it is not something easy to quantify as there are many factors involved. Learning any foreign language takes time and effort on the part of the learner; in that sense, no language is easy to learn. In addition, each person learning English or any other foreign language has a different learning style and different language learning experiences. There are, however, specific language related or linguistic factors which contribute to learning difficulties for native Japanese speakers and there are extralinguistic factors, or

factors which are not directly linguistic in nature which also have an effect on the learning of English as a foreign language by Japanese speakers, and one can map out an outline of broad areas of possible difficulty which may accompany Japanese native speakers' learning of the English language.

Two Different Language Families

First let us look at linguistic or specifically language related reasons as to why English can be a difficult language for Japanese speakers. The Japanese and English languages come from two very different language families. English is a Germanic language which comes from what is called the Indo-European family of languages, which is the world's largest language family, and it includes the two classical languages of ancient times, Greek and Latin, and European languages such as German, Italian, Spanish, French, Russian, and Dutch, as well as Indian languages such as Hindi and Sanskrit. Japanese is thought by many linguists to be an independent language and in general is seen as unrelated to any other living languages, though some authorities on language claim that Japanese may be related to Korean, and other linguists put Japanese into the Altaic language group, which includes Turkish, Mongolian, the languages of the Islamic republics of the former Soviet Union, and other languages of central Asia and Siberia. If a language is linguistically quite different from one's own native tongue, this will naturally make it more difficult to learn, as one will have to learn new patterns of grammar or syntax, different phonemes, totally unfamiliar vocabulary, and a different orthographic system. Therefore it is generally easier for someone from France or Germany, for example, to learn English, a language in the same language family, which has a number of shared characteristics, such as a phonetic script and vocabulary, than for a native speaker of the Japanese language.

Grammar and Syntax Differences

The English and Japanese languages have fundamental differences in the matter of grammar and syntax. All languages have general word order rules, and those for English and Japanese are different, English being an SVO (subject, verb, object) language, and Japanese being an SOV (subject, object, verb) language, hence the English sentence "Ted ate the orange" would be commonly translated as "Ted wa orenji o tabemashita" (Ted orange ate) in Japanese. Examples of other languages which are SVO along with the English language are

Spanish, French, Thai, Swahili, and Portuguese. Languages other than Japanese which follow the SOV pattern are Turkish, Persian, Georgian, and Eskimo. SOV and SVO languages are not the only possible word order variations as there are languages which are VSO(Arabic, Hebrew, Irish Gaelic, Tagalog), OVS(Apalai – Brazil, Panare – Venezuela), OSV(Xavante – Brazil), and VOS(Cakchiquel – Guatemala). Generally speaking, however, Japanese do not tend to have that much of a problem with word order when learning English, except possibly when translating from one language to another, probably because word order is a very obvious language difference.

Grammar and syntax differences which are slight rather than obviously different have the potential to cause greater problems...for example, the system of determiners. Japanese has determiners for words like "this" and "that," "kono" and "sono," but they do not have an element which corresponds exactly to the English articles "the" and "a," which are also in the class of determiners as is shown in the comparative chart below:

English language	Japanese language
the book, a book	hon
this book, that book	kono hon, sono hon

watashi no hon, anata no hon

Japanese has particles such as "ni" or "e" which can act as the equivalents of English prepositions but the English language has more prepositional words which are commonly used, and sometimes this is an area where Japanese language speakers have difficulty, in deciding which preposition to use, for example, "at", "in", or "on", in a given situation.

my book, your book

Articles

Demonstratives

Possessives

The Japanese language has no plural markers corresponding to the English "s." Many English nouns have "s" plurals but some do not, as in "mouse/mice" or "goose/geese." But in Japanese, one mouse or many will both be referred to simply as "nezumi." Japanese also has a simpler syllabic system where many syllables are in a one consonant/one vowel order — "ka, ki, ku, ke, ko.... ma, mi, mu, me, mo," for example, and most Japanese words end in a vowel sound, except for the "n" sound, as contrasted with the English language, where consonants can be grouped together both before and after the vowel/s, as in the words "sprains" and "sprawls."

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Pronunciation Differences

There is the matter of pronunciation differences between the English and Japanese languages. Japanese has fewer vowel and consonant sounds than the English language, so there can be difficulties sensing distinctions between sounds in English which are not distinguished in the Japanese spoken language. An infant can produce a wide range of sounds, and he or she imitates the sounds people in his or her environment produce, but once a person becomes older, especially past adolescence, the range of produced sounds has narrowed to fit in with the particular society the child is growing up in and the sounds he or she has become accustomed to, and late exposure to a foreign language such as English may give pronunciation difficulties such as distinguishing between the "r" and "l" sounds in English. On the other hand, English is not the most difficult language in terms of sounds as the Khoisan languages, formerly known as the Hottentot and Bushman languages, have a great variety of sounds and are extremely complex, with a language called !Xoo having one hundred and fifty - six phonemes, of which seventy - eight are unusual sounds called clicks, fifty being consonants, and twenty-eight being vowels (Laurie Bauer and Peter Trudgill, eds., 1998, p. 53). There is also the matter of speed and tempo of vocal delivery, the placement of stress, the fluctuation in the pitch and loudness of a given speaker's voice, all of which are different depending on the language, and all of which can give additional problems to non native speakers whose languages have a different stress placement or tempo of vocal delivery. In tonal languages such as Chinese and Vietnamese, a slight change in the pitch of one syllable can make for a vast difference in meaning, and this has made for some embarrassing gaffes on the part of American politicians who have visited these countries and made attempts at speaking these foreign languages at official gatherings.

Vocabulary

The third major linguistic factor is the matter of vocabulary. Vocabulary is the hardest part of any language to learn. Nobody knows all the words in his or her own language let alone a foreign language. We continue learning new words in our native language throughout our lives. Each individual word may not be difficult to learn but when it is a matter of thousands of words, learning takes much time and effort. No one can say exactly how many words there are in a language, but modern dictionaries of English, for example, often have over 100,000 words, two of the largest, the Webster's Third International having over 450,000

entries, and the Oxford English Dictionary having over 500,000 entries (David Crystal, ed., 1998, p. 119). Lexicologists study vocabulary, how words are formed, how they have developed over time, how they are used now, how they relate to each other, and how they are used in dictionaries and other word books. Words change in their meaning, in their spelling, and in their pronunciation over time, and some words disappear from the vocabulary of a country and other new words appear. Rather than using the term word, people who seriously study language use the word "lexeme," meaning lexical item, "lexis" being from the Greek language for "word." There are not only units of meaning called words but also phrases and word combinations such as "it was raining cats and dogs," or "come in" that one cannot know the meaning of just by knowing the separate words, and some of these word combinations are called idioms but others are referred to as phrasal verbs or polywords and there are thousands of such items, many of which are difficult to learn for foreign speakers. All units of lexical meaning, regardless of the type of endings they might have or the number of words they might contain are called lexemes, and the number of lexemes in the Oxford English Dictionary is over 500,000, so the true figure is probably much higher. The average native speaker of English never learns so many lexemes in their entire lifetime, much less the nonnative speaker. So, language learning is not something particularly easy and Japanese students often learn long lists of separate words for English language examinations, and soon forget them after the test that they memorized the meanings for is over. Rather than learn separate words or lexemes, it is better to learn what are called collocates, those words or lexemes which the chosen words occur with most commonly. In the last decade many collections of words, or corpora, have been assimilated in databases in combination with the words that they usually are found with, so that one can easily find the most commonly used current word combinations for any particular lexeme. A number of currently popular English language dictionaries are based on corpus data; the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1995), for example, is based on a corpus called The Bank of English, which is a collection of over 200 million words of English of the 1990s.

English Synonyms

English has many synonyms, or words that mean the same thing or something similar, and the sheer number of words of this type may cause those students learning English as a foreign language to feel that English is a difficult language to learn. The reason that English has so many synonyms is that it has adopted words from many different languages in the

course of its development as a language, from French, Latin, Greek, Norse, Old English, as well as other languages from many parts of the world. Thus, for example, we have the Norse "ill" and the English "sick," two words with the same meaning. With the Norman conquest of 1066, many synonyms came into the English language from France, as the following chart demonstrates:

original English words	French equivalents which entered English
shut	close
answer	reply
smell	odor
wish	desire
might	power
room	chamber

The names of meat producing animals such as "ox", "cow", "calf", "sheep", "swine", and "deer" are English, but the words for meats are from the French, as in "beef", "veal", "mutton", "bacon", and "venison". In learning a language it is a good idea to try to make sense relations from the various words, for example, making lists of synonyms, words which mean the same thing, or antonyms, words which have the opposite meaning. There are many fixed phrases in English such as "give me a break" or "long time no see" which must be learned by heart, many slang terms which can take on different meanings depending on their context, and many new words which are constantly entering the language. Because of the sheer number of items to be memorized, keeping up with the vocabulary is the hardest part of learning a foreign language.

A Different Orthography

A different writing system and its orthography, or rules for spelling, are always major obstacles for a language learner. Japanese students spend years learning the kanji, characters which were officially adopted from China in the 5th century A.D., but which have no relation to the Japanese spoken language. Old English was being written down during the same period in characters known as the runic alphabet, but the arrival of Christian missionaries at the end of the 6th century brought the introduction of the Roman alphabet to English speakers. The Roman alphabet was modeled on the Etruscan alphabet, which took

Greek as its model, which had taken the Phoenician alphabet (1000B.C.) as its model, which in turn had been based on the 22 letter North Semitic alphabet, which developed c. 1700 B.C. in what is now called the Middle East (David Crystal, ed., 1996, p. 258).

Europeans or Americans have to spend more time learning how to use the Japanese, Chinese, or Arabic writing systems than those peoples have to spend learning English, French, or German writing systems, as there are so many characters to learn. The Japanese writing system is considered one of the most difficult in the world as there are three parts to it: the hiragana, katakana, and kanji. The English written language does not contain nearly the number of separate characters as the Japanese system, but it can be difficult in terms of spelling as there is not always a one—to—one correspondence between sounds in English and the letters of the alphabet. Many words in English are spelled the same way but have differently is given below:

beard heard word lord vague ague daughter laughter mover plover tomb comb science conscience though through plough cough how low one anemone

The rules for spelling in English may cause major obstacles to the Japanese native speaker, especially as many words which sound differently do not have corresponding differences in spelling. An orthography which follows the principle that there should be a one—to—one correspondence between sounds and letters would appear to pose less problems than the orthography for English, which does not always have this one—to—one correspondence. On the other hand, in a study of spelling errors, linguists have found that French and Spanish speakers have had more difficulty in spelling English words than those whose native language used a non—Roman script, such as Japanese or Arabic participants. This

example shows that just as in the area of grammar and syntax, where it was noted that slight differences in determiners in English and in Japanese languages can cause problems for learners, in the area of orthography, language interference can be greater when lexemes are similar than when lexemes are completely different and unrelated to other items (H. Douglas Brown, 1994, p. 90).

Social Rules of Language Use

Even if one knows the grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary of a language, and the writing system, one still has to learn the social rules for language use, which involves some knowledge of the culture of the people speaking the foreign language. Japanese students may study English for many years, but after all their hard work, they often have difficulty communicating with English speakers. They may use expressions which are grammatically correct but which are not polite or appropriate for the situation in which they are used, for example, situations where one has to pay a compliment, make a request, invite someone to dinner, or express sympathy. One needs to know when one should use certain experessions and the levels of politeness to use in specific situations. This same kind of knowledge is required by native English speakers who are living in Japan, and since there are many levels of politeness in the Japanese language, this is one area where native English speakers learning Japanese may have just as many problems as Japanese learning English, if not more. Japanese has an extensive system of honorifics, and of mens' and womens' language -men using the term boku when referring to themselves and women using the word watashi, and other male-female pairs such as ohiya, mizu. (water)..onaka, hara. (belly)..oishi, umai. (delicious)..taberu, kuu (to eat) -- which is not present to that extent in English.

"Social Distance"

In addition to all the linguistic factors making it difficult for a Japanese speaker to learn English, there are also the extralinguistic factors, which relate primarily to cultural differences between the Japanese and English speaking cultures such as the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Australia. Some linguists have developed a theory regarding what they call social distance, which states that the greater the social distance between two language communities, the more problems the L1 (first language) learners are likely to have in learning the L2 (second language). Social distance concerns several factors such as solidar-

ity with speakers of another language and the matter of status differences between speakers (Brown, p. 176). Japanese society is more group oriented than American or British societies which are more individualistic. Individualist cultures assume that any person looks primarily after his or her own interest and the interest of her own individual family -- husband, wife, children. Collectivist or group cultures assume that any person belongs to one or more tight "in - groups" from which the person cannot separate himself/herself. The "in - group" protects the interests of its members but expects their permanent loyalty. Japanese students are often shy about speaking a foreign language in front of other students for fear of being different, as apart from the group. In my own classes, I've found that if a student is unable to answer a question in English, this inability to respond sometimes tends to be catching, and students who would not normally have had any trouble in a one to one situation with the teacher are suddenly struck mute when it comes to responding in front of the class. This is an anecdotal account, but it would be interesting to do a study on how many other English language teachers have experienced the same sort of phenomena while teaching English language classes in Japan. In regard to the Japanese language, factors such as out - groupness, social position, age difference, and sex difference often help determine what sort of language is spoken, probably to a greater degree than in English.

Cultural differences can affect conversation styles in the way that people take turns in responding to a given speaker. In conversation among Japanese native speakers, there may be more empathy, or agreeing with the speaker, while Americans may have a more argumentative style, which to the Japanese may look like antagonism. In American or Australian classrooms, individual students will often speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher, but in Japan, individual students will generally only speak up if called upon personally by the teacher. In a classroom at a western university, a student may disagree with something the teacher has said and may question the teacher about a statement the teacher has made, but in oriental cultures this may cause the teacher or student to lose face and it is rare for much unplanned debate to go on in a classroom situation.

In Japan, the English language is still seen largely as a language of outsiders, of foreigners, and as a language to be used primarily to communicate with foreigners, not as a language to be used by Japanese people among themselves. All words that are adopted from the English language tend to undergo a change in pronunciation before they are adopted into Japanese and commonly used. Milk becomes "miluku", hamburger becomes "hambaga", McDonalds becomes "Macudonaludo," for example. Other lexemes are abbreviated, as in the Cali-

fornian city of Los Angeles being referred to simply as "Losu," or the term "sexual harassment" being abbreviated to "sexu hara." Other countries such as India or Nigeria have their own variations of English, with their own unique vocabulary but in general, adopted English language words are not transformed to an extent where they become undecipherable to most native speakers of English, as they often do in Japan. If Japan could develop it's own variation of English which was felt to belong to Japan but which could also be understood by other countries' peoples, perhaps this might give more incentive to Japanese people to develop their English language ability. As it is now, generally speaking, most Japanese people seem to view English as something foreign to Japanese culture and do not feel it is important to learn English except when it comes time to study for those examinations which determine which high schools or colleges Japanese students may gain entrance to.

Uncertainty Avoidance

There is the matter of uncertainly avoidance, which defines the degree to which people within a culture are made nervous by situations which they see as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable. As it is related to English language learning in a classroom situation, Japanese students often do not like to answer unless they are sure they are absolutely correct. Many Japanese appear to want to be able to speak perfect English from the beginning of their language learning, but this is clearly not within the realm of possibility. Just as a small child will make many mistakes when first learning a language, it is natural for second language or foreign language learners to make many mistakes when first speaking a foreign language. The language learner always starts out with a limited degree of knowledge and gradually gains an ability to correct his or her mistakes, but in English language classes in Japan, there is probably too much emphasis on perfect language speaking from the beginning, with the predictable result of discouragement on the part of the learner.

Societal Reasons for Learning English

There are societal reasons for learning a particular foreign language in any country, and in Japan, as was mentioned earlier, the main reasons for learning English have less to do with communication skills than with getting passing marks on entrance examinations for secondary schools and universities. Success or failure on examinations is related to the student's ability to perform well in a certain type of classroom environment and has little to do

with using the English language in the real world. Societal reasons for learning a language may have an influence on how the language is taught. In Japan, the English language has traditionally been taught by what is called the grammar-translation method (GT), where grammar rules are analyzed in detail, and sentences and texts are translated from the English to Japanese and from Japanese to English. This method originated from German scholarship and GT was first known in the U.S. as the Prussian method. There is a lot of time devoted to memorization of word lists and to study of items in the dictionary. Accuracy is emphasized, and the Japanese language is the medium of instruction. So students are taught the English language primarily in Japanese. This method dominated European and foreign language teaching from the 1840's to the 1940's and in modified form is still the method used in Japanese schools today. Texts which are used are frequently the products of people trained in literature rather than in language teaching or applied linguistics. The grammar - translation method has been called a method for which there is no theory. According to linguist Jack Richards, "There is no literature that offers a rationale or justification for it or that attempts to relate it to issues in linguistics, psychology, or educational theory" (Jack Richards and Theodore Rogers, 1986, p. 5).

Today, perhaps, Japanese authorities are gradually recognizing the need for a more communicative method of language teaching but so far we haven't witnessed much change in the way English is taught in Japan, although the Mombusho JET program has brought many foreign teachers to Japan since the program started in 1987, and exposure to native speakers of English has increased so that most students in public schools have had the chance to listen to native spoken English in the classroom situation, though the extent of exposure to English varies greatly from place to place, as some schools have a fulltime foreign teacher whereas others have occasional visits from native English speakers. In the beginning stages of learning a foreign language, listening is very important; an infant hears a language for a long time before he or she begins talking. This program has no doubt increased Japanese students' exposure to the English language as it is spoken by native speakers as well as given them increased familiarity with Western cultural practices.

Individual Differences

Finally, there are factors particular to each individual language learner to take into consideration when evaluating difficulties the English language poses for Japanese speakers. Each person is unique and everyone differs in their abilities to learn a foreign language just as

some people are better at certain sports than others or at playing a musical instrument. The amount of exposure one has to a foreign language is also a major factor in language development. Only having a few hours a week of language practice in a classroom situation is not enough for most people to gain fluency in a language, but today, many Japanese have the opportunity to be exposed to many kinds of language input, from books, magazines, newspapers, programs on radio and television, videos, movies, and the Internet, and through conversation with English speaking foreigners in Japan. The kind of input and the amount of exposure to the English language can have an important impact on English language learning. If one wants to become more proficient at English, it is probably a good idea to try and spend as much time as possible being exposed to as many types of language input as are available in order to broaden one's knowledge of the English language—read books and magazines, watch English language television programs or videos, access English language sites on the World Wide Web, and talk to native English speakers whenever possible.

Innate Ability

There is also the matter of age, and the effect that being exposed to the English language at a certain age level has. According to Noam Chomsky's Theory of Universal Grammar (UG), children are born with an innate capacity to learn languages. This innate capacity, which he refers to as the UG faculty, supposedly contains the basic properties of the grammars of all natural languages. Children have a built in knowledge of linguistic systems, and this knowledge is shaped into the child's first language according to the input he or she receives, but this knowledge, which is very plastic at the beginning, becomes hardened after a number of years in accordance with the rules of the language the child is exposed to. This is important not just in terms of the grammar rules of the language but also in pronunciation. For example, the young child can make any sort of sound they hear the adults around them make, but after a few years they key into those sounds they have become accustomed to and new sounds may be difficult to hear and make. This may be the reason why many Japanese, especially those who had no exposure to spoken English at a young age, seem to have so much problem with certain aspects of English language pronunciation.

According to MIT linguist Steven Pinker, "acquisition of a normal language is guaranteed for children up to the age of six, is steadily compromised from then until shortly after puberty, and is rare thereafter." (Steven Pinker, 1994, p. 293) Pinker describes the variation

among languages in terms of a set of usually binary parameters, compared to a set of switches or controls ready to be set one way or another. As a child acquires the language of his or her surrounding environment, he or she sets the various parameters to accord with the values of the language being heard (Pinker, p. 112). What this means is that a young child can pick up any given language or even several languages at the same time, if exposed regularly to speakers of different languages, but after about nine or ten year's of age, the child's plasticity becomes set in a certain mold, and once puberty sets in, they have to make a much more conscious effort to learn a foreign language.

Self Esteem and Motivation

In addition to the amount of exposure to a foreign language, and the age at which one starts learning, there are other important individual factors such as self esteem or confidence and motivation. If one has a positive attitude towards language learning to begin with, it can make a big difference in one's learning. The same goes for negative attitudes. If someone is unmotivated, they are not going to learn as much as a person who is highly motivated. If one is intrinsically motivated — they are planning to travel abroad or use the English language to talk to or work together with foreigners, they will probably have higher motivation than someone who is only studying the English language in order to pass an examination, with no other goal in mind. Unfortunately or not as it may be, many Japanese people do not appear to have enough motivation to study the English language. Except for those people involved in international business or diplomacy, most people in Japan can go about their daily life without any real need to speak or write the English language, with the exception of course of study necessary to make it through that rite of passage, the English examination, which though it does test English grammar, does not as yet require or provide an incentive to Japanese language speakers to spend much time or effort improving their communicative competence in the English language, though it is possible that this may change in the future if the Ministry of Education decides to make changes in the emphasis of the examinations.

English as a "Neutral" Language

English today is an international language which today is used in many countries as a medium of communication between people who do not speak the same language. In Japan, the

domains, or areas where English is most likely to be used are in education and at work, in those businesses with international markets, and within the science and technology fields. The Japanese language is usually used for all other domains—home, media, law, "socializing" outside the home, in contrast to some other countries in Asia such as India, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Phillipines, where English is part of a colonial legacy and is often used for communication with other groups within the country who do not share a common language. People in other Asian countries may feel more of a real need for using English in their daily lives than Japanese people, in a nation which is more homogeneous than most others, and where daily contact with non—Japanese speakers is still relatively rare for the majority of the population. The more that Japanese people come to see English as a "neutral" language which is necessary to learn for effective communication with people from other cultures and the less it is seen as a language of outsiders or foreigners or a language to be studied primarily with examination results in mind, the more improvements Japanese will make in the way English is taught in Japan and in their efforts at learning it.

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