

The Japanese learner and metaphor

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Abstract :

This paper provides background on a 15-week English composition course for 2nd year university students based on metaphor. After discussing how Japanese borrowings are affecting English, it suggests that university learners, despite being low-intermediate in their English ability, can benefit from a focus on metaphor. The topics touched on include Kachru's (1992) 'Circle model', the pervasive presence of English in Japan, metaphor in Japanese, and the differences between a native speaker's lexical model and a Japanese learner's and how these differing paths to lexical knowledge can have an impact on pedagogy. This is followed by a review of Japanese writing pedagogy and concludes with a discussion of a course taught by the author that focussed on metaphor. The conclusion drawn from all this is that metaphor presents a rich vein of input for Japanese students that has not been exploited fully.

要旨 :



本稿は大学2年生対象の15週間の授業をメタファーに基づいて行うその動機背景を提示する。日本語の外来語が英語学習に及ぼす影響を議論し、英語力が初級～中級程度の大学生で会ってもメタファーに焦点を当てた授業により効果が上がることを示唆する。本稿では、Kachru (1992) の“Circle model”をはじめ、日本における英語の普及度、日本語のメタファー、英語の母国語話者の語彙モデルと日本語母国語話者の語彙モデルの違い、そしてこれらの違いが英語教育に及ぼしうる影響について触れている。さらに日本語のライティング教授法を概観し、著者が実際にメタファーに焦点を当てて行った授業について議論する。これ

らの議論から、これまで十分に英語教育の中で活用されてこなかったメタファーを通した教授法が日本人学習者にとって非常に有意義なインプットとなりうることを結論づける。

1.0 Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss aspects of Japanese university English learners, their lexical knowledge, and the process of writing instruction, all of which can be related to the teaching of metaphor. To introduce and frame this discussion, I'd like to introduce, counterintuitively, a Japanese lexical item that has entered the English lexicon, the lexical item *emoji*.

In 2015, Oxford dictionaries chose as their 'word of the year' a pictograph of a smiley face happily crying and the announcement read as follows:

That's right – for the first time ever, the Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year is a pictograph:  officially called the 'Face with Tears of Joy' emoji, though you may know it by other names. There were other strong contenders from a range of fields, outlined below, but  was chosen as the 'word' that best reflected the ethos, mood, and preoccupations of 2015.

(Nov 16, 2015, OUP blog)

There were several reports that stated that the Oxford dictionaries Word of the Year was *emoji*, a Japanese portmanteau lexical item that combines picture (*e* or 絵) and character (*moji* or 文字). However, this is not correct, as it was not the lexical item, but one particular *emoji*, which was chosen with the assistance of the mobile technology business SwiftKey, in order to identify the pictograph was the most used emoji globally in 2015.

While *emoji* has a different etymology and pronunciation from the previous English term, *emoticon*, a portmanteau term combining *emotion* and *icon*, the resemblance in spelling and congruence of function would lead a speaker unfamiliar with Japanese to assume that *emoji* might have some relation to *emotion*, especially with the occurrence of the prefix *emo*, as in *emo rock*, which is cited in Wikipedia as deriving from *emocore*, a combination of *emotional* and *hardcore*. This is reinforced by the fact that *moji* is composed of two separate Chinese characters, and *ji* is often used to refer to characters, as can be seen in this example:

その字はどう書くのですか。

sono ji ha dou kaku no desu ka

DEM letter TOP how write GEN be QUE

Emoji is not being used metaphorically, but other terms from Japanese have often been recruited to provide metaphorical content in English, such as *corporate samurai* or *ninja edit*, where a “change made to a published post or article (typically on a bulletin board) that preempts the first response made” (Urban dictionary). Another interesting example is the use of *origami*, which first appeared in the OED in 1982, defined as “the Japanese art of folding paper into intricate decorative designs and objects” which now has the extended usage of describing any process that involves arrangements of materials, such as a research article in the British Journal of Dentistry with the title of “The ‘biological origami’ of tooth development revealed” (2016, no author).

The ability of the English language to absorb large numbers of borrowings from other languages has often been remarked upon, and in the case of borrowings from Japanese, one particular reason for this is

that, as Levy (cited in Grunebaum, 2017) suggests, Japan shares many characteristics with other countries with ‘large, middle-class populations’ that share what Levy terms ‘high popular culture’, which includes computing and consumer culture. These countries overlap with Kachru’s ‘outer circle’ countries. This suggests that if we reverse the lens, we will see how English, as one of the few international languages that drive world trends, could become part of the metaphorical resources for Kachravian outer circle countries such as Japan, especially within the group this paper investigates, that of college students learning English.

A concept that will be referred to in this paper is that of ‘linguistic landscape’. While linguistic landscape originally referred to the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 23) and is a term first used with regard to language planning, Landry and Bourhis have argued that this visibility and salience correlates “ethnolinguistic vitality”, which was further investigated in Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, (1981). The linguistic landscape of Japan and the visual evidence of public and commercial signs provides a suggestion that English is a resource that Japanese speakers can draw on to a much greater extent than current pedagogy presumes.

Initial constructions of L2 metaphoric competence have been skewed towards quantifying and measuring such metaphoric competence. This urge to measure has focussed attention on the metaphorical status of individual lexical items. This fails to take into account the influence of complex metaphors and the opportunities such metaphors offer for teaching. This overemphasis on lexis when teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom inspired an ongoing research project which aims at providing a foundation for a different approach to teaching metaphor in the L2

classroom I believe that this different approach will add additional data to be considered in metaphor research.

In this paper, I will begin by highlighting some of the literature related to the influence of English in Japan. The first section will introduce an example of the cross-linguistic influence we can see in youth culture. Following that, I will give a background on English in Japan and its pedagogical impact. In the following section, I will discuss the rich tradition of metaphor that, because of language specific characteristics of Japanese, has been overlooked in considering the teaching of English. This will lead into a discussion of L1 and L2 writing instruction in Japan to identify lacunae in English writing instruction in Japan and place that in the context of L2 writing research. I will conclude with discussion of some initial efforts to incorporate this into a writing class.

1.1 English as part of a multi-lingual mix: an example

What does the phrase *keep one's head down* mean? Azuma (2005), in her test of metaphorical competence, uses the phrase as a test item, asking students to incorporate it into a short explanation. Below are the examples she highlights, set against the rubric she uses.

Score	Criteria for producing a metaphorical passage	Examples from the students' answers to Target expression: P-2 <i>to keep one's head down</i>
3	The meaning of the target expression is embodied and fits well in a passage; semantic relatedness or mapping between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) is clear; degree of metaphoricity is high.	<i>One day, Ben went to his friend, Ken's house. He was invited to Ken's birthday party. At the end of the party, everybody start to give a present to Ken, but Ben didn't have anything. he forgot to buy it. Ben seems to keep his head down that day.</i>
2	The meaning of the target expression is embodied in a passage to some extent, but semantic relatedness or mapping between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) is not as clear as 3. Additional linkage(s) or sentence(s) is necessary.	<i>John isn't good at English. But his sister is very good at English. So, Ken's sister always teachers English to Ken. Ken keep his head down</i>
1	The meaning of the target expression is not embodied in a passage. The relationship between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) in metaphorical use is lacking. Anomaly, Confusion involved, but there is an effort to use an expression	<i>My son is to shy to talk to a stranger, when he walks the road. He walks to keep his head down.</i>
0	An incorrect answer or no answer written	<i>He was keep his head down. Because he is bright.</i>

(from Azuma: p. 146 (unmodified))

The target idiom, *keep one's head down*, can be interpreted in two ways. The first would be “to avoid attention [because of potential punishment]” (McGraw-Hill, n.d.). The second, which is not considered by Azuma, would be “to work hard”. The answers for best and third best answer embody the first meaning while the second and fourth embody the second. The two meanings can be connected, as they are in this passage:

Growing up, my parents taught me not to brag. We rolled our eyes at the long-winded Christmas letters that chronicled other families' accomplishments. We bit our tongues when a neighbor compared her son to Tom Cruise. My mother would hang good report cards on the refrigerator, but stash them in a drawer when we had company. “No

one likes a braggart,” she would say. “Just keep your head down and work hard, and people will notice.

(Coster, 2010: 1)

While keeping one’s head down is related to being modest in this passage, the act of keeping one’s head down also corresponds to working hard. It is this connection that has been taken up in Asian Englishes, so the phrase has come to mean something like ‘putting your nose to the grindstone’. An example of this is a song by the K-pop group TVXQ, known as Tōhōshinki (東方神起) in Japan, with the title “Keep Your Head Down”. The song begins with “self-empowering English opening lines” that reveal “their determination to return stronger after breaking up with a former lover” (Wikipedia, 2016). A glance at the video suggests that the members of the group are not retiring wallflowers (TVXQ, 2011). A closer examination of the group and how their identity is linguistically manifested reveals much more than simple imitation of English norms and can help us see why an emphasis on the ideal L1 native speaker’s semantic network may not be the most effective model for L2 learners. Furthermore, a look at the linguistic aspects of the group reveals a rich tapestry of language influences.

The group’s Korean name is TVXQ, an ‘initialism’ rather than an acronym because it is pronounced as a string of individual letters, which stands for *Tong Vfang Xien Qi*. These Chinese ideograms, read in Japanese, give the group’s Japanese name, *Tōhōshinki*, while in Korea, the group is known as DBSK, an abbreviation of their Korean name Dong Bang Shin Ki (Hangul: 동방신기). The group started as a 5 member group and is now a duo consisting of U-Know Yunho and Max Changmin. The U-Know Yunho is the stage name for a singer whose Korean name is

Jung Yun-ho (Hangul: 정윤희) and is one that the singer has been using since high school. It can be assumed that his use of an English recasting of his name is something growing out of the existence of English not only as a required subject within the Korean school system, but also as part of the test regime for entering higher education. Furthermore, the song's Korean title is 왜 (*Wae*) or in English "Why", can be linked to the "Japanese title" of the song, which is "Why? (Keep Your Head Down)" (given in English, not Japanese) If we imagined less permeable boundaries between language, we would wonder why the song would not be named *Naze?* (なぜ?), the Japanese lexical item for 'why'.

While the songs of TVXQ are primarily in Korean, English phrases and full choruses are quite common, as they are in not only Korean popular music (known as K-pop) (Lee, 2004; Jin & Ryoo, 2014) but also J-pop (Japan) (Moody, 2006) and Cantopop (Hong Kong/Cantonese) (Chan, 2009). Pennycook (2003) makes a similar point when he discusses the Japanese hip-hop/rap group Rip Slyme (whose name is metathesis of the title of their first album "Lips Rhyme"), noting that this "suggests that when we talk of global English use, we are talking of the performance of new identities". (p. 529) Given that a wide range of research links metaphor with identity, including professional identity (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Erickson & Pinnegar, 2016), brand identity (Koller, 2008, 2009), political identity (Anderson & Sheeler, 2005; L'Hôte, 2014), and national identity (Pettegree, 2011), it stands to reason that English is available as a *metaphorical* resource for identity formation to young people in countries located in the "expanding circle". As Schmitz (2014) points out,

[T]he older view of the inner circle being a stable "English as a Native Language" (ENL), of the outer circle being exclusively ESL (English

as a Second Language) and not ENL, and the expanding circle being the sole domain of EFL (English as Foreign Language) no longer hold. The circles are becoming more and more blurred. Not all people are rooted for they have international or transnational identities.

(p. 403)

One of the criticisms of Kachru's model is that it overlooks the heterogeneity of situations where English is used (Jenkins, 2009) and fails to explain the acceleration of trends towards such heterogeneity, as evidenced by the example of TVXQ above. My use of Kachru's model is as a rough classification that can draw out some similarities to other situations rather than making any claims on the precise use of metaphor in other outer circle countries. But a closer examination of the situation of English in Japan reveals a greater potential for the use of metaphor in writing pedagogy, a potential that may be greater than what is available in other outer circle countries. In the next section, I discuss Kachru's concept of 'circles' and then will briefly outline the place of English in the Japanese linguistic landscape and discuss the pedagogical implications that arise from this landscape.

1.3 English in outer circle Japan

Korea, China and Japan are countries in which English is used as a language for international communication and are located in Kachru's (1992) "outer circle". The vast majority of metaphor research in English has been done, for obvious reasons, on Kachru's 'inner circle' countries. These countries (the US, the UK, and other traditional bases of English) are in Kachru's terminology 'norm-providing', in that they establish generally agreed standards. Kathpalia and Carmel (2011) worked with

Singaporean university students and Littlemore (2003), who worked with Bangladeshi civil servants seconded to the UK, are two of a tiny group of studies that deal with outer circle speakers. Littlemore concentrated on the Bangladeshi students' ability to comprehend metaphor, while Kathpalia and Carmel was based on a production exercise that was essentially normative.

On the other hand, most other metaphor research on second language learners tends to take place in Kachru's "expanding circle", where English does not play a historical or governmental role, but is studied for the purposes of international communication. However, the range of varieties of English and the number of countries and cultures using these varieties results in the application of metaphor research that mirrors older attitudes about metaphor, in that metaphor is presented to low-proficiency students as a way to unify explanations of basic usage and support efforts to move students to a more native-like production. At the same time, advanced-proficiency students are presented with metaphor as "idiomatic English", a term which strongly suggests that metaphors fall in the realm of idioms, i.e. phrases and ideas that are opaque and can only be addressed by memorisation.

Kachru's circles of English model was preceded by his previous research about the creativity of bilinguals (Kachru, 1980, 1985) and he argues that it is important to "(r)ecogniz(e) a distinction between the bilinguals' deficiency as opposed to difference. On the cline of bilingualism, what is at one stage of language use an error may, at another stage, be a conscious innovation" (p. 25). He returns to this in both Kachru (1992) and Kachru (1997). While Kachru is speaking of "bilingual societies", where Kachru locates creativity is something that also applies in considering the

metaphoric competence of L2 speakers.

This research led to the active research area of World Englishes, which seeks to examine varieties of English on their own terms rather than as deviations from the norms of inner-circle countries. In a reply to Quirk (1990), who rejects Kachru's delineation of outer and extended circles and calls for the recognition of an inner-circle norm, Kachru points out that

[L]inguistic control is exercised in three ways: by the use of channels of codification and the control of these channels; by the attitude toward linguistic innovations, and their diffusion by those who are not part of such speech fellowships; and by the suggestion of dichotomies which are sociolinguistically and pragmatically not meaningful.

(Kachru, 1991: 11)

While it may seem overwrought to link questions of linguistic control with the level of language learners addressed in this study, for metaphor, it actually is a question of control, in the sense that the learners can 'control' the metaphor and use it in a way that transmits the meaning. Or as Cook writes,

There is a hidden irony in the dogma that frequent native-like collocations are the best model to imitate. It is that even within the native-speaker community it is often the infrequent word or expression which is most powerful and most communicatively effective, and therefore most sought after. This is also why foreigners' speech is often expressive and striking. Both for native and non-native speakers there is an alternative goal to seeking the most usual, the most frequent or, in short, the most clichéd expression. It is the goal of rich, varied, and original language. Among native speakers it is unusual language which is valued. Should non-native speakers be

treated differently?

(Cook, 1998: 61)

While it would seem that World Englishes (WE), with the emphasis on recognising and describing the myriad varieties of English in the world, would be at odds with another growing field of research, that of English as a Lingual Franca (ELF), Seidlhofer (2009) suggest that this is not the case and for WE and ELF, quoting Bangbose (1998), “it is people, not language codes, that understand each other” (p. 11). This makes Seidlhofer’s (2005) description of ELF worth attending to when we consider metaphor instruction:

Thus, the features of English which tend to be crucial for international intelligibility and therefore need to be taught for production and reception … constitute a focus for production teaching for those learners who intend to use English mainly in international settings. Acting on these insights can free up valuable teaching time for more general language awareness and communication strategies; these may have more ‘mileage’ for learners than striving for mastery of fine nuances of native-speaker language use … which may anyway not be teachable in advance, but only learnable by subsequent experience of the language

(Seidlhofer, 2005: 340)

Given that most students, especially here in Japan, have no opportunity in their first 6 to 8 years study of English to develop their awareness of L2 metaphor, rather than present building blocks of metaphor such as image schemas and primary metaphors, a possibly more efficient and more interesting way to present metaphor to these students would be through utilising metaphor as an organising device for writing, which is what this

project will attempt to lay some initial groundwork towards. In the next section, I will show how an approach for teaching metaphor to L1 learners is fundamentally different to teaching L2 learners.

Kent (1999) observes that “Chinglish” (Chinese-English), “Japlish” (Japanese-English), and “Konglish” (Korean-English), because of the socio-linguistic history of the region and the globalisation of the countries involved, have all been incorporated within their respective vernaculars. The majority of the examples “Inadvertently And Intentionally Poetic ESL writing” listed in Severino (1994) come from these three countries.

All of these countries, but especially Japan and Korea, are strongly influenced by US English rather than UK models. The post WWII occupation of Japan was primarily by US forces, and the Japanese school system was reconfigured along the lines of the US system in this period (Taylor and Taylor, 2014). The almost singular post-war influence of American English and American educational models is detailed in Fujimoto-Adamson (2006). This has created a linguistic landscape where English is incorporated into almost every aspect of advertising, entertainment and popular culture, and this presence mirrors the observations of an increasing number of researchers on Japan (Coulmas and Watanabe, 2002; Goebel, Noguchi and Fotos, 2001; Maher and Yashiro, 1995), who, despite the received wisdom that Japan is a homogeneous nation, have observed that Japan is becoming more linguistically heterogeneous. Indeed, Fotos (2001) goes as far (perhaps too far) as to suggest that “Japanese learners are indeed bilingual and can use CS [codeswitching] skillfully to dramatize their conversation, create a feeling of community with their fellow-students and also to focus on aspects of the target language...” (p. 348-349). A second strand of this

argument, discussed in more detail below, is the infiltration of English lexis into Japanese, which provides the raw material for Japanese learners of English to draw on.

This heterogeneity, combined with other trends and tendencies, has led to a blurring of the division between L1 and L2 in Japan. Because of this context, I will argue that the classroom teacher should not take L2 metaphor as a deficient copy of L1 metaphor, but as evidence of creativity rather than error and the L2 speaker should be considered to be a language creator. This emphasis parallels other linguistic situations in the “expanding circle” of Kachru (1992), suggesting that Japan is not a unique case, but a precursor of the situation in other countries in this expanding circle.

It is a sociological reality that English words and phrases have become, especially in Japanese, part of the language. It is suggested that these loanwords comprise up to 10% of the Japanese lexicon (Daulton, 2008, 2011). The richness of this component is discussed in Kay (1995), who gives an overview of English loanwords, Stanlaw (1987), who provides a historical summary of the roots of English borrowing and Irwin (2011), who presents a systematic review of all foreign borrowings. Barrs (2011) describes the Japanese linguistic landscape as a “landscape of shop signs, street signs, advertising posters, information boards and vending machines [as well as] restaurant menus, product packaging, clothing, newspaper articles, magazine stories and TV advertising” (p. 15) and notes that this landscape is filled with not only borrowing from English and domestic borrowings based in English written in the Roman alphabet, there is also a vast number of borrowings that are generally encoded in the *katakana* script of Japanese.

While all of these words enter the Japanese lexicon with only surface resemblances and little, if any, deep etymological connection to other items in the Japanese lexicon, it is difficult to imagine that they are totally unconnected to any other words or concepts. As an example of how English lexical items can be assimilated into a learner's lexical network, I cite the example of a student who asked me if *benjo* (便所, a traditional Japanese squatting toilet) was related to 'bend', in that this type of toilet has no seat and requires one to squat, or, as she said 'bend your knees'. Learning the lexical item of 'bend' had the student create connections between 'bend' and *benjo*.

This example is one that is singular, to say the least. However, the larger influx of English words into Japanese affects a much wider range of speakers, especially younger speakers. Pierce (1971), writing 45 years ago, listed a figure of 70,000 items listed in a dictionary of Japanese borrowings, with 60% of them being English. Taylor and Taylor (1995) reports data that has the proportion of European loan words in the Japanese vocabulary as 8–10% in the 1960's, and notes that in addition to words that are borrowed because they represent foreign concepts, there is a category of words such as *risuto* ("list") and *rûtsu* ("root") that supplant native words. These words then take on different nuances within the same semantic field. Therefore *untên suru* (運転する) and *doraibu suru* (ドライブする) both mean "to drive", but the first now has the meaning of the physical act of driving a car while the second means to take a short trip for pleasure by car. This addition to the lexicon is supported and supplemented by the use of roman letters mentioned by Barrs (ibid) and Taylor & Taylor (1995), who write:

Some popular magazines and newspapers have European titles written

in the Roman alphabet, such as Focus, DRAGON BALL, and La Seine. Even a magazine for retired people has the English title Walk. Some popular songs listed in Young Song, a supplement to a magazine for youth, have English titles and words. English words can be found in ads, store signs, product names, and company names. In Tokyo, I saw a toy store sign that contained nothing but English: TOY LAND; BF PARTY & ENJOY MARKET; 1F FASHION GOODS FLOOR; 2F AMUSEMENT FLOOR, and so on.

One wonders, Have English words conquered Japan?

(Taylor and Taylor, 1995: 295)

In the next section, I will describe the pedagogical impact caused by the pervasive presence of English in the Japanese linguistic landscape.

1.4 The pedagogical impact

The pervasive presence of English in Japan cannot help but effect the population from which this study is drawn. This component is large enough that there are numerous pedagogical proposals to have learners use these loanwords to develop their own L2 lexicon (Barrs, 2011; Olah, 2007; Daulton, 1999; *inter alia*). Oshima (2002) observes that while Japanese borrowings of English are simply an example of normal language diffusion, the pervasiveness of such borrowings and their usage in popular media does affect English education. McKenzie (2010), in his monograph examining Japanese attitudes towards different varieties of English speech, provides a useful background, discussing both the history of English in the Japanese education system and an overview of the English language media. McKenzie's research found that Japanese were

willing to grant high status to both standard and non-standard varieties of inner circle English while holding varieties from outer and expanding circles in lesser regard. This finding suggests that when metaphoric uses of the imported English lexicon that can be linked, even tenuously, with inner circle examples of usage, this can provide learners with a foothold in producing metaphor in English.

However, there is also a strong reaction to hold to a notion of the Japanese language as standing apart from these trends, despite the unavoidable pressures of internationalization and globalization. Miller (1998) cites Sotoyama's (1985) piece *Watashi no kiraina gairaigo* [Foreign words I hate] as well as Kin's piece in the same journal (1985) entitled *Kanji no yokunai kotoba* [Word that give me a bad feeling]. This attitude is not confined to Japanese, but can also be found among foreigners, many of whom make up a large portion of the population teaching English. Koscielecki (2006) cites an article from a 1970 by a foreign writer that terms it as "linguistic pollution", defined as "the replacement of native Japanese terms with their English equivalents" (p. 28). However, Koscielecki astutely observes that "it is not the English language which manipulates the Japanese cultural context, but Japanese speakers who manipulate and accommodate English and at the same time acculturate English-derived vocabulary" (p. 29). We can see this in the example of TVXQ's "Keep your head down", where an aspect of the metaphor that exists, but is not primary in inner circle countries, comes to be emphasized.

The previously mentioned Kathpalia and Carmel (2011), provide another example of hypercorrection. They examined the use of metaphor to establish textual and illocutionary competence in Singaporean university

students. Because the data was taken from student assignment to complete forms for exchange study opportunities overseas, this could be defined as a ‘real-life’ task for the students. Unfortunately, because of the nature of the assignment, the students were not given any guidance on which metaphors to use, which resulted in what Kathpalia and Carmel term ‘patchwork’ metaphors, where the students metaphors do not connect and their essays lack coherence. In terms of textual competence, the authors assert that 62% of textual metaphors were used incorrectly, and 23% of the texts had no attempt to use metaphor as a textual coherence device. They further observe:

[w]hile the students’ attempt at using metaphors to maintain textual unity in their texts is commendable, they would definitely benefit by working on a core idiom and learning strategies to ‘build up’ the surrounding text with related metaphors and figurative terms to enhance textual unity and coherence.

(ibid, p. 284, emphasis mine)

For illocutionary competence, Kathpalia and Carmel provide several comments on student attempts to employ metaphor for this, which I list :

Illocutionary Competence	Example	Comment
Ideational Function	<i>NTU is everyone's <u>dream fairy godmother</u>, where dreams do come true.</i>	Although the message comes through, the comparisons in the metaphor are confusing (is NTU the fairy godmother or the place where dreams come true?)
Manipulative Function	<i>As a NTU ambassador, I have to carry myself well as people might <u>judge the school</u> by its students.</i>	<i>Judge a book by its cover</i> is a clichéd expression.
Heuristic Function	<i>It's about strong networks here in NTU (<u>Someone's always got your back</u>)</i>	<i>Get off someone's back</i> is often used negatively when you want someone to stop criticizing or pressurizing you. It therefore contradicts the main proposition rather than reinforcing it in this context
Imaginative Function	<i>Most importantly NTU students deliver. Delivering no in the rol of courier services. [Laughter] But by achieving result and labour of hard work at the end of the day.</i>	The attempt at humour through the plan on the word 'deliver' is awkward.

(p. 285)

Even if we keep in mind that these are advanced students, the comments on the examples seem overly harsh. All of these metaphors are novel and innovative. For the first, encouraging the student to consider if *fairy godmother* can be personified as a place would be a preferable intervention. The repurposing of the phrase *judge a book by its cover*, seems inspired. The final example not only reminds us that everyone is a critic, it also underlines that these texts were written as speeches to be delivered, raising the question of which modality is most important. All this suggests that hypercorrection is not confined to Japan, but may be common among countries outside of Kachru's inner circle.

Initial research into metaphor centered around its use in English and

one of the first points raised was whether this tendency to metaphor was not something fundamental to human languages, but simply a cultural characteristic of English language and culture, or more broadly, Western languages and cultures. While metaphor research has found that all languages use metaphor, it is worthwhile to discuss the rich use of metaphor in Japanese, which provides a strong argument for introducing it to low-intermediate learners, which is the topic of the next section.

1.5 Metaphor in Japanese

Japanese students, in addition to having more potential English lexical resources at their disposal, draw on a cultural background that values metaphor and figurative language. Azuma (2005) provides a historical background for metaphor in Japanese, and notes that Japanese literature utilised figurative language extensively but did not have a lexical item corresponding to the notion of metaphor until encountering the Western term in the Meiji era. Alternatively, it could be argued that because metaphor and figurative language were and are so pervasive, it is difficult to identify it as a separate phenomenon.

Azuma assigns the origin for Japanese figurative language labels to Tsubochi Shoyo, a Meiji era author, translator and education for the terminology, who took the terms from a 12th century Chinese text on rhetoric in order to provide translations for western concepts. Tsubochi chose *hiyu* (比喩) as a term that covers all figurative language, including metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and simile. The first character (比) is the most common character for ‘compare’, while the second character (喩) also means compare. The *on yomi*, which is the reading of the character as a Chinese borrowing, is *yu*, but the *kun yomi*, or the reading of the character as a native Japanese word, is *tato-e*, linking it to the character

(例), which is ‘example’. Tsubochi used the second character in *hiyu* in combination with other characters to identify separate categories of figurative language, including *chokuyu* (直喩 simile), *inyu* (隱喩 metaphor) *teiyu* (提喩 synydoche), *inyu* (引喩 allusion) (Tsubochi, 1927/1977) and Azuma notes that while the 2nd and the 4th term share the same pronunciation, they use different Chinese characters (隱 ‘conceal, hide’ vs. 引 ‘draw, pull’). This highlights the affordance of the Japanese language system to create an additional, separate level of metaphor beyond what is available to English speakers. Because the Japanese written system can encode meaning that is sequestered from the spoken system, it is possible to both link and delink these meanings, and the literate writer can easily invoke these in Japanese.

This ability to invoke different images despite the spoken form of the lexical item is also coupled with another interesting feature of Japanese, which is the pervasive presence of onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia can be defined as a word that represents a natural sound. Wilhem von Humboldt, in his work *On Language*, classified such words as ‘directly imitative’ (1840/1988: 73) and following that, most linguistic traditions generally assign onomatopoeic words to a minor classification. However, Japanese onomatopoeia is actually a much more productive category than occurs in Western languages and this can be seen by the fact that in Japanese, it is roughly divided into 3 labeled categories, *giseigo* (擬声語), *giongo* (擬音語) and *gitaigo* (擬態語). The first category, which has the second character as ‘voice’ (声), roughly corresponds to the English notion of onomatopoeia, with words like *nyan* ‘meow’, *buubuu* ‘oink’, *kero* (a frog’s) ‘croak’ and *hibiin* (a horse’s) ‘neigh’. The separate classification of *giongo*, covers sounds generally made by inanimate objects or non-auditory senses, such

as *don* ‘bang’, *gokugoku* ‘gulp’ and *kirakira* ‘shining’. These two categories roughly correspond to English onomatopoeia, but the third category represents a significant expansion, being lexical items that represent psychological states or bodily feelings, some examples being *harahara* ‘angry’, *yoboyobo* ‘wobbly’ (usually from old age) and *dokidoki* ‘excited’. The last example indicates the range of Japanese onomatopoeia, in that *dokidoki* can indicate a heart beating rapidly, or the state of excitement that a heart beating rapidly represents, making it arguably a metaphorical usage. As can be seen by these examples, the category is much larger than the equivalent English category, and these words are generally represented in the *katakana* script, which will be discussed in section 1.6. Onomatopoeia has been argued to be similar to notions of iconicity (Hiraga, et al: 2015), in that the signified and signifier are taken to mirror each other. The connection between the signified and the signifier raises the notion of multimodality.

Multimodality is the term that has been used to discuss the multiple *modes* by which communication is made, with these modes combining to compose a message. While multimodality is argued to be an integral part of all communication, it has only become an area of academic research with the work of Gunther Kress (1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2003). Kress notes that each mode, be it the written text, images, sound, has particular affordances and these modes can “change, through their affordances, the potentials for representational and communicational action by their users” (2003: p. 4). Bessemer and Kress (2008) further suggest that these additional affordances, because they are more accessible to readers, dictate a reexamination of pedagogical principles, of which this thesis is a part of. A full analysis of multimodality is not possible to include here,

but it is important to note that if multimodality is valid (and I believe it is), we must consider ways to present information to students through multiple modes. This is not a new idea, and classroom based practitioners have always striven to provide multiple inputs for learners. However, for metaphor, possibly because it is considered to be reserved for upper level students, multimodal presentations have not been considered.

The idea of multiple modes providing input to the learner can be paralleled with the fact that the learning path(s) through which a Japanese may learn a lexical item are different from that of a native speaker, which will further suggest the introduction of metaphor at a more basic level of language learning.

1.6 Different paths to lexical knowledge

To see how different paths that Japanese may take to learn words can impact the semantic network they have, I would like to discuss some schemes for classifying metaphors. Because there is not scope to discuss even a small portion of the proposed schemes and as Turner (2014) notes, these categorisation schemes that are broadly similar, I will use Deignan (2005: 39) to illustrate some points.

Deignan suggested a four-category classification model for metaphors with the following categories: Innovative (*lollipop trees*), Conventionalised (*grasp an idea*), Dead (*deep* (in the sense of color)) and Historical (*comprehend*). All of the models discussed by Turner draw on the proposals informed by historical linguistics, where language innovation leads to language change and innovations become conventionalised so that eventually, the understanding of the innovation is lost (cf. Sweetser, 1990; Hopper and Closs-Traugott, 1993).

All these categorisations also presume a relatively large and diverse

lexicon that is stable, which is not the case for low-intermediate L2 learners. For L2 learners, as Littlemore and Low point out, these metaphors “can be very much alive if you do not know what they mean, and a translation into your L1 does not resolve the incongruity (Littlemore and Low, 2006³: 272). These categorisation schemes, of which Deignan is an example, are problematic because they are based on “fixed properties of a lexical item and not to its use” (Müller, 2008: 189). This led Müller to argue for a different classification, one of metaphors ‘waking’ and ‘sleeping’. Müller argues that these lexical items can be “activated” and this activation

...simply means that the metaphoricity of a given linguistic expression or conceptual metaphor has had some empirically observable **consequences**, be it in speech or writing (semantic opposition) or in pictures (depiction of source domain) or, as we will see later on, in co-speech gestures (depiction of source domain)

(p. 12, emph. mine)

Müller draws her inspiration from two unpublished dissertations by Kyratzis (2003) and Stibbe (1996) who identified various verbal strategies that Müller terms as “activation indicators” (2008: 190). She also notes that Goatly (1997) suggests a similar set of markers, but only concerns himself with these as phatic markers, generally of puns. The list that Müller provides from Kyratzis is as follows:

- Adverbial modification with adverbs such as *actually*, *really*, *truly*, *literally*
- Repetition
- Change of word class
- Explicit mappings

- Composing, either by the clustering of metaphors from the same source domain or by making a metaphorical-literal juxtaposition
- Elaborating
- Accumulation

(2008: 190-191)

These identifiers are attended to in part because Müller's aim is to identify metaphorical language in the language of L1 speakers, a challenge that also exists for discourse analysis. Müller uses these activation indicators, along with co-verbal gestures, and language that either elaborates or specifies to identify metaphor that are "waking", while other lexical items that are potentially metaphoric without activation indicators are assumed to be sleeping.

Returning to Deignan's classification of metaphor, she uses two related items, *grasp an idea*, and *comprehend*, as examples of Conventionalised metaphor (*grasp an idea*) and Historical metaphor (*comprehend*). *Comprehend* derives from Latin *com-* (together) and *prehend* (to seize). While Deignan places *grasp an idea*, and *comprehend* into two separate categories, it is not clear that they should be divided. Sweetser (1987) refers to both as "possibly the single most productive etymological source-domain for English mental-state verbs... object-manipulation: the mind is a manipulator of thoughts or ideas, which are identified with manipulable objects" (p. 449). While it may be that the naive L1 speaker has no conscious understanding of this connection, we should note that there may exist a great deal of subconscious understanding, not only given the linkage between phrases like 'grasp an idea' and the other phrases that ideas are manipulable objects ("I took an idea from that book", "the idea you gave me was great", or "hold that thought") but also through words such as *apprehend* or even

more distant ones such as *prehensile* or *pry* (in the sense of a *prybar*, an instrument to open something up). This connection, which may or may not be conscious in the mind of the speaker, can be related to Müller's (2008) citation of Weinrich's (1976) suggestion that Western languages have a *Bildfeldgemeinschaft* ("a community of image fields") that link to each other and reinforce each other. While Müller reports that Weinrich does not take the thought further, she adds: "the problem is twofold: how are the assumed realms of metaphorical structures organized on a collective level, and how are the collective structures available on the individual level" (Müller, 2008: 87).

Reviewing how *comprehend* may be understood by Japanese learners of English provides an example of how challenging the problem of determining with any confidence the route by which Japanese speakers understand and interrelate metaphors. While *comprehend* has a potential link to object manipulation for native English speakers, advanced Japanese English speakers I have spoken to often link their understanding of *comprehend* to *comprehensive*, a word which appears in the title of several popular dictionaries, with the meaning of assembling all possible words. Comprehensive would be translated as *houkatsu-teki* (包括的), with the first character *tsutsumu* meaning "envelop, wrap", which also has an extended sense of comprehend in Japanese. The more common word for understand would be *wakaru* (分かる) which is etymologically linked to *waku* (分く) and means "divide, separate" in the sense of breaking things down into their component parts, so it makes sense that these relatively advanced Japanese English speakers might have a sense of *comprehend* as "gathering together all the assembled pieces". While it may be possible to tease out the differences through psycholinguistic experiments, the

classroom teacher is more likely to be successful if he or she embraces *comprehensive* as the way to have students remember *comprehend*. While this connection is between English and Japanese, within the Japanese language itself, there are categories of lexical items, *gairaigo* and *wasei-eigo*, which the Japanese learner can draw on and the next section will discuss those categories.

1.7 Gairaigo and wasei-eigo: Types of loan words and their potential for exploitation in the language classroom

The *comprehend/comprehensive* connection is one example of how structured information that is different from the lexicon of the L1 speaker can be accessible to the L2 learner but invisible if we take the organization of the L1 lexicon as the final model. Loanwords provide another example, and while all languages have loanwords, their presence in Japanese is notable for several reasons related to particular language specific aspects of the language.

In Japanese, there is a separate identified category of foreign loanwords called *gairaigo* (外来語 or ‘outside-arrival-word’) that are primarily borrowed from English or from other European languages rather than from Old or Middle Chinese. Japanese has three written scripts, *kanji* (Chinese ideographs), *hiragana* (syllabic characters used for native words for which there are no *kanji* as well as grammatical particles) and *katakana* (a second set of syllabic characters corresponding to *hiragana*) and it is in this third script that *gairaigo* is generally written, with a few older terms written in *kanji*; this latter is known as *ateji*. As mentioned in section 4.4, Japanese onomatopoeia is written in *katakana*, but outside of this, *katakana* is almost exclusively used for foreign borrowings, potentially making them more salient.

This salience has an impact on the learner. Brown 1995 found that Japanese students could much more easily define English words that had a *gairaigo* equivalent as opposed to English words that had not been borrowed. Struc and Wood (2015) cite Uchida (2001) showing that junior high school subjects, when presented with unknown L2 words, could identify about half of the L1-L2 correspondences. Daulton (2009) suggests the tendency to use *gairaigo* is supported by the fact that indigenous words typically have *kanji*, which require further memorization, and increasing the load on memory. Furthermore, rather than being borrowings that may have extended usages in the language, Oshima (2003) argues that “*gairaigo* is an integral part of Japanese” (p. 157). While there are those who feel that *gairaigo* is problematic (cf. Daulton, 2009), opinion is coalescing around a position that *gairaigo* can be beneficial because young people have a positive attitude towards it and because it reduces the cognitive load of memorizing new lexical items (Kawauchi, 2014).

In addition to *gairaigo*, there is a second category that is distinct, but difficult for the average Japanese learner to separate, that of *wasei-eigo* (literally “Japanese-made English”). These are also written in the *katakana script* and while these terms are Japanese expressions that often derive from *gairaigo*, because of Japanese phonological processes, either have a totally novel meaning or are no longer recognisable by native English speakers. For example, “remote control”, when transcribed in Japanese, becomes *rimōto kontorōru*, but this has then been simplified to *rimokon*, making it opaque to English speakers.

When we confine our discussion to lexical items, it is relatively simple to explain to learners the process by which “remote control” becomes *rimokon* (Miller, 1998). However, with the introduction of figurative

language, the connection between the idealized L1 speaker's semantic network and that of the L2 learner's developing network becomes much more complicated. In the next section, I will discuss a second example of *wasei eigo* and discuss how that helps understand this.

1.8 Figurative language and Japanese borrowings

As an example of *wasei eigo* carrying a figurative meaning, we can consider the example of *reberu appu* ("level up"), which means to improve in an ability or a skill, and probably derives from video games where the player status increases in 'levels'. The temptation for the classroom teacher would probably be to discourage usage, but a google ngram search reveals an example of the phrase in the following passage from 1875:

When the Granger movement was started it was said by one of the leading orators, that they proposed to "level up" the famers as a class. We should endeavor to "level up" our profession, by our efforts to keep each department to its highest grade.

(Annual Journal of the Illinois State Dental Society, 1875: 123)

In addition, the phrase exhibits the same sort of language process that the recent English phrase "man up" (to act like a man, to behave in an appropriately masculine way') does (Zimmer, 2010).

These loanwords enter the lexicon and pose a particular problem for metaphor research in that it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for the metaphorical images that are behind these words. To illustrate this, let us consider the example of *level up/reberu appu*. The application of the notion of "level" to skill would be something that clearly qualifies as an example where MORE IS UP, and in English, we have phrases such as the

following:

- I'm not at his level yet, so that's going to be difficult.
- This may affect his level of play.
- I think you need to move to the next level.

Clearly, in English, there is a metaphorical movement from level as a location in space to level as an abstract measurement of skill or ability. It is entrenched enough that it can be posed ironically, so the Peter Principle is a description of how people “rise to the level of their incompetence”, with the notion that it is often easier to promote someone who is poor at a job than to actually get rid of them (Peter & Hull, 2011). While English speakers and Japanese speakers have access to a vaguely similar notion of “level”, how should the classroom teacher approach this? It may be that the student has acquired some aspects of the English lexical item ‘level’, though if the student connects it with the lexical item *reberu appu*, it will be on a case-by-case basis.

In discussing the semantic networks of Japanese students L2 lexis, we would be tasking teacher-practitioners to try and effectively isolate and describe the metaphorical images they have acquired, which, given the influx of English words into the language, would require more or less individually researching the background of each item as well as the language learning experiences of each participant. This is clearly not possible. The students in this study have had anywhere from 6–9 years of English study or more, this period of English study also has an impact on how they may learn L2 metaphor (or not). In the next section, I will briefly review the Japanese English education system, especially in regard to writing instruction.

1.9 L2 and L1 Writing instruction in Japan

For the overwhelming majority of Japanese students, and for the subjects of this research, English, in particular writing, is primarily acquired through instruction through the school system. This is a powerful influence on the writing production of Japanese students. In this section, I will first briefly outline the English education system in Japan, especially as it pertains to writing. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the writing education for Japanese in order to identify areas that this thesis will deal with.

1.9.1 L2 Writing instruction in Japan

English instruction has been a compulsory subject since the Meiji Restoration as part of Japan's modernization. English was held in such a regard that Arinori Mori, the first Minister of Education proposed in 1872 that Japanese be abolished and English be made the national language of Japan (Hall, 1973). The Second World War brought a reaction against English, but with Japan's surrender and the Allied occupation, the high socio-linguistic status of English resumed (Coulmas, 2002). With the Occupation, an American 6-3-3-4 system was adopted and English instruction was required from the first year of junior high school. While English is technically an elective in high school, the absence of other foreign language courses makes it a de facto requirement (Glasgow and Paller, 2016).

The Roman alphabet is taught in elementary school, using the so-called "Cabinet-style romanization" which is the official standard for romanisation of Japanese, but in junior high school, teaching shifts to the "Hepburn-style", which better reflects English in regards to consonants. With the Hepburn system, students are taught basic English, with the required

vocabulary they are required to learn by the end of junior high school at currently at about 1200 words, raised from 900 words in 2012 (Tahira, 2012). Students are expected to acquire this vocabulary after a total of 140 class-hours. This is roughly between three and four hours a week of English classes. Mirroring a push in other East Asian countries, English has entered primary education, which Takeshita (2010) reporting that over 95% of primary schools had English activities in 2007. English was introduced as a required subject in the fifth and sixth grades of elementary school in 2011, with plans to move it to third and fourth grades by 2020 (MEXT, n.d.). However no changes have been made to the junior high school curriculum to adjust to this additional instruction. At the end of junior high school, students take entrance examinations to be streamed into high schools. (Tahira, 2012)

After entering high school, students continue to study English through Ministry of Education (now known as MEXT) approved textbooks. While there has been, since the 80's, moves to support communicative language teaching, this has primarily been emphasized in oral communication classes, and writing pedagogy still often uses an approach called *yakudoku* (grammar translation) which features line-by-line Japanese-English translation exercises, with a detailed grammatical explanations of these isolated sentence translations (Gorsuch, 1998). In Nishino (2012), Japanese secondary teachers were surveyed on the possibility of employing Communicative Language Teaching in classes, and the responses indicated that only oral communication classes were considered as possible locations for such teaching.

In terms of vocabulary, by the end of high school, students are expected to know approximately 1800 words (Tahira, 2012). However, this

knowledge is not connected to writing and Gilfert, Niwa and Sugiyama (1999) note that “‘English composition’ in Japanese high-schools usually means the translation of English into Japanese, and not communicative writing.” This absence of writing instruction is also seen in entrance examinations for university. While Benoit (2002) claims that an increasing number of universities are adding Free English Compositions (FEC) to their exams, only a tiny minority ask for essays of 200 to 300 words, while the majority ask for single paragraphs of less than 50 words.

After students have been streamed into universities, there is no overall high stakes testing of English. This creates a situation quite different from other countries, where a graduation from university in degrees related to language would require some demonstration of competence and proficiency. With increasing globalization and internationalization, this has led to a number of MEXT proposals and reforms. The most recent is the intention to have classes conducted in English beginning in lower secondary school with the goal of having students by upper secondary school be able to “[n]urture the ability to understand abstract contents for a wide range of topics and the ability to fluently communicate with English speaking persons”(MEXT, n.d.). While the subjects of this thesis are university students, the proposals and recommendations for teaching metaphor could also apply for students within compulsory education, given particular weaknesses in L1 writing instruction, which is the topic of the next section.

1.9.3 L1 Writing instruction in Japan

Because this thesis suggests that student L1 metaphoric competence can be utilised as a basis to teach longer form writing, an examination of the L1 writing education for Japanese students is in order. Japanese

students in primary education are often asked to write journals in Japanese from grade 1, and much of this writing serves the dual aims of both improving student composition abilities, and learning the basic *kanji* (Chinese characters). Elementary students are expected to know 1006 *kanji* when they finish elementary school and know the entire *joyo kanji* (“regular-use Chinese characters”) list, which totals 2,136, the bulk of which must be learned by the end of junior high school. So learning to ‘write’ has a double meaning, writing the Japanese ideographs and writing grammatically correct Japanese. This state of affairs translates to an effective lack of L1 writing instruction, in the Western sense, in high school. Both Gilfert, Niwa and Sugiyama (1999) and Mulvey (1999) point out, English classes at the high school level are covert opportunities to teaching Japanese grammar. Mulvey (2016) reports that according to Ministry of Education surveys, only one fifth of L1 writing classes regularly assign essays, and two fifths report minimal essay writing over the course of an academic year. While there are some Japanese writing textbooks that have essay models for students, the same Ministry figures report that less than 20% use a textbook in their writing classes. Typical Japanese L1 writing instruction, which is devoted to learning difficult Chinese characters, studying classical Japanese idioms and studying and translating classical Japanese literature to modern Japanese, puts very little emphasis on what we in the West would term ‘writing instruction’. This is reinforced by Hirose (2003) who writes that “[i]n regard to L1 writing instruction, Japanese students do not generally receive any formal L1 expository or academic writing instruction at any level of Japanese education” (p. 183). Kobayashi and Rinnert (2002) suggest that this view is not totally accurate, based on in-depth interviews with 21 Japanese

university students about their third year tuition for university entrance, noting 76% of those students report they had additional tutoring, primarily for two public universities that required essays for admission. Both Hirose and Mulvey acknowledge this, but add the proviso that the teaching is generally done by the students' *tannin* (home room teacher), a job that is assigned on a rotational basis, and these classes have no set curriculum. The aim of such instruction is to simply produce an essay that will allow them to fulfil the entrance requirements for the university of their choice, which is why almost all the students surveyed by Kobayashi and Rinnert had individual tutoring for these essays rather than additional classes: Rather than teaching principles of writing, what was taught was how to write an essay for the university the student hopes to enter. This has Kobayashi and Rinnert overestimate the influence such classes might have on student L1 writing ability, which in turn overestimates the impact it may have on L2 writing ability. The need for students to have individual 'cramming' for test preparation along with a general lack of L1 writing ability has led MEXT to observe that students have severe weaknesses in critical thinking and writing organisation (MEXT, 2004). The results, according to MEXT, are multiple areas of L1 weaknesses, particularly an inability to think critically as measured by the organization of L1 writing. This context suggests an approach to L2 composition for low-intermediate students that takes these weaknesses into account.

1.9.4 Identifying lacunae in writing instruction

As the previous two sections illustrate, the students in this study have a relatively small amount of writing instruction in L2 with Hirose (*ibid*) noting that "Japanese students' experience [in L2 writing] is practically non-existent" (p. 184). In addition, the subjects have little writing

instruction in their L1 to draw on. This absence of experience with both L1 and L2 longer forms suggests any emphasis on contrastive rhetoric, a field beginning with Kaplan (1966), is misplaced for this group of subjects, who have relatively little experience with longer forms of writing. The challenge for them, and for the teacher-practitioner, is to develop methods of prompting longer form writing from students.

A further advantage is that Japanese university students are not in a situation where they need to prepare for high stakes testing that could dictate what they are taught and what they must learn. While this may limit the applicability of the research here in terms of higher education, it also allows us to consider metaphor from a less prescriptive viewpoint and consider student creativity (Maybin and Swann, 2007; Tin, 2011) and learner autonomy (Little, 2007; Lamb and Reinders, 2002).

In this study, I will suggest that using complex metaphors for a basis for longer form writing assignments. The idea of using complex metaphors as a foundation for writing has not, to my knowledge, been put forth in the L2 writing literature, which is examined in the next section.

1.9.5 L2 Writing research

It is difficult to categorise research into L2 writing, which, while wide-ranging and growing at an incredible pace, has had difficulty identifying “foundational concepts” to organize writing curricula (Leki et al., 2008). This is unsurprising as there are a variety of policy contexts and populations for L2 writing and the purposes of instruction can vary dramatically. A further influence is the minor role that writing has been assumed to play in L2 acquisition research (Pollio, 2015; Williams, 2012). For generative approaches that argue for a mental representation of the language, writing, because it can be both planned in advance and

modified in response to external information, is rarely taken as reflection of competence in the generative tradition.

Byrnes (2011) presents an additional distinction that bears noting here. Byrnes, writing about the teaching of German language composition in an American university, observes that the field of L2 writing primarily encompasses English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and is tilted towards the former. In studies that look at both heterogenous ESL groups and more homogeneous EFL groups (Sasaki, 2000, 2002; Serrano and Howard, 2007), they find a difference between the two groups, so this must be taken into account when considering L2 writing research.

Linguistic theories generally arise from L1 data, and L2 metaphor studies still exhibit a strong L1 bias. While the labels EFL (English as a Foreign Language), ESL (English as a Second Language) and TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages) are often applied with little rigour or care, studies of learner produced metaphor are concentrated among those learning English in contexts where the linguistic landscapes vary dramatically, but these contexts are often grouped together as 'learner metaphor studies', despite the large differences, in that some groups had a high enough proficiency to receive instruction in L2 while other groups were limited by their lack of L2 proficiency. This thesis deals with specifically with the context of EFL in Japan and learners who lack L2 proficiency and will make recommendations specifically about that context, but for simplicity's sake, I will depend on context to situate the use of the term L2.

For functional approaches (of which an discussion of metaphor must be placed), as opposed to generative approaches to SLA, Pollio (*ibid*)

observes that they are “more difficult to characterise” (p. 321), in terms of their relationship with L2 writing pedagogy. There is, with one notable exception, no agreed upon conception of what L2 writing means for the respective constructs of language competence in functional approaches. The one exception to this is the adoption of theories of genre, which grow out of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as a foundation for L2 writing curricula. This genre-based approach (also referred to as text-based) is often termed the “Sydney school” (Johns, 2002) and, as the name suggests, is predominant in Australia, New Zealand and the UK. On the other hand, a content-based model (also known as theme-based) is generally found in US-based curricula (Hinkel, 2012). Japan has been strongly influenced by American English and models of education, so the content or theme based approach is often targeted. However, moves in Japan to Content-Based Instruction (CBI) or Content and Learning Integrated Instruction (CLIL) are stymied by the lack of content teachers who can comfortably teach in English, so L2 language instruction, especially in L2 writing, is most often taught as a separate subject rather than integrated into content teaching. While this thesis makes recommendations for the particular context of Japan, the division of L2 teaching as separate from content teaching is the general case for East Asia, hopefully making these recommendations applicable to areas outside of Japan.

Another useful division in L2 writing research is described by Hinkel (2011). She distinguishes between studies of morphosyntax, lexical features and collocation of L2 text, which are typically quantitative and L2 discourse and text structure, which is typically qualitative. In this thesis, I will try to invert these by presenting a quantitative study to measure aspects of latter and examining aspects of collocation in the qualitative

portion.

Previous studies of L2 produced metaphor suffer from this emphasis on lexis. For example, exactly what is being examined in L2 learner produced metaphor when high stakes test scripts are evaluated is not completely clear. This is especially true if novel figurative language is taken as aberrant by those grading such tests. Nacey 2013, Turner 2014 and Littlemore et al., 2014 all analyse and compare the written production from non-native speaker test scripts to native speaker test scripts in situations where the time pressure presumably makes it more a reflection of competence rather than performance. This is not to argue that using test scripts such as these is wrong. However, a reliance on materials produced by testing assumes that instructional presentation of metaphor is adequate and appropriate, which is not the case.

Pollio (ibid.) suggests five ‘core issues’ related to the acquisition of L2 writing: Models of L2 writing, longitudinal language development, writing tasks variables, the relevance of the written medium to SLA, and the role of error correction. The suggestions made in this thesis for L2 writing touch on all of these to some extent, so it would be useful to review these issues in order to gain a picture of what a proposal of metaphor-based writing would gain. For models of L2 writing, Pollio observes that there have been no proposed models of L2 writing that have made a great impact on L2 writing research, which she attributes to the difficulty in creating a comprehensive model. She does note that most models do not illustrate the linguistic knowledge involved, which is a central concern when we discuss metaphor.

Hyland (2011) provides an overview of the more traditional *learning-to-write* perspective, which assumes that writing can be taught as a

decontextualised skill. In contrast to this approach is the newer *writing-to-learn* approach (Manchón, 2011) which argues that L2 learners can write in order to assist in their language development. This idea can be traced back to Emig (1977), who, drawing on Piaget and Vygotsky first proposed that writing has a “unique value for learning” (p. 127). She examined the writing processes of L1 high school students, and while Emig’s work is now recognised as ground-breaking, her research met with a great deal of resistance, with the eighth of her ten PhD advisors telling her that “being interested in how children write is not unlike being interested in how cripples skate” (Emig, quoted in Nelms, 2012). While the resistance to teaching low-intermediate students in areas of content when they still suffer from simple mechanical errors is perhaps not as forceful, it still underlies a great deal of L2 writing instruction. Contra to that viewpoint, I will argue that utilizing conceptual metaphors as prompts and encouraging their use as content will ultimately benefit the learners.

Therefore, the ultimate goal is to use material that is fundamentally based on metaphoric content in order to induce the production of metaphor by students, based around the metaphors in the prompts. This use of figurative language will, in turn, aid the students improve the organization of their longer form writing and in developing textual competence, which is tied to their metaphoric competence. The ideal is to develop a practice based approach that avoids the pitfalls of previous approaches to improve metaphoric competence. Multimodality is the notion that multiple *modes* are utilized in communication, with these modes combining to compose a message. The initial insight into this was based on metaphor and the next section will present some ways to use metaphor in the writing class.

1.10 Using metaphor in the writing class: An example and conclusions

In this final section, I will discuss my initial attempts to use metaphor as the basis for a writing class conducted at a small public university in the south of Japan. The course was specifically aimed at increasing writing fluency and competence in writing English essays, and contained 11 2nd year students, 9 females and two males, from the Department of English Literature. The average score for the students at the beginning of the year on the TOEIC test was 500, which suggests that the students are B1 on the CEFR scale. The written can-do statement for B1 on the CEFR scale is described as “Can produce simple connected texts on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans” and is labeled as “Independent-threshold”.

While I have used materials related to metaphor in previous classes, for this class, every assignment had some relationship to metaphor. Because there is not space to discuss all of the materials, I will just present a small selection of materials. In the initial class, students were given a presentation on metaphor and asked them to translate the opening passage from Matsuo Basho's 奥の細道 (*Oku no hosomichi: The Narrow Road to the Deep North*)

月日は百代の過客にして、行かふ年も又旅人也。舟の上に生涯をうかべ馬の口とらえて老をむかふる物は、日々旅にして、旅を栖とす。古人も多く旅に死せるあり。予もいづれの年よりか、片雲の風にさそはれて、漂泊の思ひやまず、海浜にさすらへ、

They were allowed to use dictionaries, but were discouraged from using translation software. In addition, the students were asked as an additional

homework assignment to write their self introduction. In the next class, the students were presented with 9 different translations of the passage (included in Appendix 1) and were asked to discuss the translations in groups and understand the underlying metaphor which Basho employed, that of LIFE IS A JOURNEY (The metaphors used in this work and other works by Basho are detailed in Hiraga (2005)). This served as an introduction to a further discussion of JOURNEY metaphors, drawing on Picken's (2007) work and his use of Robert Frost's *Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening*. The students were then asked to rewrite their self introductions as journey metaphors.

All of this acted as an extended introduction to the course, in which all of the assignments were based on complex metaphors. The assignments can be divided into 2 groups. Two-thirds of the assignments were asking students to describe music videos. These were cast in the form of reviews, asking the student to give their opinion and support it with evidence from either the song or the video. Initially, students were given a copy of the lyrics and asked to listen to the song. Then, the students were given the opportunity to watch the music video. Students were then given a youtube link to the video and encouraged to watch it more times in order to write their essay.

Placing this in the framework of multimodality, students could respond to the written mode (the lyrics of the song), the visual mode (images and story of the music video), and/or the aural mode (the music of the song). Here are some examples of the three types of responses (all uncorrected).

Written mode

This song starts from her talking. That is a summary of this song, but the song would be deeper. When I listened this song first time, I didn't know

who you are. You can be her boyfriend, her parents, her friends, or someone she's in trouble.

In line 14 to 16, "I was under a spell like a deadly fear I am, babe on the highway to hell", she expresses how dangerous the love with her boyfriend was. As she said, she was weak and didn't have any confidence, but she became stronger than before, and she could escape and be freedom.

Visual mode

In the music video, there are scenes, she is in the box wearing like black clothes, and this means that she cannot get out of despairing because of his betrayal.

Then, there is a scene which various things crush and smash to pieces. This means that it express their unrecoverable relationship.

It is also notable that students often tied the Written and Visual modes together

In line of 1 of this song, the sentence has a metaphor. I think that diving into frozen waves means deep sadness. The video of this song also express this feelings. The beginning of the video start at desert. I expect that desert also means someone can't escape from the deeply sadness. This lyrics and the video are linked well, so I could imagine the scene easily.

Though much less common, there were comments about the Aural mode

I feel that contrary to the up-tempo, the lyrics are very heartbreaking.

Once you listened to Clarity, you'll addictive it. There are some techniques and productive in the song to attract people's interests. If you watch and listen this music video again and again, you would realize the other meanings of the words.

As a teacher, most rewarding was when students were able to draw some conclusions about the song that drew on a number of different sources.

According to a dictionary, "clarity" means clearness or lucidity as to perception or understanding; freedom from indistinctness or ambiguity. Then, why did he choose this word as the title? As I mentioned above, Zedd told us that a couple could make up after fighting in this song, so I thought that he compared a clarity with a couple's love. Even if they quarrel, they can make up, and their love never gets muddy. Therefore, I thought the title of this song was Clarity because a couple's love was a clarity.

I think this song's theme is liberation from a spell. The protagonist makes up her mind to leave her partner and goes her own way. Now she can live true to herself.

In addition to these assignments, a second set of more straightforward essay assignments such as 'my school life as a sports match' or asking students to explain color metaphors in Japanese were assigned. While

these were also based on metaphors, students asked to give more attention to more traditional aspects of essay writing.

Students were asked to write more than in previous classes, and it was challenging to keep up with corrections and suggestions, both from the student and the teacher's standpoint, with several students saying that though they enjoyed the class, they thought the assignment burden was too much. However, the scores on the post class student survey were, compared to previous classes, much higher. This could be attributed to the interest that the classroom teacher had in metaphor and having that interest communicated to students, but, purely anecdotally, I felt that there was much more to engage with students and the writing that students produced was richer and certainly more enjoyable to read. I hope to continue using metaphor to work with students and in this research program, the next step is to provide a quantitative analysis of the student writing, which is in progress now.

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Appendix 1

Days and months are travellers of eternity. So are the years that pass by. Those who steer a boat across the sea, or drive a horse over the earth till they succumb to the weight of years, spend every minute of their lives travelling. There are a great number of ancients, too, who died on the road. I myself have been tempted for a long time by the cloud-moving wind — filled with a strong desire to wander.

Translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa

(The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches, 1966)

Moon and sun are passing figures of countless generations, and years coming or going wanderers too. Drifting life away on a boat or meeting age leading a horse by the mouth, each day is a journey and the journey itself home. Amongst those of old were

many that perished upon the journey. So — when was it — I, drawn like blown cloud, couldn't stop dreaming of roaming, roving the coast up and down, back at the hut last fall by the river side...

Translated by Cid Corman and Kamaike Susumu

(Back Roads to Far Towns, 1968)

The months and days are the wayfarers of the centuries and as yet another year comes round, it, too, turns traveler. Sailors whose lives float away as they labor on boats, horsemen who encounter old age as they draw the horse around once more by the bit, they also spend their days in travel and make their home in wayfaring. Over the centuries many famous men have met death on the way; and I, too, though I do not know what year it began, have long yielded to the wind like a loosened cloud and, unable to give up my wandering desires, have taken my way along the coast.

Translated by Earl Miner

(The Narrow Road Through the Provinces, in Japanese Poetic Diaries, 1969)

The passing days and months are eternal travellers in time. The years that come and go are travellers too. Life itself is a journey; and as for those who spend their days upon the waters in ships and those who grow old leading horses, their very home is the open road. And some poets of old there were who died while travelling.

(A Haiku Journey: Bashô's Narrow Road to a Far Province, 1980)

The months and days are the travelers of eternity. The years that come and go are also voyagers. Those who float away their lives on ships or who grow old leading horses are forever journeying, and their homes are wherever their travels take them. Many of the men of old died on the road, and I too for years past have been stirred by the sight of a solitary cloud drifting with the wind to ceaseless thoughts of roaming.

Translated by Donald Keene (The Narrow Road to Oku, 1996)

The months and days are wayfarers of a hundred generations, and the years that come and go are also travelers. Those who float all their lives on a boat or reach their old age leading a horse by the bit make travel out of each day and inhabit travel. Many in the past also died while traveling. In which year it was I do not recall, but I, too, began to be lured by the wind like a fragmentary cloud and have since been unable to resist wanderlust, roaming out to the seashores.

Translated by Hiroaki Sato
(Bashō's Narrow Road, 1996)

The moon and sun are eternal travelers. Even the years wander on. A lifetime adrift in a boat, or in old age leading a tired horse into the years, every day is a journey, and the journey itself is home. From the earliest times there have always been some who perished along the road. Still I have always been drawn by wind-blown clouds into dreams of a lifetime of wandering.

Translated by Sam Hamill
(Narrow Road to the Interior and Other Writings, a.k.a. The Essential Bashō, 1998)

The days and months are travellers of eternity, just like the years that come and go. For those who pass their lives afloat on boats, or face old age leading horses tight by the bridle, their journeying is life, their journeying is home. And many are the men of old who met their end upon the road.

How long ago, I wonder, did I see a drift of cloud borne away upon the wind, and ceaseless dreams of wandering become aroused?

Translated by Tim Chilcott
(The Narrow Road to the Deep North, 2004)

The sun and the moon are eternal voyagers; the years that come and go are travelers too. For those whose lives float away on boats, for those who greet old age with hands clasping the lead ropes of horses, travel is life, travel is home. And many are the men of old who have perished as they journeyed.

I myself fell prey to wanderlust some years ago, desiring nothing better than to be a vagrant cloud scudding before the wind.

Translated by Helen Craig McCullough

(Narrow Road of the Interior, in Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology, 1990)