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元本学教授・文学部長　小林　淳男　先生

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古　川　弘　子	本学文学部	講師

Japanese University Students' Task Representations of Paraphrasing and their Experience with it

Fumiko Yoshimura

Introduction

This paper reports on Japanese university students' task representations of paraphrasing and their experiences with it. The importance of appropriate and sufficient paraphrasing has been recognized in the past decade not only to avoid plagiarism accusations (e.g., Roig, 2006) but also to integrate other voices in the writer's own argument effectively (e.g., Axelrod et al, 2008 ; Bazerman, 1995 ; Shaw & Pecorari, 2013). According to Hirvela and Du (2013), students need to exhibit "the ability to find a new way to capture the gist of what was stated in the original passage" (p. 2) to be accepted as a member of the academic community. Recently paraphrasing is discussed in the context of "source use" and it is said that paraphrased texts written by others, should be used in order to construct the writer's own argument, which Shaw and Pecorari (2013) term "paraphrased intertextuality" (p. A2).

The issue of plagiarism has attracted the attention of researchers and practitioners in English-speaking countries in the past decades (e.g., Buranen & Roy, 1999 ; Eisner & Vicinusm, 2008 ; Howard, 1993, 1995, 1999 ; Pennycook, 1994, 1996 ; Pecorari, 2003, 2006, 2008 ; Shi, 2004, 2006, 2008). Since the 1990s, researchers have concluded that the act of plagiarism varies in terms of the degree of textual borrowing and intention to deceive and efforts have been made to categorize plagiarism into different types. For example, Howard categorized plagiarism as "cheating," "non-attribution," and "patchwriting" in 1995 (p. 799), and later reworded the labels as "fraud," "insufficient citation," and "excessive repetition" in 2000 (p. 488). "Cheating" is defined as a clear attempt to portray someone else's work as one's own. "Non-attribution" means that the work includes passages copied from someone else's work without acknowledgement or quotation marks, while "patchwriting" is borrowing from someone else's work with some minor changes in the language form.

Originally patchwriting was defined as "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one-for-one synonym substitutes" (Howard, 1993, p. 233), but has later come to be seen as insufficient paraphrasing. Roig (2006) classified plagiarism into the categories of "plagiarism of ideas" (p. 4) and "plagiarism of text" (p. 6) and asserts that "plagiarism of text," that is, insufficient paraphrasing, is the most common form of plagiarism among researchers.

Insufficient paraphrasing may result from students' inadequate linguistic skills as is shown in Keck's (2006) research, which compared L1 and L2 writers' usage of paraphrasing in writing a summary. The results indicated that while L1 writers had made substantial paraphrases to the original source, L2 writers had not been able to make sufficient changes, thus exposing them to charges of unintentional plagiarism.

Another source of insufficient paraphrasing may be inappropriate task representations of the act of paraphrasing. According to Flower et al. (1990), task representation is an image of the task an individual constructs for him or herself (p. 37), which may include representing "the givens and constrains of this situation, the goals she would attain, and the strategies or actions she might take" (p. 38). Though task representation exerts a great influence on all the following process, it is often said that students' task representations of academic tasks are considerably different from those of the professors' (p. 21). Yamada (2003) analyzed explanations and examples of paraphrasing used on ten US websites, and from this analysis Yamada pointed out potential problems for students. Among the problems she identified were (a) the discrepancy between what acceptable paraphrasing usually entails, that is, a faithful representation of writer's meaning in different expressions, and what seems to be expected by college level writing, that is, the writer's own unique interpretation of the text meaning and (b) the difficulty of teaching "inferential thought processes" (p. 251) which underlie such paraphrasing. Thus, what is expected in paraphrasing may differ between secondary and post-secondary education and between Japanese and American universities and raises the following questions :

1. What is meant by appropriate paraphrasing in American universities?
2. What are students taught about paraphrasing in American universities ?
3. How do Japanese students perceive paraphrasing?
4. Why do Japanese students perceive a text should not be copied but be written in the writer's own words in order to be perceived as appropriate ?
5. What do Japanese students think are the characteristics of appropriate paraphrasing ?
6. How can Japanese university students' answers to these questions be compared with or contrasted against task representations of paraphrasing in American universities ?

In this study, relevant websites and textbooks for American university students are analyzed in order to learn about what is expected of students when they paraphrase an academic text. Then, a survey is conducted in order to investigate Japanese university students' experience with and task representations of paraphrasing. Finally, the survey results are compared with findings from the analysis of American websites and writing textbooks for students. The importance of paraphrasing in order to avoid plagiarism has seldom been discussed in Japan. This study attempts to increase Japanese university professors' and students' awareness of the importance of paraphrasing as a means to avoid plagiarism.

Task representations of paraphrasing in American universities

What American university websites tell students about appropriate paraphrasing

Many universities, university libraries, and university writing centers in the U.S. offer information about academic writing, including its characteristics and conventions, on their websites. On these websites, paraphrases are defined and when, how, and why to use paraphrasing are explained. For example, a webpage by Purdue OWL (Driscoll & Brizee, 2013) compares quotations, paraphrasing, and summarizing, and explains paraphrasing as follows :

> Paraphrasing involves putting a passage from source material into your own words. A paraphrase must also be attributed to the original source. Paraphrased material is usually shorter than the original passage, taking a somewhat broader segment of the source and condensing it slightly.

Paraphrasing also appears in another page on the same site (Stolley, Brizee, & Paiz, 2013) that explains how students can avoid plagiarism by crediting the source and writing from memory without looking at the source when paraphrasing. The website by the University of Southern Mississippi offers "Plagiarism Tutorial," where students are tested whether they can distinguish between acceptable source use and plagiarism (University of Southern Mississippi, n.d.). The examples include texts with different degrees of copying and source acknowledgement. The website by Indiana University offers a certification program which tests students' ability to identify plagiarism (Indiana University, 2008). In this test, students are asked to compare the original text and the paraphrased examples and choose from "word-for-word plagiarism," "paraphrasing plagiarism," "not plagiarism," or "I do not know." If a student receives a passing grade on the test, he or she will be awarded a certificate. What is emphasized in these examples are "plagiarism of text" in Roig's term (2006) and changing the language form sufficiently.

Drawing from these standards, two important characteristics of appropriate paraphrasing are : (a) acknowledging the source appropriately and (b) including very little verbatim copying.

What American university writing textbooks tell students about appropriate paraphrasing

Next, ten writing textbooks for undergraduate and graduate students used in America were analyzed (Refer to Appendix A). The main characteristics found across the textbooks include (a) paraphrasing is explained in the context of avoiding plagiarism, (b) important features of appropriate paraphrasing emphasized in the textbooks include rewording, different sentence structures, and acknowledging the sources, and (c) paraphrasing is often explained in comparison with quoting and summarizing.

Some textbooks explained how to avoid paraphrasing too closely to the original by recommending that students write without looking at the source (e.g., Callaghan & Dobyns, 2007 ; Howard, 2010 ; Reinking & von der Osten, 2005 ; Swales & Feak, 2004). Other textbooks (e.g., Harvey, 2008 ; Kennedy & Smith, 2006) warn students to differentiate paraphrasing from quoting clearly, as emphasized by Kennedy and Smith (2006) who write, "there is no acceptable middle ground between an adequate paraphrase and a direct quotation. You must either reword or quote word for word" (p. 54). In terms of the degree of condensation, the textbooks can be grouped into the following two categories. The first is textbooks (Alexelrod, et al. 2008 ; Bazerman, 1995 ; Behrens & Rosen, 2005 ; Callaghan & Dobyns, 2007 ; Howard, 2010 ; Kennedy & Smith, 2006 ; Rinking & von der Osten, 2005) that suggest that paraphrases should be as long as the original and include all important information, while the second group (Harvey, 2006 ; Swales & Feak, 2004) see paraphrasing as a kind of summary that includes only the main points.

While many textbooks suggest paraphrasing as a technique for avoiding plagiarism, some textbooks advocate its inherent properties and rhetorical functions in academic writing and recommend that students use paraphrasing to improve their writing skills. For example, Behrens and Rosen (2005) view paraphrasing as a tool for clarifying the meaning of texts which are "dense, abstract, archaic, or possibly confusing" (p. 30). Bazerman (1995) considers it as a sort of catalyst to promote deeper comprehension of source texts. According to him, paraphrasing can serve rhetorical purposes such as simplifying complex texts so that the reader can understand them better, making the writer's interpretation of the source text explicit so that it can be compared and discussed in his or her own argument, and changing the emphasizing points to fit the writer's own context. Callaghan and Dobyns (2007) encourage paraphrasing as a means to introduce others' ideas legitimately and naturally in the writer's own argument.

Thus, American writing textbooks teach students that appropriate paraphrasing is important to avoid plagiarism, that it involves the process of rewording and sentence rearrangement, and that it can serve crucial rhetorical functions in academic writing : that is, to clarify the meaning of the source text to promote the writer's deeper understanding of the source, show readers the writer's interpretation of it, and integrate others' ideas naturally into the writer's text.

In sum, appropriate paraphrasing should exhibit the following characteristics : crediting the source accurately and changing the language form of the source text while retaining the same meaning. To paraphrase sufficiently is important not only to avoid plagiarism but also to play important rhetorical roles.

The survey

In September 2013, a survey was conducted to investigate Japanese university students' experience with and task representations of paraphrasing. Questionnaires 1 and 2 were created for the survey and the copies were distributed in a freshmen class in the English department of the university the author works for. Students were asked to fill in the questionnaires at home and turn them in in the following class. Thirty-nine students turned in the Questionnaire 1, which asks for students' experience with and task representations of paraphrasing, and twenty-three students turned in the Questionnaire 2, which asks students to judge if the given example paraphrases are appropriate or not and to put the rank order of the example paraphrases in terms of the appropriateness.

Questionnaire 1 asked the students' experience of learning paraphrasing, their knowledge of the rules of crediting sources and using the writer's own words in paraphrasing, and their interpretations of the reasons for the rules. Specifically, the following items were given :

Q1. Background information : Year in school, gender, and name (Name is optional)

Q2. Have you ever learned about paraphrasing, either in Japanese or English ? If yes, have you also received training on how to paraphrase ?

Q3. Are you aware that you are supposed to credit the source when you cite someone else's text ?

Q4. Are you aware that you are supposed not to borrow words from the source text but to use your own words when you cite someone else's text, unless you put the text part in quotation marks ?

Q5. Can you describe some characteristics of "good paraphrases" ?

Q6. Why do you think you are not supposed to copy expressions from the source text when you cite someone else's text, unless you put it in quotation marks ?

Q7. Why do you think you are supposed to use your own words when you cite someone else's text, unless you put it in quotation marks ?

In Questionnaire 2, students were asked to judge if example paraphrases are appropriate or inappropriate, to rank them according to its appropriateness, from 1 (the most appropriate) to 5 (the least appropriate), and to give their reasons for the rankings. Both the source and paraphrased texts were given in Japanese, which is students' L1 (Refer to Appendix B), so that they could take advantage of their native speaker's intuition and experience as a reader of L1 texts. The underlines in the examples indicate the usage of the same form as the original. Paraphrases were created from a text by Greene (1993, p. 36). The main characteristics of example paraphrases are highlighted as follows.

Paraphrase A is a faithful and careful representation of the meaning of the source, attempting to capture every nuance. Though it was written without looking at the source, the resultant paraphrase includes some identical words found in the original. Paraphrase B was created by copying the source text and substituting synonyms for selected words, a typical example of "patchwriting" in Howard's term (1993, p. 233). Paraphrase C is the most reader-friendly paraphrase, in which the sentence structures are simplified, some words are replaced with easier and more familiar ones, and some linking words and phrases (e.g., "by taking another step further", "the purpose is") are inserted in order to make the information relationships more explicit. In paraphrase D, the meaning is changed though some similar expressions from the source are used, and thus represents an inaccurate paraphrase of the original text. Paraphrase E is the researcher's interpretation of the source text rather than a faithful representation of the text meaning. The text information is located in a broader context of "reading-writing connection studies" (e.g., Belcher & Hirvala, 2001 ; Hirvela, 2004). Originally the paraphrase appeared in the author's paper (Yoshimura, 2009) in order to summarize a quotation and use it to develop her own argument as follows :

> Greene (1993), an advocate of mining, explains it as follows, "Whereas teachers often encourage a critical reading of individual texts as an end in itself, mining is part of an ongoing effort to learn specific rhetorical and linguistic conventions. The strategies students observe in reading can become part of their own repertoire for writing on different occasions" (p. 36). <u>In mining</u>, therefore, <u>learners are expected not only to passively decode the text meaning, but to actively engage in the text to dig up valuable input for their own writing</u> [underline added]. By providing the kinds of information learners should look for in advance and offering guidance while reading, teachers can ensure that learners encounter the elements of L2 writing they need exposure to in order to bring those elements into their own writing repertoires. (p. 59)

In the above paraphrase (underlined), some information is added and some is omitted to fit the new purpose. Specifically, the word "decoding" is used in place of "reading" to contrast the passive nature of usual reading with the productive feature of "mining", "engage actively" is added to emphasize the active and dynamic process, while other information is de-emphasized by exclusion. Paraphrase E was included in order to reflect the recent conceptualization of "paraphrasing" which stresses the importance of demonstrating the writer's understanding of the text which is "embedded within a larger communicative framework" (Hirvela & Du, 2013, p. 93).

If these examples are judged by the criterion of whether the paraphrases express the intended meaning of the source text, paraphrase D may be judged as inappropriate because the text meaning is changed. If these examples are judged by the use of the same surface form, which is calculated by the percentage of the overlap, paraphrases E, C, D, A, and B contain approximately 12%, 26%, 35%, 40%, and 65% overlap with the source.

Results

Results of Questionnaire 1

Thirty-nine freshmen responded to the items in Questionnaire 1. Thirty-three were female and five were male students. One student did not give his or her gender.

Regarding Q2, thirty-four students (87%) answered that they had never learned how to paraphrase either in Japanese or English. Only four students (10%) had learned how to paraphrase and one student (2%) gave no response to this question. Among students who answered that they had learned about paraphrasing, two had learned about English paraphrasing and two had learned about Japanese paraphrasing, though only one had actually practiced paraphrasing, which focused on English grammar points. All of these four students had learned about paraphrasing in either high school or university classes. Thus, very few students had learned about paraphrasing, or received training on how to paraphrase.

To Q3, twenty-six students (67%) answered that they were aware of the rule to credit the source, while twelve students (31%) answered that they were not aware of the rule and one student (2%) did not give his/her response.

To Q4, seventeen students (44%) answered that they were aware of the rule of paraphrasing, while twenty-one students (54%) answered that they were not aware of the rule and one student (2%) did not give his/her response. The percentage of students who were aware of the rule of paraphrasing (44%)

was much lower than that of students who were aware of the rule of crediting sources (67%).

Question 5 asked about characteristics of good paraphrasing, and to this question students gave various responses, including "ease of understanding" (*N*=12), "no change in the meaning" (*N*=6), "showing the writer's comprehension or interpretation" (*N*=5), "naturalness" (*N*=2), "excluding the writer's biases" (*N*=1), "showing the writer's voice" (*N*=2). Thus, students seem to have paid attention to the meaning, but not so much to the language form.

Regarding Q6, most students gave the reason of copyright rules (*N*=18). Other reasons include that it does not show the writer's opinion (*N*=6), that the writer will not learn how to write if he or she copies the original (*N*=4), that the text will be more persuasive by using the writer's own words (*N*=2), that the slight nuance the writer wants to express can be conveyed by using the writer's own words (*N*=1), that the expression should be changed to fit the other parts of the writer's text (*N*=1).

Students' answers to Q7 varied. Some focused on rhetorical issues, saying that it is more persuasive or effective if the writer uses his or her own words (*N*=6). Some used citation or copyright rules for their reasons (*N*=3) or the expectation of writing a paper at the university level (*N*=4). Finally others focused on learning and teaching issues (*N*=5), including the following: (a) that the writer can check if he or she has understood the content (*N*=1), (b) that the writer can improve his or her writing skill by practicing paraphrasing (*N*=1), (c) that the writer can absorb someone else's text content as his or her own (*N*=1), and (d) that the teacher can check how well the writer can write (*N*=2).

Results of Questionnaire 2

Twenty-three students completed Questionnaire 2. The results of Questionnaire 2 are summarized in Tables 1 to 4. In this part of the survey, students indicate their perceptions and reasons for the appropriateness of different paraphrases.

Table 1 indicates that paraphrases A, B, and C tend to be judged as appropriate, while paraphrases D and E tend to be judged as inappropriate. Though the number is small, it should be noted that six students (29%) evaluated paraphrase E as appropriate.

Table 2 shows students' rank order of example paraphrases in terms of their appropriateness. Though students' perceptions are varied, the general trend shows that paraphrases C, A, and B are chosen as the most or the second most appropriate, while paraphrases D and E are chosen as the least or the second least appropriate. This trend is similar to Table 1 and verifies the results. However, Table 2 shows students' perception differences between paraphrases D and E more clearly than Table 1 : that is, while students' evaluation of paraphrase D is uniformly low, their evaluation of paraphrase E is

Table 1. Students' perceptions of the appropriateness of the example paraphrases

	Appropriate	Inappropriate	Not known
A :	N=14 (67%)	N=7 (33%)	
B :	N=14 (67%)	N=7 (33%)	
C :	N=11 (52%)	N=10 (48%)	
D :	N=3 (14%)	N=18 (86%)	
E :	N=6 (29%)	N=14 (67%)	N=1 (5%)

*Two students did not give their judgements.

Table 2. Students' rank order of example paraphrases in terms of their appropriateness

	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5
A :	N=6 (27%)	N=5 (23%)	N=6 (27%)	N=3 (14%)	N=2 (9%)
B :	N=4 (18%)	N=11 (50%)	N=2 (9%)	N=4 (18%)	N=1(5%)
C :	N=8 (36%)	N=4 (18%)	N=4 (18%)	N=4 (18%)	N=2 (9%)
D :	N=1 (5%)	N=0 (0%)	N=5 (23%)	N=5 (23%)	N=11 (50%)
E :	N=3 (14%)	N=2 (9%)	N=5 (23%)	N=6 (27%)	N=6 (27%)

*No. 1 indicates the most appropriate and No.5 indicates the least appropriate.
**One student did not give her ranking.

mixed, showing students' uncertainty or even confusion.

Table 3 presents reasons why students ranked the paraphrases as No. 1 (the most appropriate) or No. 2 (the second most appropriate). Students tend to use ease of reading or comprehension and closeness of the meaning to the original as their judging criteria. Some students use the reason of the closeness of the expression to the original text as their criterion for good paraphrase.

Table 4 shows the reasons why students ranked the paraphrases as No. 5

Table 3. Reasons why students ranked the paraphrases as the most or the second most appropriate

A :	Easy to read or easy to understand (N=5), Accurate interpretation or close to the meaning of the original (N=4), Close to the expression of the original (N=1), More expressions are changed than paraphrase B (N=1), Natural (N=2), Well rephrased (N=2)
B :	Easy to read or easy to understand (N=4), Close to the meaning of the original (N=3), Close to the expression of the original (N=2), Includes the writer's own interpretation (N=1)
C :	Easy to read or easy to understand (N=6), Used original expressions (N=1)
D :	No reasons are given
E :	Succinct (N=3), Easy to read or easy to understand (N=1), Used the writer's own words (N=1), Include the writer's own interpretation (N=1), Close to the meaning of the original text (N=1)

Table 4. Reasons why students ranked the paraphrases as the least or the second least appropriate

A :	Some information is missing (N=4), Not changed much (N=1), Only expressions are changed (N=1)
B :	Close to the expression of the original text (N=5), Difficult to understand (N=1)
C :	The meaning has changed (N=3), Difficult to understand (N=1), Different from the original (N=1)
D :	The meaning has changed (N=8), Difficult to understand (N=2), The rhetorical structure or relationship between information has changed (N=3), Some information is missing (N=1)
E :	Too succinct or too much information is omitted (N=8), Difficult to understand (N=2)

(the least appropriate) or No. 4 (the second least appropriate). In general, students tend to use the amount of change or omission in the meaning as negative factors for their evaluation. Regarding paraphrase B as the most or second least appropriate, five students gave the reason of closeness of the expression to the original text, showing their understanding of the need to change the language forms in paraphrasing.

Discussion and conclusion

In this section, comparisons will be made between Japanese students' experience with and task representations of paraphrasing found in the survey and what is expected by paraphrasing in American academic communities identified by analyzing websites and textbooks for American students.

The findings from Questionnaire 1 show that very few Japanese university students learned about paraphrasing or received training on how to paraphrase. This makes a sharp contrast with the situations in the U.S., where students are advised to paraphrase in order to avoid plagiarism, where characteristics of appropriate paraphrasing are explicitly taught, and where exercises to identify appropriate and inappropriate paraphrases are given. Even greater differences can be found when the writing contexts are compared between the two countries. While writing constitutes a least exercised skill in Japan (e.g., Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2002), it is emphasized through the "writing across the curriculum" movement (Wells, n.d.) and "National Writing Project [NWP]" (NWP, n.d.) in America. In addition, little instruction is given on academic writing in Japanese universities (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 2005), while all American university freshmen are required to take "first-year composition" in order to learn academic writing skills and conventions (Council of Writing Program Administrators [WPA], 2008).

While some Japanese students knew the rule of crediting the source, much fewer students knew the rule of paraphrasing as a means to avoid plagiarism. In contrast, both crediting and paraphrasing the source in the writer's own words are explicitly taught and emphasized in writing textbooks for American students. Many Japanese students attributed the prohibition of copying source texts to copyright rules, though other reasons were also given. When asked reasons for having to use the writer's own words in paraphrasing, students' answers were varied, showing various conceptualizations of the purposes and functions of paraphrasing. In general, their conceptualizations seem to be appropriate because persuasiveness, which many students gave as their reasons for using the writer's own words, is an important consideration in writing an academic paper and learning and teaching functions are also given as reasons for using the writer's own words in textbooks or online information for American students.

Questionnaire 2 reveals students' task representations of paraphrasing and their judging criteria. Many Japanese university students chose paraphrases C, A and B as appropriate paraphrases and the main reasons for their choices were the ease of understanding and the closeness of meaning to the original. On the other hand, paraphrases D and E were chosen as least appropriate, because of the change of meaning in paraphrase D and too much omission in paraphrase E. For many of them, good paraphrases should be easy to understand, retain the same meaning as the original, and show the writer's comprehension or interpretation. This is in line with the perceptions of appropriate paraphrasing in American universities. However, Japanese university students' attention was not directed to the language form, though closeness of the surface text structure to the original is an important criterion for judging plagiarism in American universities.

Another important criterion for appropriate paraphrasing is showing the writer's understanding of the text in a broader context of the targeted community as is shown in Hirvela and Du (2013). However, few Japanese university students considered paraphrase E as an appropriate paraphrase. This is not surprising because they do not possess the knowledge of "reading-writing connection studies" (e.g., Belcher & Hirvala, 2001 ; Hirvela, 2004). To them, the focus and meaning of the original text may seem distorted. Though more research (e.g., Hirvela & Du, 2013 ; Keck, 2010 ; Newell, Garriga, & Peterson, 2001) has emphasized the importance of paraphrasing as a means of demonstrating the writer's unique understanding of the text in a targeted research field, it can only be done when they have accumulated sufficient knowledge in the targeted research community.

Based on the comparison, several suggestions are made. First Japanese university students should learn citation rules and the importance of avoiding plagiarism in academic writing. Recently more and more Japanese universities teach academic writing and citation rules in some introductory courses. Very few Japanese students learn citation rules before entering a university. According to the author's survey (Yoshimura, 2015), 55% of the students said they had learned citation rules and 73% of them had learned it in a university course "Introduction to university studies." Only 9% said they had learned the rules before entering university. Thus, university professors should remind themselves that they should teach citation rules and the importance of following them explicitly. Next, Japanese students should learn the importance of not only acknowledging sources but also paraphrasing the source text in order to avoid plagiarism. Teachers should explicitly teach the rule that using a long string of words is not acceptable in academic writing unless it is quoted.

Finally, caution should be exercised in deciding when and how to teach paraphrasing. In order to write an appropriate paraphrase, students need to practice the mechanical skills of rewording and reforming sentence structures while retaining the meaning. However, appropriate paraphrase should also demonstrate the writer's understanding of the source text contextualized in a targeted research field. Since it takes time to acquire the skill of paraphrasing, students may need to start learning it at an early stage. However, students may not have sufficient content knowledge if it is begun too early. Students may just practice the skill mechanically without really understanding their rhetorical effects and as a result they may not be able to transfer the skill when they need it in writing an academic paper. On the other hand, if students wait until they acquire sufficient subject knowledge, they may need to learn too much at the same time. Therefore, it is suggested that teachers find the right timing for teaching paraphrasing in students' academic studies.

This study is preliminary and has numerous limitations. For example, the number of the participants was rather small and may not constitute a representative group of Japanese university students since they were all freshmen in the English department of one university. Despite its limitations, the study can make a valuable contribution to the field of second language writing because it is one of the first attempts of an empirical exploration of Japanese students' experience with and task representations of paraphrasing.

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Appendix B

Original text :「文章読解において、教員は個々の文章の批判的な読み方自体を目的として促進することが多いが、「採掘」は、特定の文体的、言語的慣習を学ぶための継続的な努力の一部なのだ。学生たちが読む時に認めた文章技術は、別の機会に文章を書く場合の自分自身の文章技術の持ち駒の一部となりうるのである。」(**Greene, 1993, p. 36**).

Paraphrase A : 文章を読む場合においては、一つ一つの文章を批判的に読むことそのものが教育目標になることが多々ある。しかし、「採掘」は、文章から慣習的に使われる文章構造や表現を学ぶために学生が行うさらなる努力の一つである。学生たちは、読むことから学んだ文章技術を、将来文章を書く時に自分の文章技術の一つとすることができる (Greene, 1993, p. 36) 。

Paraphrase B : 文章理解において、指導者は各文章の批判的な読み方そのものを目標として促すことが多いが、「採掘」は、特有の文章構造や言葉的なしきたりを学ぶための持続的な勉励の一部なのだ。学生たちが読む時に気づいた文章技術は、異なる場合に文章を書く時の自分の文章技術の蓄えの一部となりうるのである (Greene, 1993, p. 36) 。

Paraphrase C : 文章を読むとき、指導者は一つひとつの文章をよく考えながら注意して読むように学生に教える。多くの場合、このような読み方は、それ自体が教育目標となる。これに対し、「採掘」は、そこからさらに踏み込んで、学生に文章構造や表現でよく使われるものを文章から学ぶように促す。その目的は、学生たちが 読むことから学んだ文章技術を将来自分が文章を書く時に使うことである (Greene, 1993, p. 36) 。

Paraphrase D :「採掘」においては、指導者は学生に文章から慣習的に使われる文構成や表現を学ぶだけでなく、一つひとつの文章を批判的に読むように促すことが多い。学生たちは、自分自身の書くための文章技術の蓄

えの一部を、異なる機会に文章を読む時にそこで使われている文章技術に気づくために使うことができる (Greene, 1993, p. 36)。

Paraphrase E：「採掘」においては、学生は、文章の意味を分析的に解読するにとどまらず、積極的に文章と関わり、将来 自分自身が文章を書く時の技術とすべく、そこから貴重な文章情報を掘り出すことが期待されている (Greene, 1993, p. 36)。

***The underline indicates the same form use as the source.**

平成 26（2014）年度文学部
英文学科公開講義

「異文化間コミュニケーションへの招待」

私たちが地域，年齢，性別，民族，宗教などといった差異を超えて互いを理解しようとするとき，異文化間コミュニケーションが行われるといわれる。相手を理解する際，私たちは自分と比較をしたり，これまでの経験に照らし合わせたり，培ってきた教養を使ったりするものだ。つまり，自己と向き合わずには他者とコミュニケーションを行うことはできないと言えるかもしれない。

この講義シリーズでは，文化やアイデンティティ，ステレオタイプ，翻訳，英語教育など様々な視点から異文化間コミュニケーションについて考えながら，自己を見つめ他者を知る旅へと誘った。

今回は，全 5 講のうち第 1 講から第 4 講までの講義概要を収録する。

平成 26（2014）年度東北学院大学文学部英文学科公開講義

第 1 講　講師 : キース・アダムズ（英文学科准教授）

演題 : Culture, Identity and Cross-Cultural Adjustment

第 2 講　講師 : ニール・テイト（英文学科准教授）

演題 : Intercultural Communication Issues between Japanese ＆ Americans

第 3 講　講師 : クリストファー・ロング（英文学科教授）

演題 : Intercultural Communication and Stereotypes

第 4 講　講師 : 古川弘子（英文学科講師）

演題 : 男性・女性翻訳者が女の声を訳すとき

第 5 講　講師 : 佐々木雅子（秋田大学教授）

演題 : 異文化間コミュニケーションと英語教育

Culture, Identity and Cross-Cultural Adjustment

Keith Adams

This paper addresses two broad interconnected aspects of identity and intercultural communication. The first aspect looks at the nature of culture, in other words, what are some of the main features of this phenomenon we call 'culture ?' Next, we turn to the members of a culture and examine the influences, cultural and otherwise, that shape our personal identities. In addition, the principles and perspectives raised in the discussion of these two aspects will be applied to interpret the reasons for conflict or misunderstandings in cross-cultural situations and extended to offer possible avenues for resolution of the problems.

What is culture ?

The answer to this seemingly simple question is in fact extremely complex. There is no neat, unified definition because 'culture' has so many dimensions. Wintergerst and McVeigh (2011) state that culture is "products, practices and perspectives" (p. 3) of a group of people. Another way they offer of defining culture is "a set of basic ideas, practices and experiences shared by the people in the group" (p. 3).

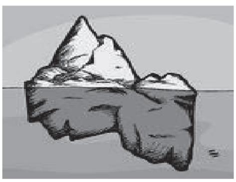
One classic definition has likened culture to an iceberg (Hall, 1976). The part of an iceberg that is above the water line is easily observed ; however, the bulk of an iceberg is below the water line and is hidden from our view. In terms of culture, we can talk about visible and invisible aspects of culture.

The former would include such things as styles of dress, greetings, facial expressions and gestures, holiday customs, foods and literature. Although we may only have a superficial understanding or appreciation of these things, we can see them and build upon initial observations fairly quickly. On the other hand, the deeper or invisible aspects of culture take more time and effort to recognize and understand. In this category we encounter issues such as the importance of time, the role of the family, concepts of fairness or beauty, attitudes toward age, ideas about clothing and rules for polite behaviour.

Although developing our skills of recognizing the visible aspects of culture can be very useful, one eventually will want to investigate the deeper levels that shape the visible aspects. We can look at a pair of items related to clothing listed above to illustrate this point

While styles of dress or fashion in a culture are readily visible, they reflect the ideas about clothing a culture holds. In other words, beyond the basic human need of clothing to protect us from the environment, some cultures may view clothing as a means of self-expression and individualism. Other cultures may be quite the opposite where the purpose of clothing is to promote

Visible



Invisible

modesty or even as a means to protect women from the attentions of men. That is, the clothes people choose to wear reflect some fundamental beliefs, values or attitudes of the members of a culture. The next section of this paper will discuss these fundamental aspects and others in more detail.

Beliefs, Values, Norms, Attitudes and Ethnocentrism

The way we behave and how we interpret the actions of others is driven by these closely related factors to one degree or another. Perhaps the factor with the deepest influence on us as individuals and members of a culture is beliefs, which can be defined as the feelings we have that something is true or is real (exists) (Wintergerst & McVeigh, p. 12). Beliefs are often tied to views of the world or universe, such as a belief in life after death, or that people can change their lives through their own initiative, and can also include superstitions (e.g., It's bad luck to walk under a ladder !).

Values describe our feelings about the importance of something in our daily lives. That is, values are things that people in a culture regard as good or desirable. Some examples of values are freedom of speech, family or group membership or the importance of work.

Whereas beliefs and values may consider philosophic issues, norms, attitudes and ethnocentrism are more focused on our daily lives and relationships with members of our own culture and with those from different cultures. To begin with, let us examine norms, which are simply the rules of behavior members of a culture are expected to follow. Some norms are related to politeness, such as taking shoes off inside a home. Others may be more serious and related to values, such as do not cheat on tests (honesty), or beliefs such as not eating meat or a specific type of meat.

Attitudes also incorporate our beliefs and values and they are the feelings and emotions, both positive and negative, we have about something. Examples here include some contentious social issues, such as same sex marriage, or definitions of cruelty to animals, but also take in affirmative, self-fulfilling goals, such as the desire to learn another language.

Finally, ethnocentrism is the tendency to see one's own culture as superior to others, either consciously or sub-consciously. In some cases, ethnocentrism may be rather benign and not necessary threatening to others. Examples from the world of sports are Canadians thinking that they are the best ice hockey players in the world or Brazilians feeling the same about their superiority in soccer. While it is generally accepted that both nations are among the elite in the respective sports, apart from bruised egos when their teams are beaten, this type of ethnocentrism, based on an individual's private enthusiasm, rarely sparks serious cultural conflicts.

Unfortunately, there is another dangerous side to ethnocentrism, where feelings of racial, ethnic or religious supremacy lead to tragic conflicts.

Many of the aspects of culture discussed in this section of the paper are illustrated by the short video production entitled *Rainbow Wars*. This video was produced for Expo 86, (World's Fair) in Vancouver, Canada in 1986 and its aim was to address intercultural conflict, resolution, and eventual understanding by means of a simple, fairy-tale like story.

The story tells us of three kingdoms whose cultures were represented by a symbolic colour ; blue, red or gold (yellow). In each of the kingdoms, the people loved their colour and rejected the others. If one of the other colours somehow appeared in a kingdom, the offending colour was always covered with paint by that kingdom's colour and removed.

We also get a glimpse into the values of the cultures through their attitudes, which allow us to construct a simple profile of the 'personalities' of the people in each society. In the Red Kingdom, red was a trusted colour, while the others were to be feared. This suggests a rather defensive, conservative culture where confrontation was to be avoided as much as possible.

On the other hand, in the Blue Kingdom, blue was considered beautiful and enjoying beauty was a central part of the culture. We see this expressed through fashionable clothes, manners, and the fun-loving nature of the people.

Finally, the members of the Gold Kingdom did not have any particular attachment to yellow in itself, such as trust or admiration, but yellow was merely a symbol of the culture's desire for dominance over others, which naturally resulted in aggressive competition within the society. It is portrayed as a very hierarchical, disciplined and austere culture.

Although the cultures were very different from each other, conflict was not an issue because they lived on different planets and there was no way to travel between the planets. Then one day, a young man from the Gold Kingdom invented a means of travel that ended the isolation of the cultures, and eventually led to the armies of the three kingdoms confronting each other in the Red Kingdom.

The 'weapons' used in the battle between the armies was paint, and the soldiers tried to win the battle by covering the other kingdoms' soldiers in their kingdom's colour. In the heat of battle, the soldiers were astonished to see a new colour – green – created when paint from yellow and red mixed.

The fighting stopped and the soldiers reveled in fascination with the new discovery and began laughing and joking with each other. Thus, we see the first step of intercultural understanding through a shared experience and recognition of a common, although perhaps suppressed, value (delight in diversity).

The truce was not acceptable to the Yellow Queen and she ordered her soldiers to resume the battle ; however, the fighting did not last long as more new colours were created as green mixed to create purple and so on, spawning a river of rainbow colours on the battlefield. Then, her own army deposed the Yellow Queen and the soldiers of the three kingdoms continued enjoying the new colours and the company of their new companions from the other cultures.

Thus, the Rainbow War ended with a resolution of conflicts and ethnocentrism and a new age of tolerance, acceptance, and the benefits of intercultural communication.

Personal Identity

Up to this point, we have looked at 'culture' in the context of the traits and influences that characterize a social group, but now I will shift the focus on to the individual members of the group. It is quite clear that we as individuals are greatly influenced by our culture in general, but that is only one factor that shapes our personalities. In addition to our cultural identity, we must also consider the different aspects of our personal identity.

The first point to be made is the distinction between secondary and primary identities. The former is an identity that may change at different times in our lives. Often, this may be the result of growing older and having different responsibilities in life. For example, when one is in university, "university student" is beyond doubt a central feature of one's identity. However, that perception will fade rather quickly once one graduates and moves into a career, marriage and family.

Primary identities, however, are more consistent throughout our lives, though some of them can also change due to different circumstances in our lives. Primary identities include personal self-image, gender identity and cultural identity. First let us examine some components of the 'image' we form of ourselves (and others).

Age is one element and as mentioned above this is often a factor in the evolution of changes in secondary identities. In this case, however, the perspective is on self-image and whether we consider ourselves (and others) as being young, middle-aged or old. All of these labels are relative and also differ across cultures. For example, let's consider an individual who is 30 years old. In countries where large portions of the population are under the age of 20, that individual might be considered middle-aged or even old. In other countries with an aging population, that individual may be thought of as 'relatively young!' Nevertheless, age is one ingredient that shapes our personal self-image.

Social class is a second factor and this is often based on income, education, family background and even the way we speak. Once again, though economic factors can elevate us to a higher income bracket or push us down the scale, our social class image, or our image of 'our roots,' tends to stay with us throughout life.

Finally, being (or not being) religious is a very strong influence on our personal identity. As was touched upon in the discussion of beliefs, this factor profoundly shapes a person's view of themselves and their place in both the worldly and cosmic realms.

Gender is the next important factor to examine overall personal identity. To begin with, one must draw the distinction between biological sex and gender identity. While the former is literally something we are born with and only changes in very exceptional cases, gender identity comes from within the person and the roles that society expects from men and women. Furthermore, gender roles and "expectations can be learned and unlearned" (Wintergerst & McVeigh, p. 83) and there are significant differences in gender roles across cultures.

Finally, we come to cultural identity and in this sense the focus is on the extent of our attachment to our culture. This attachment is something that we often don't think about when we are in our home culture, but it often comes to the surface when we are abroad.

To conclude this section of the paper, I would like to offer two short case studies adapted from Wintergerst and McVeigh (2011, pp. 194 & 208) to provide a context to illustrate how gender and cultural identity can lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings and then suggest how these issues could be resolved or avoided. The first case takes place in Canada in an adult English as a Second Language (ESL) class.

The students in the class are learning the names of different types of clothing. In an effort to make the lesson more realistic, the teacher has taken the students (three women and three men) to a local department store. First, they spent some time in the men's clothing section and all of the students seemed to be enjoying 'the lesson'. However, when they moved on to the women's section, one of the men left the group. The teacher was disappointed that he left the group and did not participate.

This is clearly an issue related to gender identity and concepts of what is appropriate behaviour for men and women. Even though the man was part of a group and the sales staff knew the reason the students were in the store, the man felt the situation was totally unacceptable. Asking him to participate not only violated his culture's concept of appropriate behaviour for men but also was likely perceived as a personal insult to his masculinity.

The second case concerns a woman from the United States who started a new job in Paris. The woman spoke French fluently and had long admired French culture, so she was very excited about her new life. However, after a few months she found herself frequently defending the actions and attitudes of her country and she often became quite upset about the criticisms. Most of all, she was very surprised and confused by her own actions and feelings.

In this case, the woman was surprised by her unexpected strength of connection to her home culture. While she did not feel very patriotic about or attached to the United States when she was living there, this connection became evident when she was abroad. Although some members of a culture may have stronger attachments to the culture than others, cultural identity is a significant influence that shapes our personal identity.

Now, how could these two cross-cultural problems be resolved or dealt with by the individuals? The first case is quite difficult to resolve as it touches upon very deep, personal feelings in the man. However, the fault behind this breakdown in cross-cultural understanding cannot be entirely attributed to the man's refusal to adjust to a different perspective in the new culture. Although the teacher had the best of intentions, she looked at the situation through the lens of her own culture and failed to anticipate how at odds that view may have been to the sensitivities of people from other cultures. At the very least, she should have explained the goals of the lesson in greater detail before entering the department store, including an option of not participating in any part of the lesson if desired. This certainly would have prevented a loss of face for the man and the teacher.

The second case involves an internal, emotional struggle within the woman to identify the source of her confusion about her thoughts and actions. In other words, she may have been suffering from unexpected culture shock. Many studies have pointed out the various stages of culture shock in different models, usually including anywhere from four to six stages. However, they all share a basic framework of an initial period of excitement through the culture shock and adjustment stages to a final acceptance of oneself within the new culture (Schneider & Barsoux, 2003, p. 188).

Although the woman was very positively disposed to French culture and did not have a language barrier to overcome, she may have been experiencing some degree of homesickness or a subtle sense of losing her cultural identity that she did not anticipate. Such feelings may be quite intense for some people, but the fact that the woman could effectively function within the new culture may have made her feelings and reactions even more puzzling.

The first key to resolving her problem is being aware that culture shock affects most people to one degree or another and that it a very natural reaction. In addition, one needs to remember that accepting a new culture does not mean a rejection of one's original culture. The two can exist in harmony so that an individual benefits from both.

Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at different aspects of culture and personal identity in the context of cross-cultural communication. Although we have just ‘touched the tip of the iceberg’ of this complex field of study, it is hoped that the fundamental elements discussed here can provide a useful platform for future readings and investigations into this fascinating subject.

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Intercultural Communication Issues between Japanese & Americans

Neil L.R. Tate

INTRODUCTION

Since 1945, the bilateral relationship between the United States and Japan has been one of the most important economic and diplomatic ties in the world. Maintaining this relationship offers challenges to the peoples of both nations as they face a variety of issues when attempting to communicate with each other given the disparity of their respective cultures. It is often pointed out by various commentators that the Japanese people are much more akin to the people of Great Britain than with the people of the United States. Great Britain and Japan are both small, island nations and have economies dependent on international commerce and banking ; while the United States sits upon a huge landmass and abundant natural resources. Despite the importance of this strong bilateral relationship, it remains a challenge when Japanese and Americans come together in the communication arena both at the international level and in day-to-day contact.

SILENCE AS COMMUNICATION

"One cannot not communicate," is one of Paul Watzlawick's axioms, and communication professors have confounded freshmen students for years with this observation (29). It is a natural tendency to believe that when we are silent, the communication pipeline is shutdown — but as Watzlawick intuitively suggests in his axioms, silence speaks volumes; the communication pipeline pours forth a gush of information. For example, some outwardly appearing non-communicative techniques such as The Cold Shoulder, The Silent Treatment, or The Stonewall deliver the powerful messages of icy disdain, suffocating silence, or a wall of impenetrable, unscalable hardness. One should note that both Americans and Japanese make full use of these three modes of silence in signaling displeasure towards another person — but the Japanese are much more comfortable with a silent pause during normal conversation than Americans, who become discomfited and want to fill the silence with talk. Inverse to this, during telephone conversations, the Japanese become uncomfortable when Americans listen intently, trying to catch every word and nuance, and failing to say *hai, hai* (a Japanese utterance that indicates hearing sound from the speaker and loosely translates as *yes, yes*); this silence causes the Japanese speaker to start repeating *moshi moshi* (roughly translates to *hello, hello*), believing that the telephone connection has been lost.

TECHNOLOGY

Modern life adds new twists to the Cold Shoulder, The Silent Treatment, or the Stonewall with the intrusion of technology into our lives. The latter half of the 20th Century ushered in a surge of consumer electronics that eliminates face-to-face contact and adds layers of high-tech impenetrability to the communication process. From the 1950s onward, as telephones became a standard household item, to signal disdain or anger, one could merely refuse to pick up the telephone when it rang. With the subsequent invention of the telephone answering machine, incoming calls could be screened as to whether the receiver of the communication would deign to respond to the caller. The inevitable next technological step, ushered in by the power of computing, incorporated into smartphones, has created software that sets up ‘ignore’ features in various Social Network Services that erects an unscalable wall of cold, deafening silence.

Interestingly, video telephone technology was created in the 1950s but failed to find a consumer market. Apparently, people did not want the person on the other end of the telephone line to see their yawns of boredom or looks of irritation during a communication session. Recently, many users of Internet chat services set their preferences to ‘voice only’ and do not enable the video feature — preferring to conceal their facial expressions or failure to comb their hair or apply makeup.

SPEAKING DISTANCE

Japanese and Americans employ similar speaking distance (called proxemics by Edward T. Hall), with both cultures comfortable with an arm’s length of space between speaker and listener. However, Japanese will stretch this distance for safety concerns when engaging in the act of deep bowing. The deep bow requires the participants to retreat further than arm’s reach in order to keep from striking heads while executing the maneuver. Immediately after the bow, participants will regroup to the arm’s length range when continuing conversation. But spatial limitations in Japan often put communicators well inside the normal speaking range. As the cities of Japan have always been crowded and space a premium, rooms are small, and seating finds Americans forced into the squeamish situation of having to sit with their shoulders brushing their neighbor. Americans and other westerners may be observed before meetings attempting to move chairs a little further apart in order to gain a modicum of distance ; however, most situations find this impossible to achieve, and Americans wedge themselves into tight seating arrangements in traditional restaurants or other venues in Japan. Through necessity, Japanese have adapted to tight living situations and automatically shutdown their desire to be at arm's reach when entering rooms that require tight seating ; Americans have to learn to adapt to the Japanese environment and consciously disarm their squeamishness at the close proximity of fellow diners or meeting attendees.

Another communication issue of a more lighthearted nature involves the use of the nonverbal *wink*. Traditionally in Japan, the *wink* as a communicative device has not been used in day-to-day communication activities and is mostly found in the entertainment or advertising worlds. As a means to convey secret information, running the gamut from inside jokes to romantic flirtation, Americans and many other western cultures employ the *wink*. But why is India the only Asian country to make use of this nonverbal ? The answer may be two-fold for Japan : 1. The culture of Japan requires one to keep the face clear of emotion ; 2. Simple, facial physiology. Children in Japan are taught to conceal their emotions and speaking the Japanese language requires very little facial movement ; hence, using a facial expression as the *wink* violates this cultural tenet. And as to physiology, most Americans and other westerners tend to have larger noses than Japanese and other Asians, making it possible to hide the wink from some of their audience — *excluding* them from the secret information — while *exposing* it to targeted listeners. This nonverbal technique simply would be physiologically impossible for many Japanese as they would not be able to conceal the *wink* behind the ridge of their noses, and turning their heads greatly to the side would reveal the nonverbal, communication subterfuge.

CULTURE & LANGUAGE

Any student of foreign language eventually comes to understand the interwoven nature of language and culture, and that cultural studies are a corollary to language studies. One must learn the plethora of cultural details of the land where the target language is spoken. For example, American students of the Japanese language living in the city of Sendai, Japan will be confronted with an avalanche of Japanese vocabulary distinct to Miyagi Prefecture that may or may not be found in a dictionary. The students will be assaulted with the names local food items such as *sasakamboko* (fish paste), *gyutan* (beef tongue), and *kaiten sushi* (revolving sushi), or local place names such as Yaotome, Komegafukuro, or Yagiyama. But as overwhelmed and intimidated Americans may find themselves in the morass of new vocabulary, it also brings the challenges and joys of experiencing a new culture.

Robert Gibson describes culture as a mixture of sharing attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavioral traits. And in the same vein, Martin Soley defines culture as sharing a similarity of perception. Notwithstanding the relevance of these two views, one would extend the definition further to encompass the utilitarian aspect of culture as the means and techniques that a people have developed to survive in a given environment. The strategies necessary for survival in a desert culture diverge significantly from the strategies needed to exist in an island, water culture, or a hot, southern-climate culture as opposed to a cold, northern-climate culture. The survival techniques and strategies are very different, and not transferable to existence in a radically different enviroment. The people of a sub-Sahara Africa — where water is reserved strictly for the consumption by humans and livestock — would be shocked at the lavish use of water for daily showering and bathing as per Japanese island culture, or the American habit of using huge amounts of water for ornamental lawns and car washes. Moreover, few cultures on this planet would be able to emulate the abilities that the Japanese people have in surviving on a string of islands, or more precisely, a string of volcanoes arising from the most dangerous and misnamed ocean in the world, balanced precariously astride an extremely active earthquake zone.

As mentioned above, the culture of Japan tends to be more attuned to Great Britain than the United States, and this analogy holds true for the mutually held view on royalty between the two island nations. Both Japan and Great Britain have a long history of royal families ; moreover, it has only been 147 years since the Meiji Restoration brought an end to the feudal era in Japan — scant time since samurai strode the marches of Japan and shoguns ruled supreme, leaving the influence of feudalism on the structure of the Japanese language. Japanese word order of /Subject/ (often omitted) /Object/ /Object/ / Verb/ permits the bringer of ill tidings to avoid the business end of a Japanese sword by holding off the bad news throughout the sentence, speaking indirectly, and being able to change the entire meaning of the sentence with the verb in the final position. Literally a sentence structure that can *Save the Messenger*.

Even before the American Revolution, the English, for hundreds of years were gaining more rights from the Crown : The Magna Carta Libertatum in 1215 CE is a major milestone in the development of modern democracy, and anticipates the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 CE. With their victory in the War of Independence from Great Britain, Americans have thrown away the concept of royalty, declaring all men equal — every man a king, every woman a queen ; hence, Americans tend to speak much more directly and loudly than the British and the Japanese. Where Japanese language structure can *Save the Messenger*, English sentence structure of /S/ /V/ /O/ commits a speaker to a fixed meaning early in the delivery of a sentence that allows little room for the messenger of bad tidings to escape the wrath of his leader, and may find his head on the chopping block ; a sentence structure that *Kills the Messenger,* and when combined with American directness, the messenger has even less chance to avoid incurring the anger of his leader. However, since the pretense exists in America that everyone is royalty, the messenger supposedly cannot be killed — but reprimand, demotion, and employment termination are modern equivalents of *Kill the Messenger*.

In reference to terminating employees, both Japanese and Americans use figurative speech : the Japanese revert to their recent samurai past and the power of the sword and use the idiomatic expression *kubi* (decapitation by sword) ; while Americans revert to their recent frontier past and the power of the gun and use the idiomatic expression *fired* (killed by a firearm).

For Americans interacting with Japanese, they must be aware of the historical and cultural reasons that Japanese speak softly and indirectly, and vis-a-vis, Japanese must remain aware of the cultural heritage that has Americans speaking forcefully and directly.

HIGH CONTEXT & LOW CONTEXT CULTURE

When discussing the concepts of High versus Low Context in relation to culture and communication, one must refrain from the value judgment implicit in the adjectives *High* and *Low*. These words refer only to the amount of shared background information underlying culture — context — that each speaker brings to the communication forum. Edward T. Hall postulated the concepts of context and culture in his book *Beyond Culture* (1976). For the purposes of intercultural communication analysis, Japanese culture exhibits High Context (HC) features while American culture exhibits Low Context (LC) features.

Features of American LC culture find the message is in the expressed words ; communication sessions are of shorter duration, using direct speech, and are task- oriented ; accuracy in content emphasized over accuracy in form, and ability emphasized over age ; social life separated from professional life, and individual orientation rather than group orientation ; and temporary relationships with unclear, group boundaries. Features of Japanese HC culture finds the message is in the physical context or the person, and using indirect speech ; accuracy in form over accuracy in content, and age emphasized over ability ; long-term relationships and clear sense of in-group and out-group boundaries ; and group orientation over individual orientation, and social and professional life blended. With these two divergent contexts separating Japanese and Americans, it remains a wonder that common ground can be established when interacting with each other, and the features of HC and LC are readily observable in the respective cultures. Examples of *Form over Accuracy* in Japanese society can be observed when Japanese are practicing *Kyudo* (traditional archery), where more instruction is delivered on form and spirit rather than hitting the center of the target, although if the center of target is struck all the better. American archery instruction will place the greatest emphasis on striking the center of the target and will not be concerned with posture, poise or even if archers contort themselves in some strange fashion as *long as they can deliver the arrows on target.* The focus and drive to hit target center affects American target design : the highest score on a target is the ten-point, center ring — the Bullseye — but the American target further includes an extra tiny ring, sometimes referred to as the *X Ring,* in the center of the target *Bullseye* to break ties in the situation where several archers placed all of their shots in the *Ten Ring* : the competitor who has placed the most arrows in the *Ten Ring* and the *X Ring* wins the contest.

Another example of *Form over Content* may be seen in the classroom with students involved with the activity of writing sentences on the blackboard. When a Japanese student makes a tiny mistake with a single letter in a word, they will erase the word or the *entire* sentence and start over, demonstrating their desire *for* and emphasis *on Form*. American teachers in attendance will become impatient with the slowdown in class momentum, patiently waiting for the student to laboriously re-write the sentence, so they can discuss the grammar or communication *Content* of the sentence. Observing an American student in the same situation will find them erasing or striking over the offending letter and continue writing out the sentence, demonstrating the emphasis on *Content*. Furthermore, Japanese and Americans in team-teaching situations finds the Japanese teacher in dismay when observing the American teacher mixing cursive and capitalized letters in the same word or sentence — violating their sense of *Form*, and leading them to believe that the American lacks discipline or education ; the American teacher will be incensed at the waste of class time fiddling with making perfect letters when they want to dig into the *Content* of the sentence.

HUMOR & LAUGHTER

As *humor* and *laughter* tend to be culturally based, American and Japanese styles of humor diverge, and both nationalities may laugh for different reasons. The Japanese people find sarcasm discomfiting, while Americans employ sarcasm constantly. Japanese living in America occasionally may be heard to say the grammatically incorrect question : "Are you *sarcasting* me?" This question shows an irritation with the constant flux of sarcasm prevalent in the conversations of Americans. However, this author has had on several occasions to witness Japanese enjoyment of sarcastic humor. During a volunteer trip to the 2011 tsunami destruction zone in Miyagi Prefecture, my volunteer group passed a steel construction hut that had been crushed by the power of the tsunami with the brand name *Super House* written in *Katakana*. As we stared at the horribly mangled building, one of the Japanese volunteers observed sarcastically : "Not a very *super* house." It was exactly what I wanted to say but did not want to offend my fellow volunteers with my American sarcasm. Everyone laughed, and it added a bit of merriment to our grim chore. On another occasion after the Great Eastern Japan Disaster, I was standing at an intersection in the winter with a fellow colleague. Feeling an unseasonably warm breeze blowing from the south, we were talking about how warm it felt in the dead of winter. I took a communication gamble with humor and said that the reason it was so warm was that it was coming from the nuclear reactors melting down in Fukushima Prefecture. After delivering my poor joke, I watched my colleague's face to see if I had offended him since he may have had friends or family living close to the nuclear plant. But he seemed to enjoy the sarcastic, black humor and laughed heartily. I further checked his reaction to make sure that he was not merely laughing out of anxiety from the uncomfortable situation of an American making an insulting attempt at humor.

Japanese laugh when uncomfortable, embarrassed, or in a stressful situation. This cultural trait has led many inveterate boors to believe that they are great and gifted comedians when running through their litany of jokes, mistaking that their Japanese audience laughs with merriment at the wit of their humor when in fact they are laughing merely out of embarrassment for the lame American jokester. The majority of Americans will only laugh if something is humorous or out of derision but not when in a stressful situation — except for people from the upper-Midwest of the United States where laughter *is* employed when uncomfortable or in a stressful situation just like the Japanese. Of course, both Japanese and Americans laugh when something is truly funny, and both nationalities enjoy *slapstick* humor ; moreover, both Japanese and Americans employ the derisive laugh when witnessing situations where unpleasant persons get their just desserts, such as when arrogant drivers, weaving through traffic, and speeding dangerously, get arrested by the traffic police.

CONCLUSION

As the world remains confronted with ever new challenges and dangers, it has become even more important for the freedom loving people of Japan and America to maintain and enhance close, international ties and cooperation for security, trade, and cultural exchanges. And it is through a deep understanding and respect for each other's culture and communication styles that will strengthen the bond of the United States and Japan through the 21^{st} Century and far into the future.

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Intercultural Communication and Stereotypes

Christopher Long

1. Abstract

For the current analysis, I begin by providing a definition of the term 'stereotype.' Next I introduce the research of Dean Barnlund (1975) and explain his hypothesis regarding differences in Japanese and American 'self-disclosure'. I then overview Barnlund's findings on Japanese and American stereotypes of their own and each other's communication style. The point of this analysis is to assess whether Barnlund's hypotheses regarding self-disclosure are reflected in his stereotype data. Finally, I introduce data collected in 2011 by students of my seminar on intercultural communication. Given that Barnlund's data is 40 years old, these data provide insight into the current nature of Japanese and American stereotypes as well as any changes that have occurred since Barnlund's now classic study.

2. What is a stereotype ?

The origin of the modern term 'stereotype' can be traced back to Lippmann (1922). Originally, the term was used in the printing industry. In early printing technology, letters or images were combined and tightened within a frame. The frame was then spread with ink and pressed against a sheet of paper to transfer the image. This frame was originally called a 'stereotype.' Because the 'stereotype' allowed for an identical image to be replicated multiple times, Lippmann used the same term to refer to the cognitive phenomenon that we now understand as stereotypes.

Building on Lippmann's original insight, researchers today define stereotypes as the set of characteristics which are associated with specific social groups (e.g., intelligent/unintelligent, serious/funny, rude/polite, shy/outgoing). Eagly and Chaiken (1993), for example claim that a stereotype consists of "attributes that an individual ascribes to a social group" (p. 104). Such attributes can easily be prompted by completing sentences similar to the ones shown below.

1. Japanese are ____________________.
2. Americans are ____________________.

It has been noted that because they associate characteristics with <u>all</u> members of a specific social group, stereotypes are necessarily over simplified representations. Because viewing others based on such a limited understanding causes us to overlook important individual characteristics, stereotypes often lead to misunderstanding. They prevent us from truly 'seeing' the other and thus hinder our achieving of true 'inter-personal' understanding.

An additional dimension of stereotypes which must not be overlooked is that stereotypes are essentially a social phenomenon (Macrae, Stangor and Hewstone, 1996). This means that they are shared by members of a given community and acquired as part of the socialization process typically in a subconscious manner. As such, people are often unaware of the stereotypes they hold and which exist within their own society. As a result, stereotypes (and any resulting prejudice) are perpetuated within a given society.

Given their potential impact on human behavior, the investigation of stereotypes has occupied a central position in intercultural communication research. One such example is the research of Dean Barnlund (1975).

3. Barnlund's research

Dean Barnlund, a professor and researcher of intercultural communication at San Francisco State University, visited Japan twice and taught at International Christian University in Tokyo (once in 1968 and once in 1972). During his stays in Japan, Barnlund carried out a number of studies on Japanese communication style. These findings he compared with similar research carried out on American university students. One of the core theoretical concepts underlying his research is 'self-disclosure.' The following section overviews this concept and as well as Barnlund's hypotheses regarding Japanese and Americans and potential misunderstandings that occur as a result of differences in self-disclosure.

3.1. Self-disclosure

The central idea behind the concept of self-disclosure is quite simple. It essentially describes the act of 'sharing' or 'exposing' some dimension of self with another. This act of sharing can consist of verbal information (e.g., likes/dislikes, weaknesses/strengths) as well as physical dimensions of the self (e.g., touching, holding hands, kissing).

As illustrated in Figures 1 and 2, Barnlund postulated that the self con-

Figure 1 : Japanese Public and Private self

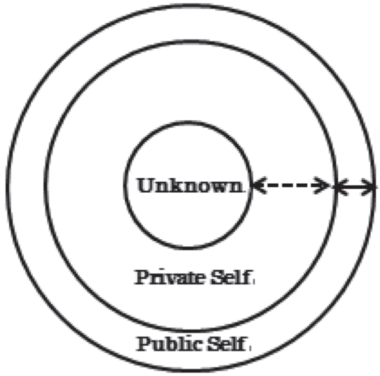
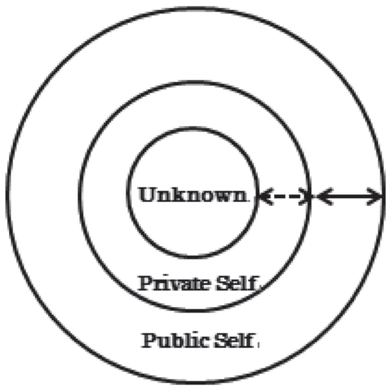


Figure 2 : American Public and Private self



sists of three domains. The outer-most dimension represents the aspects of self that one is comfortable sharing (what Barnlund calls 'public self'). The next inner dimension represents aspects of the self that one is not comfortable sharing ; the 'private self.' Finally, the center dimension consists of aspects of the self that are unknown and hence not the conscious object of self-disclosure.

Clearly, the process of self-disclosure is central to the human communication. People are continuously sharing (and not sharing) various physical and verbal aspects of themselves with others. However, Barnlund further hypothesized that the boundaries of these dimension can vary across cultures. For example, the people of some cultures may have a wider range of self they are comfortable sharing compared with the people from other cultures. This is precisely what Barnlund claimed regarding Japanese and Americans. Specifically, Barnlund predicted that Japanese have a smaller public and larger private self compared to Americans. Moreover, such differences, he argued, lead to specific types of misunderstandings.

3.2. Japanese and American self-disclosure and misunderstanding

Figure 3 and Figure 4 illustrate the type of misunderstanding Barnlund predicted would occur in Japanese/American intercultural communication. First consider potential misunderstandings from the perspective of the American. As shown in Figure 3, because the domain of public self is wider for the American, the Japanese degree of self-disclosure fails to penetrate to the full capacity of the American expectation. That is, although the Japanese has fully exposed him/herself according to the accepted norms regarding self-disclosure, the degree falls short of the American expectation, as shown by the gray area. Because of this gap in expectations, the Japanese is potentially the target of a negative evaluation by the American. Specifically, the Japanese

Figure 3 : Japanese Self-disclosure as seen by Americans

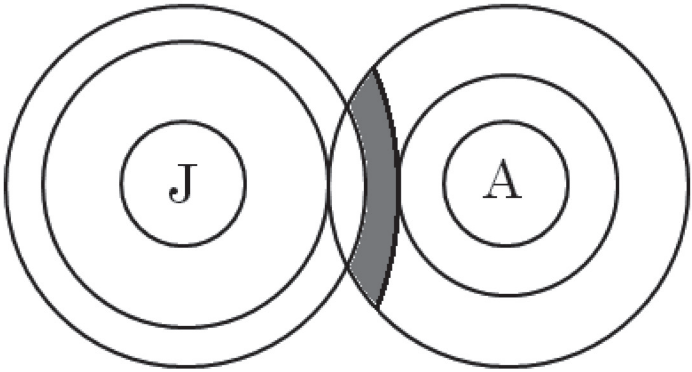
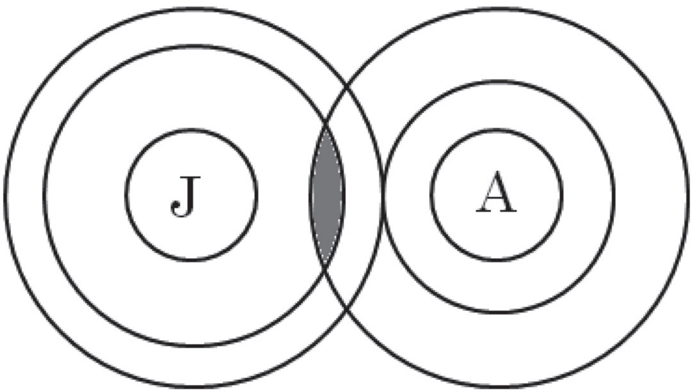


Figure 4 : American Self-disclosure as seen by Japanese



may be perceived as standoffish, shy, not forthcoming and other characteristics related to the withholding of self.

In contrast, the American may be viewed as overly forthcoming, pushy or overbearing. Such a negative evaluation can similarly be explained by differences in expectations regarding the degree of self-disclosure. As shown in Figure 4, the American although exposing a degree of self that is consistent with his/her cultural norms, it violates the domain of private self according to Japanese norms. This violation (shown in gray) is the potential target of negative evaluation by the Japanese.

3.3. Cultural profiles

To assess the validity of his hypotheses regarding Japanese and American self-disclosure, Barnlund investigated Japanese and American stereotypes regarding their own and each other's communication style. He reasoned that if, in fact, such differences existed they could be detected by assessing Japanese and American impressions of communication style in Japan and the US (i.e., their stereotypes). It should be noted that because Barnlund does not investigate actual communication style, any evidence he obtains is necessarily indirect. Regardless, his studies provide insight into Japanese and American communication style which remain important even today.

3.3.1. Barnlund's study

To investigate Japanese and American images of their own and each other's communication style Barnlund utilized a list of 34 adjectives (shown in Figure 5～Figure 8). The list was given to 122 Japanese and 42 American university students who were instructed to select 5 adjectives from each list which they felt best describe the communication style of Japanese and Americans when interacting amongst themselves. Although these methods are surprisingly simple, they yield interesting and insightful results.

Figure 5 : Stereotypes of Japanese Communication Style
(data reported in Barnlund, 1975)

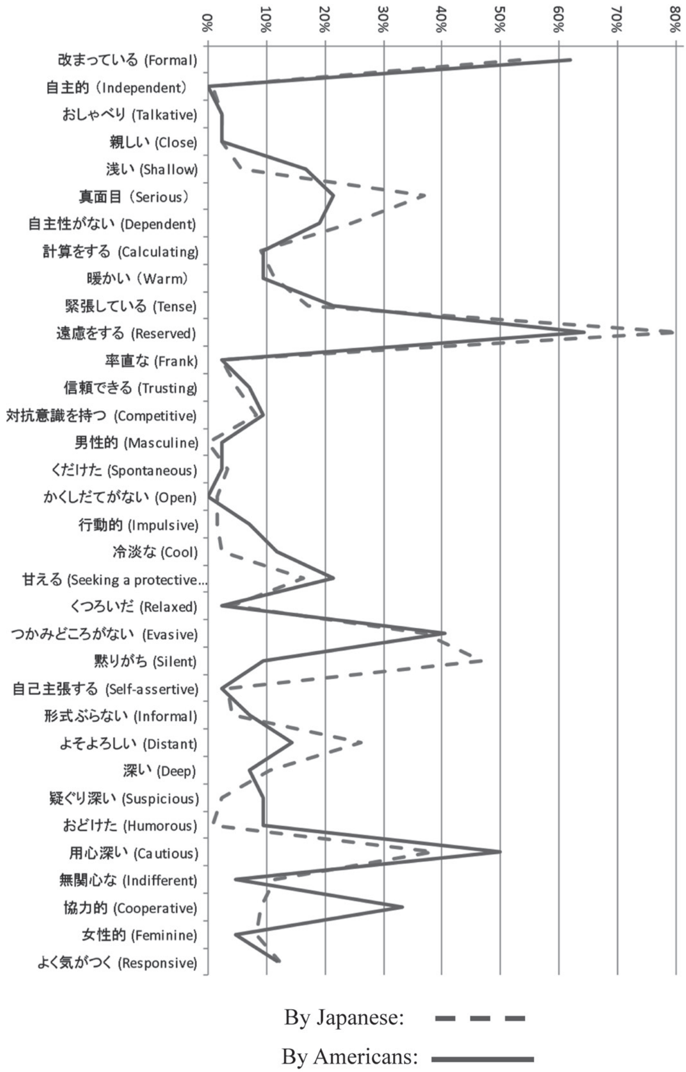


Figure 6 : Stereotypes of American Communication Style
(data reported in Barnlund, 1975)

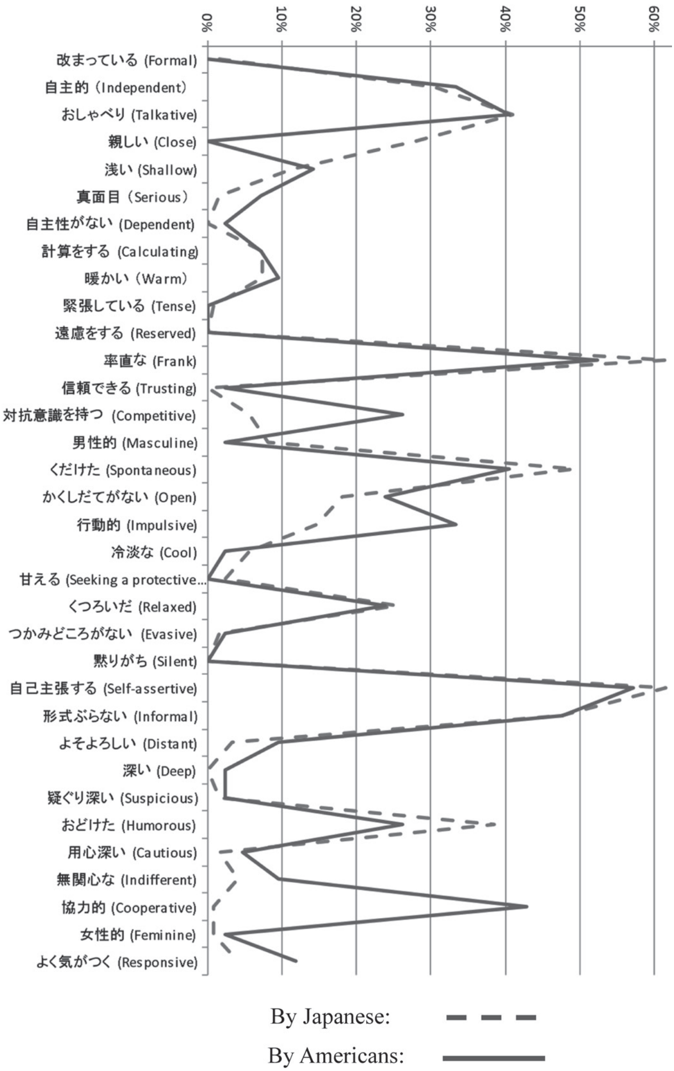


Figure 5 presents findings regarding Japanese and American perceptions of Japanese communication style. Barnlund argues that these findings support his hypothesis that Japanese have a restricted domain of public self compared to Americans. Evidence of this can be found in the overall similarity between the Japanese and Americans evaluations of Japanese communication style as 'reserved,' 'formal,' 'evasive,' and 'cautious.' These findings are consistent with a small public compared to private self because revealing little of oneself can result in a communication style characterized by such traits.

Regarding the American communication style, Barnlund's data also indicate a high degree of correlation between the Japanese and American respondents (Figure 6). These findings show that American communication style is viewed as 'frank,' 'informal,' 'spontaneous,' 'independent,' and 'relaxed.' As with the data on Japanese communication, these data provide support for Barnlund's hypothesis. They are consistent with the idea that American public self is large in comparison to Japan.

In addition to these similarities, there are some interesting differences in the responses of Japanese and Americans. First consider the image of Japanese communication style. One item that differs significantly is the view of Japanese 'cooperativeness.' Although a large percentage of Americans (33%) selected this adjective to describe Japanese communication style, very few Japanese (9%) did. This finding suggests that the stereotype of 'cooperation' so commonly associated with Asian cultures may not be equally shared by members of Asian societies. Similarly, evaluations of how 'silent' Japanese are differed between Americans and Japanese. In this case, however, a large percent of Japanese (47%) prescribed to the stereotype whereas few Americans did (10%).

There were also interesting differences in Japanese and American evaluations of American communication style. For example, although 28% of Japanese thought American communication style expressed 'closeness,' no Americans selected this adjective to describe themselves. Conversely, the percentage of Americans who felt they were 'competitive' (26%) and 'impulsive' (33%) was greater than Japanese respondents (6% and 15% respectively).

4. How about now?

4.1. 2011 survey

Although Barnlund's research provides valuable insight into differences in American and Japanese perceptions of their own and each other's the communication style, the findings are arguably outdated. In order to investigate the current state of Japanese and American stereotypes, students in my seminar on intercultural communication replicated Barnlund's survey in 2011.

For the replication study, 34 Japanese university students and 20 Americans were investigated[1]. The items investigated and methods employed were identical to those of the Barnlund study. Participants were provided with a list of 34 adjectives and instructed to select 5 items that best represented their impressions of Japanese and American styles of communication. Figure 7 and Figure 8 present the results of the investigation compared with findings reported by Barnlund (1975).

1 American data were gathered using social media and are not necessarily from university students.

Figure 7 : Japanese stereotypes of American Communication Style
(data collected in 2011 seminar class)

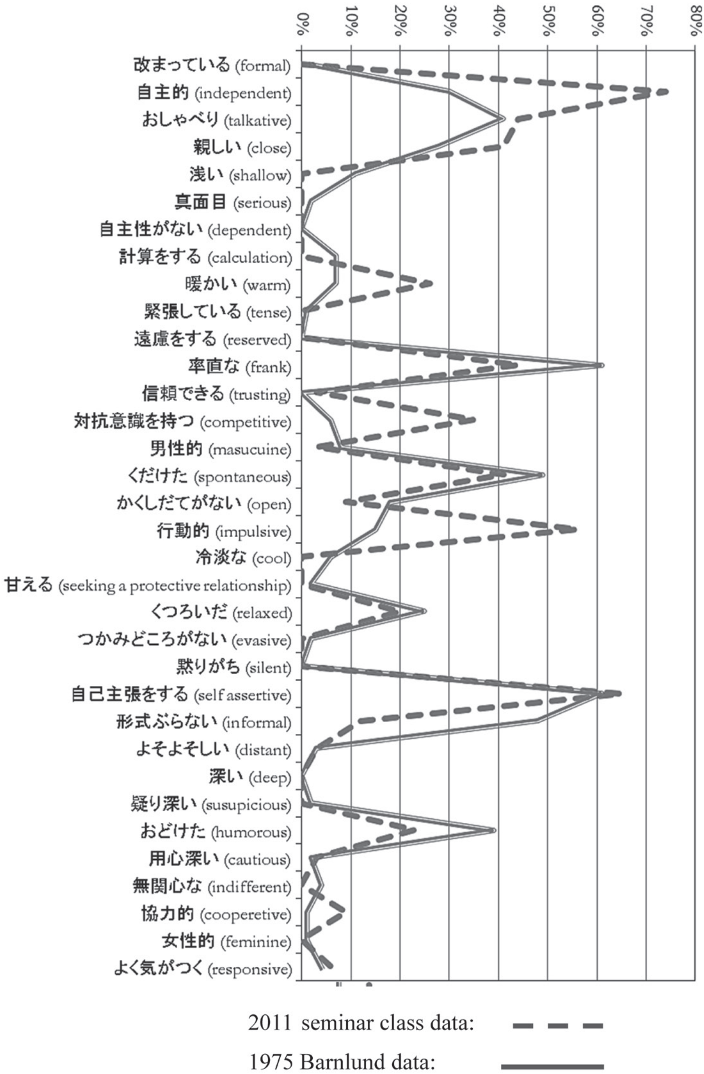
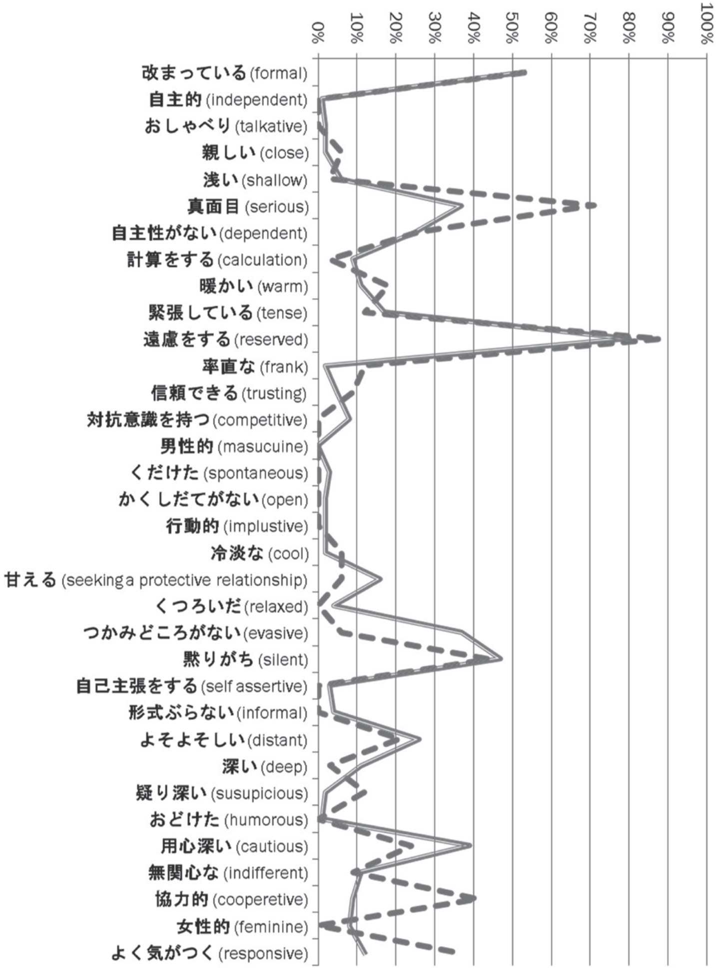


Figure 8 : American stereotypes of Japanese Communication Style
(data collected in 2011 seminar class)



2011 seminar class data:
1975 Barnlund data:

Figure 7 summarizes the findings with regards to Japanese stereotypes of American communication style. First, it can be noted that many similarities remain between the current findings and findings reported in Barnlund. For example, Japanese both then and now view Americans as 'independent,' 'talkative,' 'frank,' 'spontaneous,' 'relaxed,' and 'self-assertive.' However, a number of interesting differences can also be found. For example, Japanese views of Americans as 'independent,' 'impulsive' and 'warm' show a marked increase compared with 40 years ago. In contrast, the number of Japanese who evaluated Americans as 'informal,' 'humorous,' 'shallow,' and 'frank' decreased.

Thus although the stereotypes of Japanese today are overall consistent with those of Japanese 40 years ago, evaluations of some items which reflect a high degree of self disclosure (e.g., 'independent,' 'impulsive,' and 'warm') have grown in strength. Conversely, a mild decrease in some similar items ('informal,' 'humorous,' 'shallow,' and 'frank') was also detected. Overall, then, there appears to be a strengthening of Japanese stereotypes of Americans as having a large public self. The degree to which this change reflects a actual change in the self-disclosure patterns of Americans, however, remains a topic of future investigation. It is possible, for example, the increase has resulted from increased proliferation of stereotypes via mass media (e.g., movies)

Similarly, the findings on American stereotypes of Japanese indicate a number of similarities and differences compared to Barnlund's research. As with Japanese stereotypes, overall the stereotypes of Americans appear to have remained constant. Both groups, for example, view Japanese as 'formal,' 'reserved,' 'cautious,' and 'serious.' Significant changes include a decrease in evaluations of Japanese as ‘dependent,’ ‘calculative,’ ‘cautious,’ and ‘reserved.’ Conversely, a greater percentage of American respondents currently view Japanese as ‘talkative,’ ‘open,’ and ‘relaxed.’ These changes suggest that a widening of the boundaries of Japanese public self has occurred. Confirmation of such a trend, however, is required before any final conclusions can be drawn.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The current analysis considered the interrelationship between stereotypes and intercultural communication. Specifically, it introduced Barnlund’s now classic study on Japanese and American communication style and his hypotheses regarding self-disclosure. It was demonstrated how Barnlund’s study provides indirect support for his claim that Japanese public self is narrower than that of Americans and the potential for misunderstanding in Japanese/American intercultural communication as a result of these differences.

However, because Barnlund’s results are now over 40 years old, it was argued that there is a need for more current data. As such, research conducted in 2011 by students in a seminar on intercultural communication was presented. This research followed an identical procedure to that of Barnlund and revealed a number of interesting similarities and differences between Americans and Japanese then and now.

On the whole the findings show a pattern consistent with Barnlund’s research. Japanese are still viewed as ‘reserved’ and Americans as ‘frank.’ However, these stereotypes also appear to be shifting. On the one hand Japanese stereotypes of Americans as possessing a wide boundary of public self appear to have grown. Conversly, American stereotypes of Japanese as having a limited in domain of public self appear to have decreased. Whether these changes are indicative of actual changes in Japanese and American levels of self disclosure, however, are beyond the scope of the current analysis and, as such, remain an important question for future investigation.

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男性・女性翻訳者が女の言葉を訳すとき

古　川　弘　子

1. は　じ　め　に

文学テクストでは，女性登場人物のせりふで女ことばが過剰に使われることで「女らしさ」が強調されており，この傾向は言文一致運動が起こった明治時代から続いてきたと言われている（Inoue，2003，2004；Levy，2006；中村，2007a，2007b）。翻訳テクストでも同様の傾向がみられるが（Fukuchi Meldrum，2009；Furukawa 2012；中村 2012；古川 2013），これは日本社会がみなす「理想的な女らしさ」に影響を受けているからであると考えられる。翻訳テクストをイデオロギー的な意味合いを持つ変換であると考えるとき，翻訳者の性別が翻訳テクストの女性登場人物の言葉づかいにどう影響を及ぼすのかについて考察することは非常に重要である。

そこで本講義では，男性と女性の両方の翻訳者によって訳された文学作品の文末詞使用を，定量的研究手法で分析した。その上で，なぜ男性翻訳者の方が女性登場人物の話し方を女らしく訳してしまうのか，その理由について考察した。

2.　翻訳者の性別が翻訳テクストに与える影響

今回の分析で取り上げた文学作品の日本語訳は以下の 8 冊である。ここで古典作品の日本語訳を扱った理由は，同じ作品に複数の翻訳テクストが存在し，翻訳者の性差も男性・女性の両方がいるため，翻訳者の性別と翻

訳テクストでの言葉づかいとの関連性を分析していくのに適していたからである。また，下記以外にも日本語訳は存在するが，日本語の変遷を考慮して 1990 年代以降の翻訳のみを対象とした。

1. 鴻巣友季子訳『嵐が丘』（2003，以下『嵐が丘 1』と呼ぶ）
2. 河島弘美訳『嵐が丘（上・下）』（2004，以下『嵐が丘 2』）
3. 小野寺健訳『嵐が丘（上・下）』（2010，以下『嵐が丘 3』）
4. 小尾芙佐訳『ジェーン・エア（上・下）』（2006，以下『ジェーン』）
5. ハーディング祥子訳『エマ』（1997，以下『エマ 1』）
6. 工藤政司訳『エマ（上・下）』（2000，以下『エマ 2』）
7. 中野康司訳『エマ（上・下）』（2005，以下『エマ 3』）
8. 中野康司訳『高慢と偏見（上・下）』（2003，以下『プライド』）

Wuthering Heights（Emily Brontë，1847）は，ヨークシャーの強風が吹き荒れる「嵐が丘」に住むアンショー家の一人娘キャサリンと，孤児であるヒースクリフとの愛憎物語である。ここでは，2004 年から 2010 年までの間に男女の翻訳者によって訳され，出版された 3 つのテクスト—鴻巣友季子訳（2003，『嵐が丘 1』），河島弘美訳（2004，『嵐が丘 2』），小野寺健訳（2010，『嵐が丘 3』）—を分析対象とした。

Jane Eyre（Charlotte Brontë，1847）は，幼少期に両親を亡くした主人公のジェイン・エアが引き取られた叔母にいじめられて寄宿舎に入れられるが，自立の道を切り開き，家庭教師として赴いた先の領主と恋に落ちる話だ。ここでは，小尾芙佐訳（2006，『ジェーン』）を分析した。

Pride and Prejudice（Jane Austen，1813）は，主人公エリザベス・ベネットと背が高くハンサムでお金持ちのミスター・ダーシーとの結婚がテーマ

の恋愛小説だ。現在出版されている日本語訳は3種類あり，ほとんどの登場人物が女性で想定される中心読者も女性であるにもかかわらず，翻訳者は全員男性である — 富田彬訳（1950），中野好夫訳（1963），中野康司訳(2003)。今回は最新の中野康司訳（『プライド』）のみを対象とした。

Emma（Jane Austen，1816）の南イングランドの大地主の娘である主人公エマが，恋のキューピット役として友人の結婚相手を探すために奔走するうちに自分の恋心に気がつく，という物語だ。この作品は1990年以降，男女の3人の翻訳者によって日本語に訳されている — ハーディング祥子訳 (1997,『エマ1』)，工藤政司訳 (2000,『エマ2』)，中野康司訳 (2005,『エマ3』)。

研究手法としては，女性登場人物と友人などの親しい間柄にある登場人物とのせりふを抽出し（対象文は『エマ1』が178,『エマ2』が140,『エマ3』が182），その文末詞をオカモトとサトウの分類表（Okamoto and Sato，1992，pp. 480-482；巻末資料参照）にしたがって5段階— strongly feminine，moderately feminine，neutral，strongly masculine，moderately masculine —に分類した。ここで親しい間柄にある登場人物との会話のみを対象とした理由は，敬語を使わない状況に限定するためである。

結果は次ページの通りである。表で下線を引いたデータは，男性翻訳者による翻訳テクストで女性主人公が feminine forms を使った割合である。これらを見てみると，概して男性翻訳者の方が feminine forms の使用率が高く，したがって，会話文で登場人物の女らしさが強調されがちであることを示している。この結果は，男性翻訳者の方が女性翻訳者よりも女性登場人物の話し方にあるステレオタイプを持っており，翻訳する際にはそのイメージの影響を受けやすいと言えるだろう。

表　『嵐が丘 1』,『嵐が丘 2』,『嵐が丘 3』,『ジェーン』,『プライド』,『エマ 1』,『エマ 2』,『エマ 3』の文末詞使用比較

	『嵐が丘 1』(F 2003)	『嵐が丘 2』(F 2004)	『嵐が丘 3』(M 2010)	『ジェーン』(F 2006)	『プライド』(M 2003)	『エマ 1』(F 1997)	『エマ 2』(M 2000)	『エマ 3』(M 2005)
FF	**56.63%**	**60.15%**	**68.71%**	**58.40%**	**75.52%**	**60.68%**	**79.28%**	**64.29%**
SFF	33.47%	44.09%	52.28%	30.66%	52.70%	46.07%	62.14%	43.41%
MFF	23.16%	16.06%	16.43%	27.74%	22.82%	14.61%	17.14%	20.88%
MF	**0.13%**	**0.30%**	**0.26%**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**
SMF	0.13%	0.15%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
MMF	0.00%	0.15%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
NF	**43.24%**	**39.56%**	**31.03%**	**41.61%**	**28.48%**	**39.33%**	**20.71%**	**35.71%**

(1)　対象文は『嵐が丘 1』が 747,『嵐が丘 2』が 685,『嵐が丘 3』が 767,『ジェーン』が 137,『プライド』が 241,『エマ 1』が 178,『エマ 2』が 140,『エマ 3』が 182。
(2)　表記年は翻訳された年を指す。
(3)　括弧のなかの M は男性翻訳者，F は女性翻訳者であることを示す。
(4)　文末詞の略称は以下の通り，FF=feminine forms, SFF=strong feminine forms, MFF=moderately feminine forms, MF=masculine forms, SMF=strongly masculine forms, MMF=moderately masculine forms, NF=neutral forms.
(5)　すべて小数点第 3 位で四捨五入した。

遠藤（1997，p. 171）によると，第二次世界大戦後，社会における女性の地位が向上するにつれて，女ことばの使用が徐々に減ってきているという。日本女性が時々男ことばに分類されるような言葉を使ったり，男性が女ことばとみなされる言葉を使ったりする事例も散見される。この点を考慮すれば，『エマ』と『嵐が丘』の 3 つのテクストのなかで最初に翻訳された『エマ 1』と『嵐が丘 1』が最も女らしい言葉づかいをすると予測できるだろう。しかし，結果は逆であった。

翻訳者の年齢について考えてみると，古典作品は大学教授によって訳されることが多く，したがって年齢層も現代小説の翻訳者に比べると高めだ。例えば，『エマ 2』，『エマ 3』，『プライド』は英文学の教授による翻訳であり，工藤政司氏（『エマ 2』）は 1931 年，中野康司氏（『エマ 3』と『プ

ライド』）は 1946 年生まれである。ということは，それぞれの翻訳者の年齢は，翻訳した時点で 69 歳，59 歳（『エマ 3』の場合）であったことになる。遠藤（1997，pp. 173-178）によれば，男性の年齢が高いほど女は女ことばを使うべきだと考える人が多くなる。この点を考慮すれば，上の表に示した女らしさを強調する翻訳は翻訳者の性別だけではなく年齢にも関係している可能性もある。

男性翻訳者が女性登場人物の会話文に feminine forms を多用する傾向があることに関して，詩人・伊藤比呂美が興味深い逸話を披露している（伊藤，1990，p. 31）。これは，雑誌『翻訳の世界』での上野千鶴子との対談記事のなかで紹介されたものだが，男性翻訳家・青山南が同誌で Saki の *The Reticence of Lady Anne* を伊藤の文体を真似て翻訳した際に，伊藤の本来のスタイルよりもずいぶん女らしかったというのだ。

> おもしろかったのは，以前『翻訳の世界』で青山南さんが，伊藤比呂美風というんで文章を書いたことがある（八五年一月号「スーパー翻訳パロディ」）。つまり，男が私の真似をして書いたの。そしたらね，私の本当の詩よりかなり女っぽくなってた。女語でかいてあるわけ。それでたしかに私風に見えるわけ。ところがホンモノの私は，女言葉をほとんど使ってないんだよね。たまに使うけどさ，それだけが増幅されて，読み手の頭の中にしみついてる感じ。必要以上に私，女的なテーマを使って女っぽい詩を書いていると思われているんじゃないのかしら（伊藤，1990，p. 31）。

伊藤本人はほとんど女ことばを使わないのに，青山の「伊藤風」の訳文では女ことばが使われて「女っぽく」書かれていたという。この事実は，上で分析してきた男性翻訳者の女性登場人物の会話文の訳でみられた女らしさを強調する傾向を裏付けている。

3.　女ことばは残すべきか？

女ことばについての意識調査を見てみると，第二次世界大戦後からそれほど大きくは変わっていないことが分かる。『女のことばの文化史』（遠藤，1997，pp. 173-178）には，戦後，日本人が女と男のことばの違いをどのように受け入れてきたのか，女ことばに対する意識がどのように変わってきたか（変わらずにきたのか）が整理して掲載されている。例えば，1955 年に大月書店により行われた調査では（郵便料金受取人払いの郵送方式で 2,455 人が回答した），男女のことばの区別についての問いへの回答は以下のようになったという。

1.　もっと区別があった方がよい　11%
2.　現状でよい　56%
3.　区別のない方がよい　31%

この調査では，男女のことばの区別が現状か，もっとあった方がよいと考えた人は全体の 67% に上った。一方で，31% が男女の言葉の区別をなくすべきだと考えた。

ほぼ 30 年後の 1986 年に NHK によって行われた「働く女性のことばの意識」（首都圏の働く女性 363 人が回答）では，「女性だけのことばを廃止するべきか，それとも残すべきか」との問いに対する回答の結果は以下のようなものであった。

1.　残すべき　16%
2.　どちらかというと残すべき　30%
3.　どちらかというと残す必要はない　11%
4.　残す必要はない　26%

ここから，働く女性のほぼ半数の 46% が女性だけのことばを積極的にせ

よ消極的にせよ残すべきだと考えていることが変わる。一方で，女性だけのことばを残す必要はないと考える働く女性の割合は 37% であった。1955 年の調査では賛成派が 67% だったのでやや割合は減ったものの，まだ約半数が女ことば肯定派であることは注目されてよい。

では，最初の調査から 40 年後の 1995 年に行われた調査結果はどうであっただろうか。下は文化庁が 16 歳以上の 3,000 人を対象に行なった「国語に関する世論調査」の結果である。「男女のことばづかいに違いがなくなっていることについてどう考えるか」という問いに対する答えは以下のようなものであった。

1. 違いがない方がよい 9.8%
2. 自然の流れであり，やむをえない 41.2%
3. 違いがある方がよい 44.1%

ここで，言葉の性差はなくした方がよい，または言葉の性差がなくなるのはやむをえないと考える人の合計が 51% となり，初めて半数を上回った。しかし，言葉の性差解消に積極的に賛成する人はまだひと桁の 9.8% である。この 1995 年の回答を男女別・年代別で見てみると，興味深いことが分かる。上記の設問のなかで「違いがない方がよい」「自然の流れであり，やむをえない」を合わせた性差解消容認派は，割合の高い順から以下のようになっており，年齢が若いほど言葉の性差解消に積極的だということが分かる。

1. 10 代男性 73.5%
2. 10 代女性 73.0%
3. 20 代女性 67.2%
4. 20 代男性 65.1%

一方「違いがある方がよい」の性差解消反対派は，以下のように分類され

た。

1. 60 代男性　　52.1%
2. 50 代男性　　51.3%
3. 60 代女性　　48.7%
4. 50 代女性　　46.0%

ここから，年代が上がるほど男女のことばは違っているべきであると考える人が増えることが明白だ。加えて，男性の方が女性よりも性差解消反対派が多いことも特筆すべきだろう。この女ことばを容認する男性の割合の高さは，上で示した女性文末詞の分析で示された「男性翻訳者の方が女性文末詞を使用する傾向がある」という結果と一致していると言えるだろう。

7. おわりに

本講義では，翻訳者の性別が女ことばの使い方にどのような影響を与えるのかを，古典作品の複数の日本語訳を分析することによって考察してきた。*Emma*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Wuthering Heights*, そして *Jane Eyre* の日本語訳計 8 点の翻訳テクストを定量分析した結果，男性翻訳者の方が女性翻訳者よりも feminine forms を使う確率が高いことが示された。これは，男性翻訳者が「女はこう話すべき」というステレオタイプに縛られやすいためと考えられる。この結果は，伊藤比呂美に似せて訳した青山南による *The Reticence of Lady Anne* の日本語版に見られた現象と，1955 年，1986 年と 1995 年に行われた女ことばについての意識調査の結果と相関している。イーブンゾーハー（2012［1978］: 163-164）は「翻訳テクストは翻訳される社会のシステムの一部であり，社会を表象する媒体である」と論じたが，今回の結果はその一例であると言えるだろう。

＊本講演は，書籍 *Translating Women from Beyond the Anglo-American Euroszone*（eds. Luise von Flotow and Farzanah Farahzad. Ottawa： University of Ottawa Press）で発表される予定の論文の一部を基にしたものです。

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