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Good Foreign Language Learners:
A Case Study on the Graduates of Sapporo Agricultural College 1880-1885

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GOOD FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNERS: A CASE STUDY ON THE GRADUATES OF SAPPORO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE 1880-1885

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赤石恵一氏の博士論文刊行に寄せて

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神奈川大学大学院出版の『言語と文化論集』に外国語学研究科の推薦で、赤石恵一氏の博士論文が掲載されることになり、博士論文審査主査として研究科に感謝を述べるとともに、長年この研究に従事してきた赤石氏に対してお祝いを申し上げたい。以下、この貴重な紙面をお借りし、赤石氏の博士論文完成に至る経緯と博士論文の評論の一部を紹介したい。

赤石恵一氏は、博士課程後期三年間、神奈川大学英語英文学会で発表した成果を外部学会誌『日本英語教育史研究』などに投稿掲載した実績を持つ。第一編は、2008 年 2 月『日本大学大学院総合情報研究科紀要 8』に掲載された「札幌農学校のイマージョン・プログラム : 1・2 期卒業生英語学習の軌跡」である。この論文で札幌農学校 1・2 期生の学習履歴を生い立ちから札幌農学校まで収集し、彼らの学習履歴に共通する 5 項目の特徴を提示し、膨大な文献を精査した。第二編は、2009 年 5 月『日本英語教育史研究 24』掲載の「札幌農学校教授 J.C. Cutter とその英語英文学講義」である。ここでは、札幌農学校初期のカリキュラムを再考し、現在確認されている講義録 50 冊あまりを精査し、J.C. Cutter の講義内容とその影響について議論した。特に赤石氏の発見した講義ノートは、本テーマの研究に多大な貢献をしたと評価される。第三編は『日本英語教育史研究 25』掲載の「札幌農学校初期卒業生における Shakespeare 劇抜粋集」である。赤石氏は初期卒業生の講義録を精査中、新たにシェイクスピア劇抜粋集 2 冊を発見した。本論文は、それらの劇抜粋集と先行研究で扱われている台詞を照合し、どのような経緯で、何の目的でシェイクスピア劇抜粋集が作られたかを論じたもので、英学史への功績が大きい。

赤石氏は日本大学で提出した日本語による修士論文に、上記の学会誌で発表した論文を加え、何度も推敲を重ね、2009 年 9 月神奈川大学大学院に英文による博士論文として提出した。その論文は、外国語学研究科設立以来、英語英文学専攻で提出された二人目の博士論文で、しかも三年間で博士論文を完成できたのは、副査の日本大学伊藤典子教授、以下神奈川大学伊藤克敏名誉教授、石井美樹子教授、デビッド・アリン教授の温かいご助言とご指導の賜物と深く感謝している。次に、赤石氏の博士論文に対する評論の一部を紹介する。

本研究は札幌農学校卒業生の英語学習に関する「長期的文献観察による事例研究」で、彼らの社会的背景、学習暦、学習記録と教師の評価を基に、就学前から札幌農学校時代、さらに卒業後にまでに渡り、卒業生の英語学習に関する要因を記述、分析し、最後に「外国語学習成功者」に関する所見を提示した優れた論文である。この研究の独自性は、1）研究方法として、第二言語習得研究の「長期観察による（または「縦断的研究」とも呼ばれる）方法論を採用しながら、「歴史文献学の方法論」を言語習得、特に学習法方略研究に応用した点。2）上記の歴史的資料を十分かつ深く掘り下げ調査し、現代の言語習得理論で解釈した点。卒業生の英語学習への動機づけと彼らが到達した高度な英語力の要因を認知心理学や第二言語習得理論、特に「言語学習成功者」研究の理論的枠組みの中で議論した。3）漢詩学習における素読のオリジナルな効用性を指摘した点。素読は漢字力の増加につながり、また漢学の講読方略が英語学習における方略に応用でき、「学術的言語能力」を高め、結果的に「共有基底言語能力」の発達を促し、英語能力の基礎となると主張した。4）札幌農学校におけるインプットとアウトプットの融合効果とこの学習環境の下での学習成功者の要因を指摘した点。イマージョン教育では農業、歴史、文学に関する講義を通し、多量のインプットに触れ、またスピーチやディベート、論文作成を通し、多量のアウトプットを体験する環境の中で外国語学習成功者に必要な条件を浮き彫りにした。

以上の論文評価をもって、本論文が博士（文学）の学位を授与するのに

十分値する内容となっていると認められ、今回の博士論文刊行に至った。最後に、この博士論文の出版を機会に赤石氏が英語教育の専門家としてさらに飛躍すること、又彼に続く後輩が彼を目標として研究に励むことを願いながら、論文評論と出版祝いの言葉とする。

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1. INTRODUCTION

1-1. Motivations

The impetus for the present study emerged from the ideas presented in a series of previous research that claimed that a group of students in the early Meiji era in Japan had been successful in learning English as a foreign language (EFL) (e.g., Kawasumi, 1978**; Ota, 1995**).[1] Ota (1995**) called this competent group "the generation of English masters" (p. 94, trans. by the present author). The masters were highly evaluated by native speakers too: Reischauer and Jansen (1995**), in their book about Japanese history and culture, stated that "(m)any young Japanese leaders came to speak adequate even if sometimes quaint English and wrote elegant letters in a beautiful Spenserian hand" (p. 388). Even some foreigners staying in Japan during that time commented on that generation's advanced English ability, often in wonder (e.g., Morse, 1917a**).

> The dear old Samurai who first initiated the present writer into the mysteries of the Japanese language, wore a queue and two swords. This relic of feudalism now sleeps in Nirvana. His modern successor, fairly fluent in English, and dressed in a serviceable suit of dittos, might almost be European, save for a certain obliqueness of the eyes and scantiness of beard. Old things pass away between a night and a morning. (Chamberlain, 1905/2007**, p. 1)

The period, "early Meiji," specifically refers to the first 18 years (1867-1885) before the Imperial University Ordinance (*Teikoku Daigaku Rei* in Japanese), was promulgated in 1886, which served to settle the direction, not only of the educational system but of social

standards from that time to the present. In fact it was only during such a short, so to speak, transition period that the *good language learners* (GLLs), or "masters", abovementioned appeared (Ota, 1995**).

The study of second language learning (SLL), however, might be too new and progressive to look back to the past, though some researchers mentioned that most of the teaching methods, programs, or *language learning strategies* (LLSs) must have been adopted for thousands of years before modern study formally named them (Krashen & Terrell, 1988; Oxford, 1990a; Swain & Johnson, 1997).[2] This suggests that there could be more findings or insights in the past than expected. For example, *immersion programs*[3] were popularly conducted in Japan in the 1870s to 1880s—almost corresponding to the early Meiji era—about 100 years before the one was experimentally adopted in Montreal in Canada (see Lambert & Tucker, 1972), which is frequently cited as the first modern trial. Although many historians and linguists in Japan have known about the existence of the GLLs in the early Meiji era, they have not sufficiently paid scientific attention to this heritage from the perspective of SLL, probably for two reasons: First, it takes a great deal of time to gather enough data to construct persuasive interpretations, and second, it is simply the past where the GLLs belonged; that is, "they [some savants] consider the epoch in which we live as separated from its predecessors by contrasts so clear as to be self-explanatory" (Bloch, 1949/1954, p. 32).

Although the present might not necessarily be seen as linearly accumulated, it is a product of, and heavily influenced by, the past. If there appears to be a divide between the present and the past, and if there is anything that has been forgotten, it can be worth shedding present light on and rebuilding lost knowledge. Any objects seemingly worth examining from the past, if threads of reliable documents still

remain, are valuable to study even now. As Gaddis (2002) stated, "(w)e know the future only by the past we project into it" (p. 3).

The present study is thus motivated to find old keys that will assist modern GLL study, which seeks partly to answer the following questions posed in Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern, and Todesco (1978).

> All forms of language teaching could be greatly improved if we had a better understanding of the language learner and of the language learning process itself. What is happening to learners in language classes? Why is it that some are successful and others fail? (p. 1)

1-2. Literature Review: Study on Good Language Learners

It is conceivable that the modern study of GLLs originated from a series of studies on aptitude—mainly by J. B. Carroll (see the outline in Carroll, 1981)—in the 1960s, when many researchers were searching for a universal best teaching method. It is perhaps the maturity and impasse of the study of teaching methods, or "an increased recognition of the diversity of teaching contexts and goals" (Savignon, 2006, p. 14), that raised awareness concerning learner-centeredness, individual differences of learners, and *language learning variables* (LLVs) (e.g., Bialystock & Fröhlich, 1978; H. D. Brown, 1973; Wong-Fillmore, 1979). It is symbolic of such a paradigm shift that Carroll (1967) himself pointed out the influence of situations or general contexts other than aptitude in language learning in the late 60s. The GLL research moved the realm of the discussion from unmodifiable "aptitude" to modifiable LLSs.

The study of LLSs is generally considered to be derived from two papers: Rubin (1975) and Stern (1975).[4] They respectively suggested further research problems in the field of LLS. The former defined the

term "strategy" as "the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge" (Rubin, 1975, p. 43). She identified LLSs by observing classes and interviewing GLLs and teachers, alluded to the LLVs (e.g., age, learning stage, and context) affecting LLS use, and implied the feasibility of LLS instruction for *poor language learners* (PLLs). The latter regarded LLSs as overcoming *fossilization*, which arrests learners at a relatively low level of interlanguage. He identified LLSs by reflecting on his experience as a language teacher and learner, as well as his reading of the relevant literature, and elicited some factors believed to separate GLLs and PLLs.

The researchers that followed (e.g., Hosenfeld, 1976, 1977; Naiman et al., 1978) grappled with the issues suggested by the two embryonic papers above by using more organized empirical procedures. The aims of the succeeding research in GLL studies can be categorized under the following four headings: (a) LLS identification/classification (e.g., Griffiths, 2003; LoCastro, 1994; Nunan, 1995; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper, & Russo, 1985a; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985b; Oxford, 1990a; Rubin, 1987; Stevick, 1989; Takeuchi, 2003), (b) LLS instruction (e.g., Hosenfeld, 1977; Nunan, 1997; O'Malley et al., 1985b; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Reiss, 1981; Takeuchi; 1993; Vandergrift, 1999; Wenden, 1985), (c) LLV interpretation affecting LLS use (e.g., Chesterfield & Chesterfield, 1985; Griffiths, 2003; LoCastro, 1994; Oxford, 1989; Takeuchi, 2003), and (d) comparison of GLLs with PLLs (e.g., Gan, Humphreys, & Hamp-Lyons, 2004; Kouraogo, 1993; Porte, 1988; Vann & Abraham, 1990).

Some researchers, however, as research findings accumulated, came to notice disparities among the outcomes of that research. The causes of the contradictions they found were attributed to four ambiguities: (a)

treatment of the term, LLS (e.g., Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, Oxford & Cohen, 1992; Rees-Miller, 1994; Tarone, 1983)—what LLS is or not, (b) treatment of the LLS inventory (e.g., LoCastro, 1994; Vann & Abraham, 1990)—whether all LLSs can ever fully be discovered, (c) treatment of LLVs regulating LLSs (e.g., Gu, 1996; Politzer, 1983; Politzer & McGroarty, 1985; Rees-Miller, 1993; Wenden, 1987; C. White, Schramm, & Chamot, 2007; Vann & Abraham, 1990)—whether LLVs can be clearly described, and (d) treatment of the effects of the LLS instruction (e.g., Politzer, 1983; Rees-Miller, 1993, 1994)—whether instruction can be effective or not.

From about 1990, given these notions above, the GLL study has increased the dynamism, taking into account the nature of language learning. Various profound ideas have been appearing and broadening the field. LLSs are now considered to be "not necessarily good in themselves" (McDonough, 1995, p. 81), and it is likely that "there is no stereotype of 'the good language learner'" (Rubin & Thompson, 1994, p. 3). GLLs seem to employ a cluster of LLSs orchestrated in combination (Griffiths, 2003; LoCastro, 1994; Nunan, 1995; Stevick, 1989; Takeuchi, 2003), and to utilize that cluster more elaborately in a thorough manner (Gan et al., 2004; Griffiths, 2003). If the combination is inappropriately organized and operated, it may be less effective (Macaro, 2006) or situationally negative (Takeuchi, 1993). "Positive situations encouraged the creative use of strategies, while negative situations restricted strategy use…" (Oxford, 1989, p. 453) and some GLLs might create better learning conditions themselves (Norton & Toohey, 2001). The study of GLLs seems to have begun to flow together recently with the study of pedagogy, focusing on self-direction or autonomy, which arranges LLS use (H. D. Brown, 2007; Tseng, Dörnyei, & Schmitt, 2006; Wenden, 1998, 2002). "Some degree of autonomy can

be fostered by systematically incorporating strategy training into the learning process" (Nunan, Lai, & Keobke, 1999, p. 70) and learner training therefore can be seen as having an aim "to help learners consider the factors that affect their learning and discover the learning strategies that suit them best…" (G. Ellis & Sinclair, 1989, p. 2).

From a methodological point of view, LoCastro (1994) proposed the necessity of ethnographic research because LLSs are essentially contextual, and Takeuchi (2003) advanced this idea by pointing out that there was a distinction between common LLSs and context-specific LLSs.

Despite such elaborations on GLL research, discussion of the abovementioned ambiguities have only mild consensus to date. The definition of LLS remains controversial. The LLS inventory is still insufficiently delineated, and needs to be further subdivided (Griffiths, 2003). It is plausible to say that it is difficult or impossible for a short-period cross-sectional study to fully describe LLVs, to observe the qualitative change of LLS use, to examine the impact of LLVs on LLS use, or to evaluate learning outcome from LLS use. Carelessly reducing the number of LLVs is not only unrealistic but also misleading. Gu (2007) suggested the following research direction based on similar conclusions as those discussed above.

> …many both inside and outside the learner strategy tradition feel we have reached a crossroads. Since we have already established that frequent use of a large repertoire of strategies is positively related to learning results, we need more research investigating the real picture, which is more complex. (p. vii)

Further study of GLLs thus calls for a methodological shift from quantitative, cross-sectional, and generative, to qualitative, longitudinal, and contextual approaches. The language learning of an

individual learner is too complex to reveal the mechanisms through, so to speak, ad hoc research. In order to attempt to solve such problems and to proceed to a better understanding of the study of GLLs, Baker's (1993) statement needs to be taken into consideration.

> ...it makes more sense to consider the wide variety of conditions which make bilingual education more or less successful. We need to specify all the ingredients in different recipes to understand fully the success or failure of forms of bilingual education. (p. 172)

Notes

1 The types of citation in the present study are categorized into three groups: primary sources, secondary sources, and references. Primary sources are marked with one asterisk (*), secondary sources with two asterisks (**), and references—academic papers and books for analyzing the data—with no asterisk ( ) to make it clear what kind of source each citation belongs to.

2 There are a group of researchers who study bilingualism of ancient times (see Adams, Janse, & Swain, 2002; E. G. Lewis, 1976).

3 The term "immersion program" here refers to the program which aims to develop both of the proficiency of learners' first language (L1) and second language (L2), paralleling the local L1 curriculum (see Swain & Johnson, 1997, for discussion of the definition of immersion program). If there are any problems of calling the programs in the early Meiji era "immersion programs," the problem is that the teachers were not necessarily bilingual: Some were able or likely to speak Japanese in their own way; others might not.

4 The word *strategy* seems to have been broadly used before Rubin

(1975) and Stern (1975) (e.g., Asher, 1964, 1966, 1969; Ervin-Tripp, 1970; Hakuta, 1974; Reibel, 1971; Sampson & Richards, 1973; Selinker, 1972). It deserves special attention for considering what LLSs are that J. J. Asher saw the total physical response as a "learning strategy" in his paper of 1966 although it tends to be classified now as a "teaching method."

2. METHOD

2-1. Approach

Rationales for Terminology

The overview of the studies discussed in the previous chapter highlights one cause of recent contradictive outcomes as being related to the terminological issues in the SLL framework. Some terms have been used in conceptually different conditions or, in some cases, without any definitions. In order to avoid such confusion, key LLVs of the present study are classified and elucidated in a SLL framework here in this section.

Language Learning Variables (LLVs)

LLVs are variables affecting a learner's target language (TL) learning. Extensive research has examined a wide range of LLVs such as age, aptitude, attitude, autonomy, beliefs, cognitive style, culture, gender, intelligence, learning stage, learning style, metacognition, motivation, past language experience, personality, LLSs and so on.

A number of researchers have categorized LLVs into their own SLL frameworks. Gardner (1990) suggested that LLVs could be classified under one of four major headings: affective, cognitive, pedagogical, and environmental language-relevant variables. Griffiths (2008b) classified the variables into two categories: learner variables and learning variables: The former consists of "individual characteristics or behaviors which make each learner unique," while the latter is "influenced by factors in the learning situation" (p. 3). Although the two taxonomies are useful heuristics, the present study only follows the concept of Griffiths (2008b) that LLVs are more or less interrelated, and

categorizes LLVs not in such theoretical frameworks but in a more practical figure.

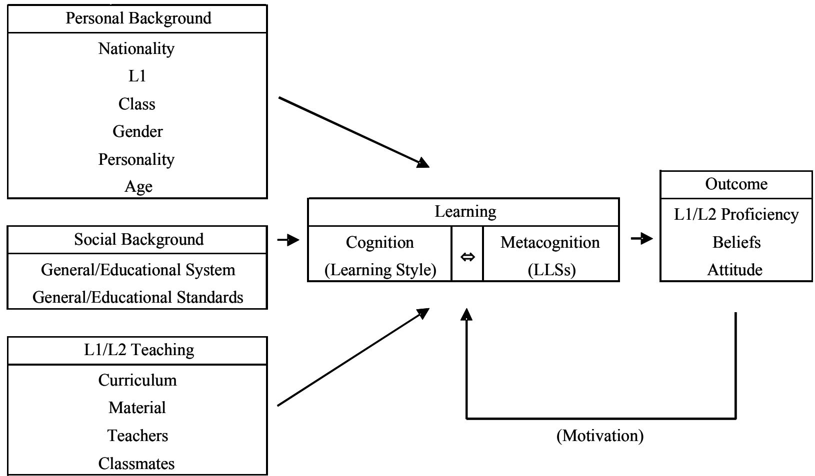


Figure 2　Language learning variables in second language learning

Figure 2 diagrams LLVs in SLL, based mainly on figures from Naiman et al. (1978, p. 3) and Skehan (1989, p. 4),[1] referring to different ideas from Seliger (1984, p. 39) and Spolsky (1989, p. 28). In order to draw Figure 2, conceptually overlapping LLVs in the previous studies are simplified and several are added to supplement what seems to be an insufficient concept. In Figure 2, LLVs are comprised of five dimensions: personal background, social background, L1/L2 teaching, learning, and outcome. All arrows in Figure 2 symbolize influential directions. If personal background, social background, and L1/L2 teaching are seen as independent variables, learning can be considered a dependent variable. And if learning can be construed as an independent variable, then outcome can be seen as a dependent variable. Outcome circularly can be an independent variable on

learning. Yang (1991) pointed out cyclical relationships among beliefs, motivation, and LLS use. Mochizuki (1999) and Okada, Oxford, and Abo (1996) reported the fact that highly motivated students used LLSs more frequently than less motivated students. That is the reason why motivation is displayed in parentheses under the arrow from the outcome box in Figure 2.

Learning

The present study basically adopts the definition of the term *learning* from Rubin (1981): "the process by which storage and retrieval of information is achieved" (p. 118). Learning is the process in which people gain and retain knowledge, and think to gain and retain knowledge. Learning thus requires cognition — perception and apperception[2]—and metacognition (see Figure 2).

Learning is cognitive. In that sense, sensorimotor input of information is indispensable for learning and information needs to be apperceived. According to Bartlett (1932), cognition including perceiving, imaging, remembering, thinking and reasoning can be considered "an *effort after meaning*" or "an effort to connect what is given with something else" (p. 44). When such an effort is succeeded and what is apperceived is retained as a new knowledge, learning can occur. Conversely, it cannot be said that learning occurs without a new knowledge internalized by extending an effort, or without "what learners consciously notice" (Schmidt, 1990, p. 149), namely *intake*.[3] This idea is consistent with the viewpoints of Jones, Palincsar, Ogle, and Carr (1987): The essence of the process of learning is "to link new information to prior knowledge" (p. 22), and of Just and Carpenter (1987): Learning is intrinsically associative and organizational.

Besides, learning can be metacognitive. Metacognition is "one's knowledge concerning one's own cognitive processes and products or

anything related to them, e.g., the learning-relevant properties of information or data" (Flavell, 1976, p. 232), or, to monitor a wide variety of cognitive enterprises (Flavell, 1979). Learners can plan, monitor, and evaluate their own learning to gain and retain knowledge.

The result of learning can be assessed by the extent to which learners retain knowledge broadly and deeply and utilize it accurately and fluently.

Language Learning

Language is learned for communication, in context, and under biological restraints. Language learning can be considered to be a variety of learning special to language, which can be seen as being processed in linguistic systems — phonological, orthographic, lexicogrammatical,[4] semantic, and pragmatic elements (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Miller, 1978, for basic ideas on this matter)[5]—and as a tool for communicating with another person whether it is implemented either in the mind or out of the lips. That can be thought as the reason why Bruner (1990) stated that "(i)ts [additional language's] initial mastery can come only from participation in language as an instrument of communication" (p. 73).

Some features in all languages and language learning can be grouped as universal and others look too complex to be joined. Although language can be translated under the consensus that humans have some common *affect*,[6] a grammatical system, and the capability for the development of arguments or stories, there remains untranslatable metaphors and social standards. Although the sequence of language learning may be roughly common to both children and adults (Baily, Madden, & Krashen, 1974), there are overt differences in physical and social conditions (see Asher & García, 1969; Griffiths, 2008a; Hakuta, Bialystock, & Wiley, 2003, 2005; Krashen, 1973; Krashen, Long, &

Scarcella, 1979; Oyama, 1976, 1978; Patkowski, 1980; Schumann, 1975; Seliger, Krashen, & Ladefoged, 1975; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1979; Witelson, 1977, for a series of child-adult differences in language learning). Lenneberg (1967) supported the theory of generative grammar (Chomsky, 1965) by concluding that "the processes by which the realized, outer structure of a natural language comes about are deeply-rooted, species-specific, innate properties of man's biological nature" (p. 394). According to Sapir (1921), however, language is "a purely historical heritage of the group, the product of long-continued social usage" (p. 2). To Tomasello (1999), language is a "result of some sort of species-unique mode or modes of cultural transmission" (p. 4). Moreover, Bruner (1990) claimed: "Nowhere in the higher animal kingdom are highly skilled and recombinable acts ever learned 'automatically' or by rote, even when they are nurtured by strongly developed biological predispositions..." (p. 72).

The ultimate achievement of language learning might be called *situational automaticity* (see LaBerge & Samuels, 1974, Samuels, 1979, 1994, for more details of automaticity) where learners can automatically operate their systems of language processing in as many situations as possible; in other words, learners can know the systems not just broadly but deeply and utilize them not just accurately but fluently (see Gass, 1983, for a similar idea). The proficiency of language learning thus can be assessed in breadth-depth and accuracy-fluency dimensions through linguistic activities called the *four skills*: listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

Language Learning Style

The term *learning style* refers to one's personally preferred manner of learning a TL, which is rather unmodifiable and uncontrolled because it depends mostly on learner personality (see the discussions of learning

style in Curry, 1990; Nel, 2008; Oxford, 1990b, 1997). Reid (1987) introduced four learning style preferences: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactic. Hyland (1993) suggested that unconscious learning style could become conscious LLSs. Cognitive learning[7] can take place through the filter of learning style, which is the reason why learning style is in parentheses under cognition in Figure 2. In the present study, learning style is seen as just affecting the emergence and use of LLSs.

Language Learning Strategy (LLS)

The term LLS as used here means a process devised for self-teaching a TL. LLSs are conscious processes (Chamot, 1987; Griffiths, 2003), and are rather controlled (see the conscious-controlled distinction discussion in McLaughlin, 1990). The processes are individually created for a goal (Macaro, 2006) to solve a learning problem (R. Ellis, 1997) in keeping with learning contexts (Griffiths, 2003; Gu, 1996; LoCastro, 1994; Oxford, 1989; Takeuchi, 2003; C. White et al., 2007). These concepts mean that LLSs are modifiable and not only cognitive but can also be metacognitive; namely, LLSs are the activated metacognition for learning languages, which is the reason why the abbreviation, LLSs, is in parentheses under metacognition in Figure 2. Although *metacognitive strategies* has been classified as just one of three categories — the others being *cognitive strategies* and *socioaffective strategies*—in O'Malley et al. (1985a), all LLSs in the present study are devised by metacognitive strategies, which involve "thinking about the learning process, planning, monitoring of comprehension or production while it is taking place, and self-evaluation after the language activity is completed" (O'Malley et al., 1985b, pp. 560-561), or "forethought," "performed," and "self-reflected," borrowing Bandura's (1986) words. The definition used

in the present study can be interpreted to be a simpler version of the one suggested by Griffiths (2008c): "(*a)ctivities consciously chosen by learners for the purpose of regulating their own language learning*" (p. 87).

Good Language Learner (GLL)

GLLs are those who not only know a TL more broadly and deeply but also utilize it more accurately and fluently than others in a certain span of time. Although they can be substantially called non-nativelike yet advanced, nativelike, and, near-native (see Birdsong, 2005, for discussion of nativelikeness), there has never been reported the distinct definition and universal measure for examining overall language proficiency (Dieterich, Freeman, & Crandall, 1979; A. Hughes, 2003) to discriminate GLLs from PLLs probably because linguistic ability, if paralinguistic features of language are considered, is too complicated to be fully measured at one time. Recent research, however, provides evidence that receptive and productive ability interact with each other and can be incorporated; that is, there is a positive relationship between listening and reading (Daneman & Carpentar, 1980; Hirai, 1999), between speaking and writing (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1992), and among listening, reading, and writing (Aitken, 1977; Irvine, Atai, & Oller, 1974; Oller, 1972, 1973). Cloze tests, or fill-in-the-blank tests, or dictation including the cloze procedure by nature could be cited as simple but reliable and valid measurement for overall language proficiency (Aitken, 1977; Bachman, 1985; D. Brown, 1983; Irvine et al., 1974; Lapkin & Swain, 1977; Oller, 1972, 1973; Oller & Streiff, 1975; Soudek & Soudek, 1983; Taylor, 1956) to discriminate GLLs from PLLs.

Rationales for Methodology

The approach of the present study can be called a retrospective documentary case study, which the present author believes enables us

to not only observe the participants' learning longitudinally but also to evaluate the learning outcomes more objectively.

Although the retrospective approach has been used in the study of GLLs and LLSs, it has been exposed to some criticism in that there is a strong likelihood that the participants might have forgotten what they thought or did by the time they were requested to reflect on the past learning. Hosenfeld (1976) noted that: "it may not correspond with what the student actually does while he is performing a task" (p. 121). After the research of Hosenfeld (1976, 1977), the main approach has been the *think-aloud* method/procedure in which participants introspectively tell the researcher what they are thinking and doing while performing a designated task. The method has also been utilized by quite a number of researchers (e.g., Block, 1986; A. D. Cohen, 1994; Matsumoto, 1994). Oxford (1996), however, pointed out that: "Introspection with regard to language learning cannot be done in a vacuum; the learner also observes the situational context" (p. 582). The think-aloud method is not a panacea and should be implemented with caution because it remains always under the control of examiners. Pressure on participants, the cognitive development and the linguistic proficiency of participants could affect, or distort their introspective comments. The think-aloud procedure consequently cannot clarify whether participants express only what they want to say or only what they are able to say at the time. The retrospective approach, however, can exploit unforgettable memories, although it is through the filter of time. As Bartlett (1932) pointed out, "(i)n remembering proper, the psychological material which persists is itself capable of being *described*" (p. 196). The memories are valuable because they are organized for a long time; that is, the retrospection often can include outcomes, evaluation, or what kinds of learning factors facilitated

participants' proficiency, objectively reflecting the context in which the participants learned. Takeuchi (2003) is the only researcher conducting the retrospective documentary approach, as far as the present author knows. He scrutinized 67 books including the data of 160 GLLs. He underlined the descriptions that contained LLSs and/or information on the stages of their use. The research, nevertheless, was not a case study and did not reveal when each participant lived and what kinds of communities s/he lived in, and how and why s/he achieved a high level of success.

The present study is not just a retrospective one, but also a case study. It attempts to replicate the participants' experiences to the extent that the readers would be able to have a follow-up experience because the case study, in general, "offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences" (Merriam, 1998, p. 41). The retrospective documentary case study can thus be seen to have similar characteristics and grounding to its methodology as that of the historian.

> …if you think of the past as a landscape, then history is the way we represent it, and it's that act of representation that lifts us above the familiar to let us experience vicariously what we can't experience directly: a wider view. (Gaddis, 2002, p. 5)

2-2. Design

Purposes

The purpose of this study is (a) to ethnographically delineate the participants' LLVs affecting their English learning and outcomes, (b) to uncover the features of their English learning, and (c) to interpret what learning factors possibly facilitated their English proficiency. The

research is based on the two goals of the study of *second language acquisition* (SLA) as posited by R. Ellis (1997): description and explanation. He stated that the goals are "to describe how L2 acquisition proceeds and to explain this process and why some learners seem to be better at it than others" (p. 6). He also proposed in the same book that LLSs should be interpreted through the lens of psycholinguistics. Both goals are congruent with the motivations for the present study and can also be achieved by a retrospective documentary case study.

Participants

The data for the present study are gathered from 70 graduates in five classes of 1880-1885 of Sapporo Agricultural College (called *Sapporo No Gakko* in Japanese and written as SAC henceforth), founded in 1876, who are models of GLLs of EFL (see Appendix A for the name list of the participants). SAC continued for 31 years until it became Tohoku Imperial University Agricultural College (*Tohoku Daigaku Noka Daigaku* in Japanese) in 1907.

The reasons why this group was chosen for analysis in the present study are threefold. First, the graduates were contextually homogeneous, or shared almost the same personal background and the same social contexts, differing only in personality. It is an ideal condition for researchers delineating common LLVs and reaching more refined results because, as Kouraogo (1993) pointed out, such a setting will make the study "easier to control for some of the numerous variables affecting language acquisition" (p. 169).

The second reason is that the graduates left a significant amount of records since most of them later became leaders in their fields. Many of them became board members or principals of institutions of education. Several were well known for their books on subjects such as

agriculture, biology, botany, Christianity, civil engineering, education, English, geography, journalism, and stock farming, which were published in Japan and internationally.

The final reason is the fact that the graduates can be seen as good foreign language learners (GFLLs) under the definition of the term GLL in the present study. As noted before, there has never been reported the universal measure for examining overall language proficiency, but there are two methods to estimate the proficiency of participants in the retrospective documentary approach. One is to scrutinize direct evidence: the input which participants were provided and the output which participants produced. The other is to investigate indirect evidence: the comments about participants' proficiency. In order to establish the validity of the measurement, direct evidence needs to be compensated by indirect evidence, integrated with, and collectively judged.

The significant amount of records the graduates left contain much evidence, which can be properly measured. Direct evidence here includes (a) reading material (see Nitobe, 1928/2002*; Zumoto, 1907*), (b) composition (see Nitobe, 1892*), (c) letters (see Goff, 1988*; Onishi, 1979*, 1980a*, 1980b*, 1981a*, 1981b*, 1982a*, 1982b*; M. Sato, 2003*; M. Sato, Onishi, & Seki, 1986*; Torii, 1976*; Uchimura, 1933*), (d) books of minutes (*Hokudai Hyakunenshi*, 1981b**) and (e) notebooks for lectures archived in the Northern Studies Center at Hokkaido University, the Historical Museum of Hokkaido, and the Tsuwano Local Museum. The evidence (a) implies the graduates' reading ability, (b) and (c) signifies their writing ability, (d) suggests their speaking ability, and (e) clearly shows their listening ability. Above all, (e) as well as (d) also indicates their achievement of cloze procedure, which can be seen as a reliable and valid measurement for

overall language proficiency (see each example in Appendix B, C, D, E, and F for the complete proofs).

The indirect evidence, on the other hand, shows that there is a strong probability that, although the learning span was almost the same, the graduates from SAC excelled in English proficiency the students who entered Tokyo University (*Tokyo Daigaku* in Japanese), which was at that time the only university in Japan, and was regarded as having the highest academic standards. Most of the graduates from SAC had belonged to the preparatory schools for Tokyo University, English immersion schools, where, according to Morse (1917b**), the students wrote their letters in English because they felt that it was easier than in Japanese. The graduates of the first class of SAC—as many as 13 participants of the present study—were evaluated by an American teacher that they were good at reading and superior to ordinary Americans in writing (see more details in the chapters entitled "Higher Education" and "Post Graduation").

If the term GLL is defined as those who not only know a TL more broadly and deeply but also utilize it more accurately and fluently than others in a certain span of time, the graduates from SAC are eligible for GLLs compared to both the others in the early Meiji era and in the present in almost the same learning span of about 10 years.

Limitations

The limitations of the present study are due to one of the drawbacks of the retrospective documentary approach; that is, the researcher's opportunity to lay a rational foundation for gaining insight into the past depends on the wealth of evidence available through documentation. The present study therefore has the following limitations.

High Attrition Rate in Early SAC is Not Examined in Detail.

The present study does not deepen any discussion by comparing the graduates of SAC — namely the participants — and the dropouts, because in fact, there were few documents about the dropouts as far as the present author knows. The graduates were 70 out of 99 registrants: The attrition rate was about 29%.

Personality and Learning Style are Not Extracted.

Personality. An important LLV, personality is not discussed because there is no means to objectively measure the participants' personalities in the present study. Some of the participants referred to other participants' personalities, but the comments were too vague and short for generalization, and above all, the participants scarcely mentioned the influence of personality on their language learning experiences. Previous research on personality has had contradictory results. For example, Wakamoto (2000) found extroversion to be a significant factor in explaining Japanese university student LLS use. Ehrman's (2008) experiments of good adult learners of various second languages, however, found that introversion was a significant variable for explaining the success of GLLs. As Reiss (1985) had earlier pointed out: "The personality variable extroversion/introversion rated much lower than other aspects" (p. 516). It can be concluded that, as Ehrman (2008) suggested, "it is clear from the fact that there are high-level language learners in a wide variety of personality categories that motivated individuals can become good language learners whatever their personalities" (p. 70). Gardner (1990) also considered the role of personality as a LLV as rather less conclusive.

Learning style. Learning style is also not discussed because there is no record found in the present study and because learning style can be considered to be deeply concerned with personality.

When Some LLSs were Self-Devised is Not Determined.

Not all comments of the participants mentioned the time frame in which various kinds of LLSs were used. The present study deals with the LLSs in the period when the participants seem to have started using the LLSs, in other words, the prototypes of the LLSs. For example, LLSs for vocabulary are described in the chapter analyzing the period the participants started learning English vocabulary.

2-3. Procedure

As stated above, the present study can be called a retrospective documentary case study in that it mainly describes learning through biographical data on the participants. The data are collected from two types of resources: *primary sources* and *secondary sources*. Primary sources consist of comments by the participants and teachers, and comments about the participants and teachers by persons who were directly concerned with them. They include diaries, letters, and literary works that contain autobiographies, biographies, anecdotes, theses, reference books, and articles in magazines, newspapers, or official reports. Secondary sources are other historical documents and academic papers on the lives of the participants and teachers, the society to which the participants belonged, and the L1/L2 teaching which the participants received.

The procedure is as follows: (a) Primary sources are examined and some representative excerpts related to the LLVs of the participants are extracted; (b) the excerpts are expanded upon and analyzed with supplemental information from secondary sources; and (c) the findings are discussed in the light of the previous psycholinguistic studies to reveal the mechanisms of what kinds of factors possibly facilitated the

participants' English abilities.

The data analysis part is chronologically divided into the following five chapters: preschool education, primary education, secondary education, higher education, and post graduation. Each chapter except post graduation is subdivided into the four sections for procedure: (a), (b), (c), and summary. The discussions in each chapter are finally reconsidered in the last chapter, and findings are presented as an outcome of a study on one group of GFLLs in order to provide ground for approaching more universal solutions.

Notes

1 Naiman et al. (1978) stated that they owed their figure, "Model of the second language learner and language learning" to the previous studies of Gardner (1975), Hatch and Wagner-Gough (1976), and Schuman (1976). The figure from Skehan (1989), "The good language-learner model," has almost the same framework as that of Naiman et al. (1978) as Skehan himself remarked.

2 The term "apperception" is said to be coined by Leibniz, and often used thereafter by Kant, and Wundt. In Herbart (1834/1891), perception referred to having an object presented to our senses, while apperception referred to identifying, recognizing, explaining, and interpreting the object by previous knowledge.

3 The distinction between the popular terms of learning and *acquisition*—which is an implicit, subconscious, and independent way of accessing input from learning (Krashen, 1977, 1993)—is not adopted in the present study.

4 Many researchers have pointed out that vocabulary includes

grammaticality (e.g., Just & Carpenter, 1987; M. Lewis, 1993/2002; Sapir, 1921); that is, the selection of words plays a part in determining grammatical structure, and vice versa.

5 The prevalent term *communicative competence* (CC), defined here as the ability to effectively and appropriately exchange information in context, is included in the competence of the pragmatic system in this study, although the concept of CC has been fuzzy: It is considered to be opposed to linguistic competence, or grammatical knowledge in Hymes (1972b); it is seen as being related to linguistic competence in Politzer and McGroarty (1983); and it contains linguistic competence in Canale and Swain (1980).

6 The term “affect” here is used as J. Arnold and H. D. Brown (1999) dealt with it as broad aspects of emotion, feeling, mood or attitude which condition behavior. In recent clinical studies, there has been a movement claiming that emotions, responsive changes of body, precede feelings, the perception of the changes (see Damasio, 1994, 2003).

7 The term *processing* in the study of SLL (e.g., top-down or bottom-up processing) and *communication strategy* (see Corder, 1983; Dörnyei, 1995; Tarone, 1980, 1983; Vandergrift, 1997, in more detail) involve cognitive learning, but not metacognitive learning unless the terms are referred to as controlled by learners.

3. DATA ANALYSIS 1: PRESHOOL EDUCATION

3-1. Excerpts from the Participants

The following are some representative excerpts related to the LLVs for participants of the present study regarding their preschool education.

> Because both my father and mother were born into a samurai family, the home discipline was quite strict…
>
> Ito (n.d./1930*, p. 95, trans. by the present author)

> Though I had home training from my mother and Yamamoto Isenokami, practicing *sodoku* of *Shisho*….
>
> Iwasaki (1974*, p. 17, trans. by the present author)

> I stood highest in favor as the youngest child.
>
> Miyabe’s comment cited from *Miyabe Kingo* (1996*, p. 13, trans. by the present author)

> I stared in amazement at all things in nature, and fully felt the pleasure.
>
> Miyabe’s comment cited from *Miyabe Kingo* (1996*, p. 15, trans. by the present author)

> My grandfather used to say that it is more profitable to read the silliest books than to be doing nothing. “They will teach you”, he said, “what fools are and what they think and do.”

Speaking of books, strange recollections come to me. I was not even four years old[1] when my father died, and yet how vividly I remember his reading aloud at nights to the family assembled around and near the *kotatsu*, *Bakin*'s "Story of Eight Hounds" (*Hakkenden*). The names of the heroes I heard then stick in my memory with a tenacity which I have unluckily not discovered in the case of many books I have myself read.

Nitobe (1938/1969c*, pp. 456-457)

When I reached my fifth year, I underwent the ceremony of initiation into the order of knighthood, if I may use high-falutin terms. The ceremony consisted in attiring a cadet in his first *hakama* (a kind of kilted skirt worn by the samurai) and investing him with his first sword. The *go*-board, which is similar to the chess-board, marked with three hundred and sixty-one spaces and representing a battlefield, played a conspicuous part.

It was placed in the middle of the guest-room, which upon this memorable occasion was quite filled with our family and relatives, who came attired in their best garments. I was then ushered in and placed on the *go*-board and a short dagger with a real, glittering blade was thrust into my sash. I felt myself exceedingly consequential, but I forgot the rest of the ceremony.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, pp. 507)

I had been taught to be proud of being a samurai, whose badge the sword was [*sic*]. I used to hear of brave and noble deeds which could only be accomplished by wielding it.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, pp. 508-509)

Whenever I felt like a sneak or a cad, my dagger used to cry out, — "Shame on you!"

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 513)

Granted the privilege of wearing swords, I had worn a nominal dagger at my belt ever since I can remember…

Oshima (1993*, p. 5, trans. by the present author)

I was the last man to succeed to the samurai spirit of the Uchimura family.

Uchimura's comment cited from
S. Saito (1986*, p. 326, trans. by the present author)

When I was at my fourth year of age, I still remember that *shariki* shouted "*Enyarahō*" while he was going up the slope. One more thing I remember is that I enjoyed the sounds of stones thrown in the river through the residence of the lord of Mito (now an arsenal).

Uchimura's comment cited from
S. Saito (1986*, p. 327, trans. by the present author)

3-2. Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

Age[2]

The participants discussed in this chapter are preschoolers. The years of birth of the 49 participants were found in the primary sources: 12 out of 13 in the first class of SAC, 10 out of 10 in the second class, 10 out of 18 in the third class, 12 out of 17 in the fourth class, and 5 out of 12 in the fifth class. The eldest was born in 1856 while the youngest in

1866 (see Figure 3.1).

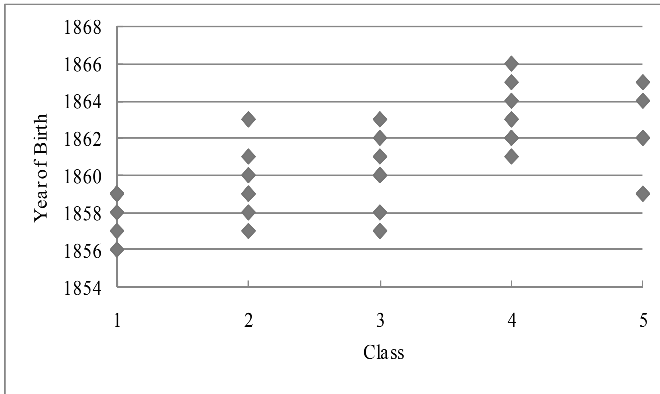


Figure 3.1　Year of birth

There was, unfortunately, little material available in which the participants recollected their preschool days. The school ages of the 14 participants were found: The mean was about 7; the range, from 5 to 11; the median, 8; the mode, 6 and 7 (see Table 3.1). This indicates that

Table 3.1
School Age

Name	Age
Kojima	5
K. Ono	5-7
Ito	6
Miyabe	6
Oshima	6
Yanagimoto	6
Minami	7
Nitobe	7
Saito	7-8
Uchimura	7-8
S. Sato	8
Hiroi	8-9
T. Watase	9
Iwasaki	9-11

their preschool ages ranged from 0 to about 6.

Gender

All of the participants were male.

Nationality

There is no material that denied the fact that the participants were born and raised in Japan.

Class

Most of the participants were born into low or middle class samurai or quasi-samurai families at the end of the Edo era (1603-1867), as previous research has already revealed (e.g., Toyama, 1992**; Willcock, 2000**). Japan at that time had the class system called *shi-no-ko-sho*: *No* refers to farmers and peasants, *ko* artisans, *sho* merchants, and the superior class of *shi* representing samurai who managed the nation, the typical privileges of which were surnames, *hakama*, swords, and the right to kill a commoner who offended them. The coined term “quasi-samurai” refers to men whose ancestors used to be samurai, and who were, in most cases, permitted to use a surname and to wear swords as well as samurai, though they did not substantially belong to the samurai class. It contains heads of villages, rich farmers, or wealthy merchants.

L1

Japanese was the first language for all of the participants. There was, however, no standard Japanese established and prevalent in all parts of the nation at that time, probably because each community was independently formed almost without any interactions under the structured hierarchy of the Shogunate for as many as 250 years.[3] Instead, there were many dialects in different classes and regions. It was so remarkable that even foreigners visiting Japan in those days noticed that there was substantial difference in language use for each

class in speaking (Alcock, 1863**; Suenson, 1869-1870/2003**) and in writing (Satow, 1921**).

Samurai appear to have used at least four different styles of Japanese for different purposes: colloquial style, classical style, epistolary style, and Chinese-transliterated style. The first was used in everyday conversation with people in the same community. The second was used to negotiate with people from other areas in formal life because the dialects between communities were too different for trouble-free communication. The third was used in correspondence. And the fourth was used in academic life because most books for adult males were written in Chinese. In order to read Chinese books, the Japanese had devised an intriguing system of notation for Chinese texts over the centuries in which they could, to borrow Dore's (1984**) phrase, "read off" (p. 127) the texts in Japanese by changing the order of words and adding Japanese particles and verbal inflections.

Social Background

General System

The participants spent their preschool years in the late Edo era. The era started in 1603 when the Tokugawa family united a war-torn Japan and was mandated to govern the nation by the Emperor. Their rule continued thereafter for more than 250 years. The Shogunate (*Bakufu* in Japanese) adopted two main policies: feudalism and isolationism. The Shogunate ruled a league of samurai lords (*daimyo* in Japanese) who governed their domains (*han* in Japanese). At the time that the Shogunate fell, there were 285 domains (Yasuoka, 1981**). Foreign trade was prohibited except in the limited case of two countries, Holland and China, at Nagasaki, a city in southwestern Japan. The isolationism, however, ended with the second visit of Commodore Perry of the United States in 1854, when the Kanagawa Treaty was

concluded. Four years later, after the Japan-US Friendship and Trade treaty was concluded, similar treaties with Holland, Russia, Britain, and France were established in turn. It was some years before the participants of the present study were born that Japan lifted the policy of isolationism. The sudden change of diplomatic policy, however, made some advanced thinkers afraid that Japan would be invaded by Western countries as they were well aware of the military strength of the West, and that China had had to cede some territories to Western countries. Nationalism, which attempted to protect the nation against the intervention or encroachment of Western countries, was a driving force behind the anti-Shogunate movement because the Shogunate seemed to accept every request the Western countries made. It was when the participants were preschoolers that the allied forces of England, Holland, France and America attacked Shimonoseki, a harbor near Nagasaki, because the progressive domain of Choshu initiated attacks on Western ships passing through the straits of Shimonoseki.

General Standards

Despite the waves of the anti-Shogunate movement on the rise, the life style of samurai did not change much during this time, especially in remote areas. Several features of the standards of samurai society are described below.

Ceremony. It is assumed that most of the participants equally experienced one of the samurai ceremonies, *hakamagi no gi* performed when samurai children reached their 5th year. At the ceremony they were allowed to wear a sword and traditional pleated trousers called *hakama*, both of which were icons clearly identifying them as samurai. Wearing the same style as adult samurai was a sign symbolizing the fact that they would be important members of that society in the future.

Discipline. Bushido, the living manner of samurai, often seen as

chivalry in Japan, can be considered as the main standard in the participants' preschool years. Although it was not until the middle of the Edo era that the term *Bushido* came into the vocabulary of the general public (Mitamura, 1930/1997**), *Bushido* rose in the community of the samurai class, where the spirit of warriors—*Zen*, a school of Buddhism, appears to have affected the initial formation of the spirit (Nitobe, 1899/1969a*)—was deeply combined with the ethical viewpoint of Confucianism. With the advent of the stable period under the Tokugawa Shogunate, after the termination of repeated wars, samurai needed to justify their status as leaders in peace by cultivating themselves through authoritative scholarship, Confucianism — the Shogunate became its guardian — rather than by only practicing martial arts. *Bushido* required men of integrity suitable to be leaders of communities, and equally distinguished as both soldiers and scholars.

House. The low-class-samurai generally lived in a house with about 100 square meters (Ooka, 2007**), which was provided by the lord of their domain. The following Figures 3.2-3.5[4] illustrate the conditions inside the house of a typical lower-class-samurai. The illustrator ran a

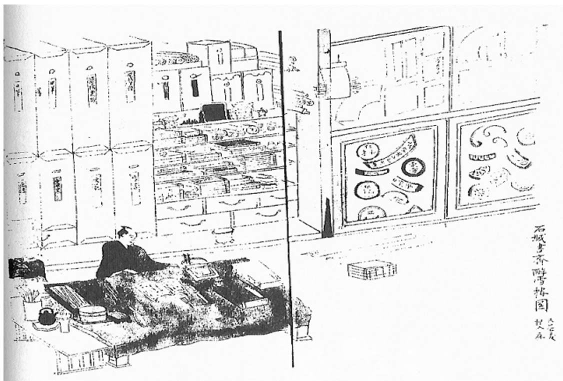


Figure 3.2 Diarist's master's room (Ooka, 2007**, p. 42)

small private school as his side job in a small domain near present Tokyo, keeping his diary from 1861 to the following year (Ooka, 2007**),[5] around the time that most of the participants were born into almost the same class of samurai families. Figure 3.2 shows that there were a great number of books piled up behind the diarist in the master's room, where ordinary masters sometimes seem to have invited their friends to read some books together (see Figure 3.3).

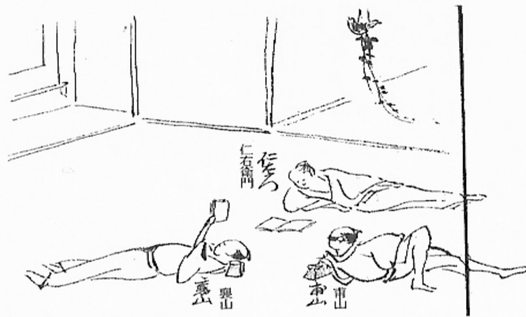


Figure 3.3 Master's room of the diarist's friend (Ooka, 2007**, p. 56)

Another picture shows that they even held drinking parties, talking about some books from a shelf (see Figure 3.4).

Books were not always bought by readers. They could rent books from a circulating library owner called shoshi and return them after transcribing. In the following picture (see Figure 3.5), an owner is introducing some books from his tall trunk.

These pictures indicate that books were a valuable source of the adults' amusements and learning in the late Edo era, a time when Japan was not Westernized and hence there were no modern Western conveniences, and people often visited each other to work, relax, and communicate.

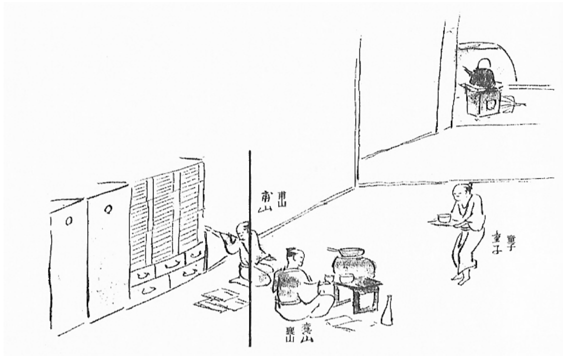


Figure 3.4　Living room of the diarist's friend (Ooka, 2007**, p. 31)

Figure 3.5　*Shoshi*, the diarist, and his friend (Ooka, 2007**, p. 57)

Play. Playing games and reading stories were also the center of the life of samurai children (M. Ishikawa, 1978**). Their play was deeply concerned with the life of adult samurai; that is, samurai children imitated battles, procession, martial arts, and amusements so often that it was "not easy to draw the line of demarkation between the diversions of children proper and those of a larger growth" (Griffis, 1894, p. 452**).

Children could play almost everywhere they wanted because adults generously allowed them to do so, and there was still abundant, untouched nature everywhere in Japan, such as the mountains, rivers, lakes, beaches, and a wide variety of living creatures. Kite-flying, stilts, top spinning, sportive archery, stone-throwing battles at the riverside called *Inji*, were popular among samurai children (M. Ishikawa, 1978**; K. Watanabe, 2005**). In addition, there had been a wide range of illustrated books for children called *Kusazoshi* or *Akahon* published throughout the Edo era (M. Ishikawa, 1978**; K. Nakamura, 2007**; M. Nakamura, 2006**).

Educational System

There was no educational system officially proclaimed by the Shogunate in the Edo period. Tokugawa Japan, however, is considered to have been a nation of learning in which a variety of schools existed (Tada, 1992**), such as Shohei College [*Shoheiko* in Japanese], the authoritative institute managed by the Shogunate; *hanko*, schools for domains, in which the students mainly learned Chinese classics and military arts; *shijuku*, private schools, where the students learned the lecturer's specialty; and *terakoya*, temple schools mainly for *tenarai*—practice in reading and writing using textbooks of normal social behavior, morals, and proverbs expressed in poetic or epistolary style, and of Buddhist or Confucian tales—and rudimentary arithmetic. According to Okita (2000**), there were about 280 domain schools, 1,500 private schools, and 11, 200 temple schools through the Edo era to the 5th year of the Meiji era.

As far as foreign studies are concerned, only Chinese and Dutch were permitted to study openly. Moreover, learning foreign languages was limited to only a very few people such as official interpreters. The official onset of English learning in Japan dates back to 1808, when a

British warship, Phaeton, entered the harbor of Nagasaki. The Shogunate thus established the Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books (*Bansho Shirabejo* in Japanese) in 1855 to study Western culture. It was later renamed the Institute for the Examination of Western Books (*Yosho Shirabejo* in Japanese) in 1862, following which in the next year its name changed once again to the Institute of Progress (*Kaiseijo* in Japanese).

Educational Standards

Although the change of the name of the central institute for studying Western culture abovementioned from “barbarian” to “progress” clearly signified the gradual transformation of the acceptance of Western culture, the main contents of samurai education did not change very much from traditional standards except that some developed domains encouraged their elites to study Western culture. The standards of subjects were, in sum, “writing (or calligraphy, rather), Chinese studies, a little arithmetic, some training in formal etiquette and practice of the military arts” as Dore (1984**) noted. The participants surely knew what kind of learning they would receive in the primary education, Chinese studies (*Kangaku* in Japanese): They were educated by their guardians at home to prepare for Chinese studies in their preschool education.

Murayama (1977**) examined home education for children from their 3rd to 7th year in the Edo era,[6] noting that intellectual training (*chiiku* in Japanese) and cultivation of morality (*tokuiku* in Japanese) had been closely linked with one another and had developed side by side. Particular stress was put on the formation of character. Chinese studies always underlay the educational standards, which was deeply connected with the cultivation of morality in *Bushido*.

There were three important turning points for preschool males at

their 3rd, 5th, and 7th year. Around their 3rd year, it was considered that home education should be commenced. The contents of the early stage of home education were the preparation for reading and arithmetic by playing with picture books and toys, and the training of basic habits and manners. From around their 5th to 7th year, the curriculum was made up of rudimentary concepts like numbers, names of people and places, directions, measures, time, and also further training of social manners. Children often heard old stories read aloud about praiseworthy anecdotes, tales, and heroic legends, and so on,[7] following which, they advanced to the next level, *tenarai* and *sodoku*.

Koizumi (2007**) collected various articles published in the Edo era[8] and summarized the features of home discipline. The findings were that society at that time emphasized that parents should (a) consider the importance of child rearing, (b) strictly train children with affection, (c) become an ideal model for children, (d) carefully select the nurse, friends, and teachers, and (e) not physically punish children.

Although samurai children were strictly disciplined, there are few records indicating that they were harshly punished, even if they were found to be quite mischievous. Foreign visitors at that time seem to have been impressed by the children's good manners, lively playing, and affection for the children by adults (K. Watanabe, 2005**). The children gathered together and played, obeying rules of their own. The parents always observed the children's nurse, friends, and teachers, and in some cases they carefully selected them. The parents never intervened in the society the children formed. The society was connected to that of the adults, which was always open to the children. The children thus freely came and went in the two societies, in which they played and learned with adults because the adults took their children to visit interesting places whenever they could. The children

were independent and regarded as friends and colleagues for the adults in samurai society; that is, there were many adult models or referents for children in addition to their parents (Murayama, 1977**). Because the other adults had almost the same life style and virtues, anyone in the neighborhood could verbally discipline the children when they behaved badly. Conversely, anyone could praise the children when they behaved like an ideal samurai in accordance with those standards.

L1 Teaching

In this period of preschool education, L1 teaching can be regarded as one of the main elements as mentioned above. Several of the participants' fathers, grandfathers, and relatives were known as Confucian scholars in their communities (e.g., Fujita, Hiroi, Machimura, Oka, S. Sato, Shiga, and Uchimura). They seem sometimes to have listened to their father's lessons, and even occasionally participated in their class activities. Iwasaki was an exceptional case in that, at home, he took lessons that were generally supposed to be given in the primary education.

L2 Teaching

There was no trace of evidence that the participants traveled abroad or that they saw English-speaking people in their hometowns in their preschool years. At the end of the Edo period, there were few foreigners in Japan. Similarly, there was no evidence that the participants learned English before attending school. LLSs and outcomes of L2 learning, consequently, are not found in this chapter.

Learning

Cognition and Metacognition

It is conceivable that the participants started to gain self-control of their thoughts, words, and actions in the late preschool education in, as it were, the learning triangle in which the three factors interact and

spirally develop towards metacognitive learning, or autonomous learning. The participants were disciplined and motivated in everyday life to enrich words and thoughts in acting, to elaborate thoughts and actions in wording, and to refine actions and words in thinking as future leaders and ideal men.

The participants were raised in a special society, which required children over their 5th year to regulate themselves by following *Bushido* and to independently behave as future leaders of their communities. They were always given a lot of attention by their parents, relatives, and neighbors because the boys in samurai families were considered to be successors to their family name, to be the pillars to raise the reputation of their family, and to be the officials to protect their domains. Their way of life and goals in their societies were thus very clear, all the more so because there was no diversity of occupational options. It can be presumed that the autonomy of the participants started to mature as early as in their preschool education.

3-3. Discussion: Autonomous Learning

Autonomy is the main issue of discussion in this section. The purpose is to examine (a) how autonomy is formed, and (b) what factors direct a person to autonomous learning. Autonomy may correspond to the term "ownership" in Au, Scheu, Kawakami, and Herman (1990). It refers here to self-governance, or the ability to take charge of one's own thoughts, words, and actions, whose appearance can be regarded as self-regulation. When autonomy operates positively for learning, learners are able to "make decisions about their learning which take account of the context in which they are learning" (Cotterall, 2008, p. 118). Tseng et al. (2006) boldly claimed that "the essential aspect of

empowering learners is to set into motion the self-regulatory process rather than to offer the instruction of a set of strategies" (p. 95).

Since all people are born individually, they exist autonomously. The reason why each person differentiates in time is that, with age, the *self* individually forms "government"; that is, it gains different power and policies to rule their learning.

To achieve the purpose of this section, previous studies of cognitive development and motivation are reviewed because the data of the present study shows that autonomy could develop in interaction with thinking, wording, and acting in a special society full of external motivation.

Review of Previous Studies on Cognitive Development

In research on education in Japan, it has been shown that people in the Edo era thought that children started to think with words from 1 to 2 years of age and that children's knowledge rapidly developed between about 3 and 6 years of age (Murayama, 1977**). This observation is almost consistent with the results of the modern research on cognitive development. Several of the studies outlined in Table 3.2 show that the emergence of language observed at around 1 year of age occurs almost simultaneously with the two developmental representations: mental image and causality. Right before this stage, children seem to be already able to distinguish others from themselves, to understand the permanence of existence (Piaget, 1970), or to imagine nonexistent things by knowing something existing (Wellman, 1988), which can be regarded as the origin of mental imaging. This ability enables children to notice other existences similar to their own, and accordingly to "learn not just *from* the other but *through* the other" (Tomasello, 1999, p. 6). Moreover, children also come to recognize the interactions between a subject and object (Piaget, 1970), which is seen as being the origin of

causality. Subsequently, at around 2 years of age, "speech begins to serve intellect, and thoughts begin to be spoken" (Vygotsky, 1934/1986).

Piaget (1970) called such series of events the "Copernican revolution" (p. 705), which later reaches the formation of narrative or stories about "how things are, how they might have come to be that way, and where they might be going" (Bruner, 1996, p. 92). The narrative—it can also be thought of as the very style of memory (Bruner, 1996)—gradually changes from merely script without details to autobiography codified comprehensively (Harter, 1999). Children generally can plan, monitor, and evaluate their ability by around 5 years of age (Harter, 1999; Higgins, 1987) and after this age, the pattern of findings obtained with children approximates that found for human adults, which is associated with an increased apparent influence of language upon learning (S. H. White, 1965). This is evidence that the refinement of "self-awareness" (Harter, 1999, p. 32) or metacognition emerges and that autonomy is ready to actively govern learning.

Considering these findings and concepts, cognitive development up to the emergence of metacognition can be seen as the issue about, as Piaget (1970) stated, "how the subject becomes progressively able to know objects adequately, that is, how he becomes capable of objectivity" (p. 704): All of the problems in the study on cognition and metacognition are thus related to the quality and quantity of objectification. Above all, the important objectification for learning seems to be to (a) know what they are, real-self, (b) imagine what they want to be or should be, ideal-self, (Harter, 1999), and (c) distinguish real-self from ideal-self. Noticing the difference between real-self and ideal-self could drive children to learn something in order to overcome the difference.

Swinnerton's (1947) following observation is very informative for understanding the process of cognitive development.

Table 3.2
Discussions in Several Studies on Cognitive Development

Age	Harter (1999)	Higgins (1991)	Piaget (1970)	Tomasello (1999)
0		By the end of the 1st year, children are capable of representing the relation between two events and produce and interpret communicative signals.	By 7 to 9 months of age, children assimilate objects and events to their own action and viewpoint. The 9- to 12-month-old children discover the permanence of objects.	At around 9 month of age, children deal with process of social cognition that are unique to species. It enables them to culturally mediate their understanding of the world through that of other persons.
1			In 12 to 18 months, mental images emerge, and children see themselves as only one particular member of the set of the other mobile objects which compose their universe because of this organization of permanent objects and space which entails moreover a parallel organization of temporal sequences and causality.	At about age 1, children speak right after nonlinguistic joint attentional skills. At least 18 months of age, children begin to discern adult communicative intentions in a wide variety of interactive contexts that are not specifically adapted for them.
		Between 18 months and 2 years of age, there is a dramatic shift in children's ability to represent events, a shift that has traditionally been associated with the emergence of symbolic representation.		
2			Between 1½ and 3 years of age, children understand the representation and often play with the symbolic games or deferred imitation.	By 18-24 months, children consider other persons as intentional beings and come to see that there are many different ways of looking at the same situation.
3				Three years old or more before children begin making overgeneralizations with their newly formed sentence-level constructions.
	Between 3 and 4 years of age, children have isolated representations, which are lack of coherence and coordination. They anticipate adults' reactions and rudimentarily appreciate whether they are meeting other's external standards.			
4				About 4 to 4½ before children begin to restrict their usage of productive constructions in adult-like ways so as to avoid making overgeneralization errors.
		Between 4 and 6, another dramatic shift in children's mental representational capacity occurs. Children can monitor, plan, and evaluate their features in terms of their relation to the types or categories of features that they infer are valued, preferred, or expected by another person.		
5				
	Between 5 and 7 years of age, children have rudimentary links between representations. They recognize that others are evaluating the self, initially introject others' opinions, and guide themselves along others' standards.			
6				

> As soon as we are old enough to understand them, stories are read to us. A little later, we read them for ourselves. Gradually we pass from tales about animals and toys and fairies to stories of treasure, adventure and mystery. Then we begin to read novels, which are stories about people like ourselves, who have to meet either difficulties which are known to all of us or an exceptional set of circumstances calling for the exercise of great courage and skill. We often identify ourselves with these people.... (p. 303)

The shift of interest from fantastic to realistic books clearly shows the synchronic development of cognition, language, and socialization. The development of language ability facilitates the accuracy of objectification because language itself ultimately is a symbol; in that sense, it is the treasure of accumulated objectification for a long history of human beings. Without language in thinking, abstract objectification would be very limited, and accordingly would cause uncertainty in analyzing not only self but also social standards. Without society, likewise, language does not need to be learned and ideal-self does not need to be created, either.

Review of Previous Studies on Motivation

Motivation involves “what moves a person to make certain choices, to engage in action, and to persist in action” (Ushioda, 2008, p. 19). It seems that a positive attitude toward TL teachers, peers, culture, and native speakers plays a significant role in increasing learner motivation (Chihara & Oller, 1978; Gardner & Smythe, 1975; Matsumoto, 1989). Mc Bee and Duke (1960) reported that scholastic motivation appeared to be a significant factor in academic achievement in the areas of reading, arithmetic, and science. The results were congruent with those in SLL found by Lambert, Gardner, Olton, and Tunstall (1968).

Although motivation has been classified in several aspects such as

integrative-instrumental (Lambert, 1977; Lambert et al., 1968), intrinsic-extrinsic (Deci, 1992; Ushioda, 2003), and personal-social (Weiner, 1994), those are similar in many aspects and can, therefore, be subsumed under superordinate headings: The former internal aspects —integrative, intrinsic, and personal—originate from the interest of the learner; while the latter external aspects—instrumental, extrinsic, and social—are derived from objects of interest to the learner. It has been argued that the former aspect of motivation is stronger than the latter (Lambert, 1977) or, borrowing Dörnyei's (2001, p. 8) term, has more "magnitude." Gan et al. (2004) claimed that successful FL learners attempted to learn "a broader range of conceptions" (p. 239): For them, "learning a language means learning its culture; language learning means developing and maintaining language sense; language learning entails learning the language through using it" (p. 239).

Whether the driving mechanism is mostly internal or external, it is conceivable that an essential part of motivation can be said to be *interest*,[9] which emerges from "personal relevance" (Deci, 1992, p. 51), is continually concerned with the self (Dewey, 1913), and is seen as relating not only to cognition but also to affect (Renninger, 2000; Silvia, 2006). Silvia (2006) expanded this concept as follows:

> Based on the experience of emotions and attributions for the causes of the emotions, people will form ideas about what was interesting and enjoyable in the past, the objects and activities that can create positive emotions, and the likelihood that activities will be interesting. (p. 207)

This indicates that, without affective experience and knowledge, interest would not emerge; in other words, providing various impressions through experiences in society can be crucial to form children's self, interest and, by extension, motivation.

Interpretation

The discussion now returns to the two opening issues: (a) how autonomy is formed, and (b) what factors direct a person to autonomous learning.

As for the first issue, it is theorized that the maturity of autonomy depends on the quality and quantity of objectification, and that objectification is refined through a spiral development in an autonomy triangle—cognition, language, and socialization—in which the three elements mutually interact. The reason why individual autonomies differentiate is because cognition, language, and socialization, while interacting, develop individually.[10]

Concerning the second issue, factors that direct a person to autonomous learning can be the creation of ideal-self and some motivation enhancer to refresh, consolidate, and maintain ideal-self, such as social support, constant parental encouragement, and some success. As Dewey (1913) noted, "(p)ersons, children or adults, are interested in what they can do successfully, in what they approach with confidence and engage in with a sense of accomplishment" (pp. 35-36). Paris and Turner (1994) claimed that "(t)he essence of motivated action is the ability to choose among alternative courses of action, or at least, the freedom to choose to expend varying degrees of effort for a particular purpose (p. 222) and "(o)nce students have chosen personally interesting and challenging tasks, they must exhibit control and autonomy to reach those goals in classrooms (p. 225).

Autonomy does not operate toward learning without goals relating to ideal-self; that is, imagining ideal-self or a goal with the aim of accomplishment is the minimum requirement to direct people to autonomous learning. This condition, however, is insufficient because there can be two directions taken after imagining ideal-self: The

discrepancy between one's real- and ideal-self can function negatively and cause maladjustment (Rogers & Dymond, 1954); the discrepancy can function positively and cause motivation to reach a higher goal (Deci, 1992; Rosales & Zigler, 1989) as "identity strivings" (Paris, Byrnes & Paris, 2001, p. 260). To approach a goal of ideal-self, a person must evaluate real-self objectively, concretely plan the procedure to fill in the gap between real-self and ideal-self, and constantly monitor their actions and outcomes. In order to place a positive goal and to overcome such heavy burdens, people have to be constantly encouraged to imagine or experience ideal-self vicariously by significant others, or, ideally speaking, even by persons themselves. Ideal-self also needs to be maintained by repeated success of short-term goals (see Crabbe, Hoffmann, & Cotterall, 2001, for further discussion of setting short-term goals to achieve a long-term goal).

Given these views, the ultimate stage of autonomy can be seen as self-motivation;[11] that is, learners see themselves as agents of the processes that shape their own motivation (Ushioda, 2003, 2008). It is conceivable that this requires a high level of maturity of objectification, which is elaborated by parallel development of the three factors in the autonomy triangle: cognition, language, and socialization. In order to approach the stage of self-motivation, learners need to be provided with various impressions through experiences, and to be respected, encouraged, and disciplined to independently think, word, and act to become their ideal-self.

3-4. Summary

Almost all of the participants of the present study had preschool education by merit of belonging to the families of samurai or

quasi-samurai, which were the ruling class in the Edo era. Although there was no national system of education, each domain had similar educational institutions: temple schools, private schools, and domain schools. The participants studied in their homes with Chinese studies, martial arts, and, in some cases, arithmetic via *tenarai*, until they reached around 7 years of age. The participants often listened to their guardians read aloud stories about great men and honorable actions, saw adults' lives by accompanying their guardians, and played games that modeled adult activities with neighbors. The characteristics of their preschool education are that the participants were highly respected even in their childhood as independent samurai, who would be the leaders of future society, and were disciplined and motivated to think, word, and act to become ideal men.

The activation of autonomy was found in this chapter to be the most outstanding feature in the participants' activities. The participants' autonomy started to mature with the development of metacognition of the self while they grew in the standards that required thoughts, words, and actions responsible for being rulers in communities because "individuals are socialized to meet a particular cultural ideal," as Harter (1999, p. 284) noted.

Even in their childhood, the participants' amusements, such as playing with and accompanying significant adults and reading stories of great men, were involved with those who would be their ideal models, suggesting their "goals of 'want' and 'ought'" (Paris et al., 2001, p. 260). Their parents, relatives, and neighbors were also the objects of "modeling," which is held to be "one of the most powerful ways of teaching" (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003, p. 128). They provided the participants with plenty of examples and experiences that were found interesting and worthy of following. The participants were encouraged

to have concrete views, to be cultivated individuals who would devote their lives to their communities.

Considering that the maturity of autonomy depends on the development of cognition, language, socialization, and motivation, it can be said, as a result, that the participants lived in the society where they were educated to create, maintain, and independently approach their ideal-self, or an *autonomy-supportive society* (Deci, 1992; Ushioda, 2003), which would "promote the experience of interest, the development of enduring interests, and the integration of regulations"; that is, contexts "that are autonomy-supportive, that provide optimal challenges and informational feedback, and within which one feels securely related to significant others" (Ushioda, 2003, p. 61).

Notes

1 In the present study, there are two types of expressions of age in the text. One is of the Japanese traditional system (*kazoe* in Japanese), which counts one year at birth with one year added at every New Year, and represented in ordinal numbers like "his 2nd year of age". In accordance with this system, if a person were born on December 31st, s/he would be her/his 2nd year of age on the next day, January 1st. The Japanese traditional system had been commonly used until the end of WWII, so most of the primary sources collected for this research, were recorded in this system. The other is of the Western system of reckoning age (*man* in Japanese) and represented in cardinal numbers, for example "2 years old" or "2 years of age." It is too complicated to accurately convert ages described in the primary sources into those of the Western system all the more because Japan

changed its calendar system from lunar into solar during the time when the participants lived. To roughly adapt the ages in the old Japanese system to the Western system, there needs to be subtracted one or two years. The tables and figures, however, are all presented in the Western system.

2 Data of “Age” sections were collected mainly by investigating autobiographies and the alumni bulletin of the participants, *Sapporo Dosokai Hokoku.* Other information was gathered by inspecting several class lists kept in the Aoya Local Museum, Historical Museum of Hokkaido, and Morioka Memorial Museum of Great Predecessors.

3 Ordinary people in the period did not travel a long distance very often due to the undeveloped transportation even in the late Edo era (see Alcock, 1863**), the high risk to life, and the checkpoints called *sekisho*, which were established across the nation to control movement.

4 The data in Figure 3.2-3.5 are from *Bakumatsu Kakyubushi no Enikki* [An illustrated diary by a lower-class samurai in the late Edo era] (p. 42, 56, 31, 57), by T. Ooka, 2007, Tokyo: Sagamishobo. Copyright 2007 by T. Ooka. Reprinted with permission.

5 This diary is said to be very rare, as Ooka (2007**) claimed that the diary was written with quite refined drawings.

6 The children in Japan in the Edo era were a large concern of their parents even before they would be born. At the very primary stage of education, there was an idea called *yokeikyoka* that better situation in the future for children depended on the quality, virtue and vice, of their parents’ words and deeds, which seems to have been derived from both Buddhism and Taoism (Murayama, 1977**). The actual education, however, substantially began with prenatal training,

which prevailed among the samurai society because it had been encouraged as a practice in China since ancient times and was subsequently brought to Japan (M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Koizumi, 2007**; Murayama, 1977**). Pregnant women were recommended to read and listen to ethical stories. Quite a few books about prenatal training were published, which were mainly based on two Chinese books: the Biography of Great Ladies (*Retsuzyoden* in Japanese); the Tales of Sages (*Shogaku* in Japanese) written by an influential Confucian scholar, Zhu Xi (M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Koizumi, 2007**).

7 Memories of reading in their childhood are written in *Oritakushibanoki* by Hakuseki Arai and *Amanoyakumonoki* by Takamori Moriyama.

8 For example, *Okinamondo* by Toju Nakae, *Daigakuwakumon* by Banzan Kumazawa, *Wazokudojikun* by Ekiken Kaibara, *Omeikaniso* by Heishu Hosoi, and *Fukeikun* by Shihei Hayashi, and so on.

9 Although F. Arnold (1910) saw "curiosity" as one type of interest, Dewey (1910) deemed it to be a phenomenon lead by physiological uneasiness. To Dewey (1910), "(c)uriosity rises above the organic and the social planes and becomes intellectual in the degree in which it is transformed into interest in *problems* provoked by the observation of things and the accumulation of material" (pp. 32-33).

10 There is a substantial body of research that may prove that the two factors of three—cognition and socialization—develop parallel with language ability: arranging the environment for reading books (Morrow & Weinstein, 1982; Neuman, 1986), shared reading with adults (D. H. Cohen, 1968; Sénéchal, LeFevre, Hudson & Lawson, 1996), adult encouragement toward the choice of reading material (M. M. Clark, 1976), and adult encouragement for reading books (Lomax, 1977). Even younger children are "sensitive to the structure

of stories and have schemata which organize retrieval in a fashion similar to adults," according to Mandler and Johnson (1977, p. 145).

11 Oxford (1990b) proposed that the strategies for encouraging oneself could be included in the category of affective strategies.

4. DATA ANALYSIS 2: PRIMARY EDUCATION

4-1. Excerpts from the Participants

The following are some representative excerpts related to the LLVs for participants of the present study regarding their primary education. The excerpts in this section contain many Japanese words of names of people, places, books, schools, and exercises. All names except for proper nouns and the words already explained in the previous chapter are explained in the section entitled L1 Teaching in this chapter.

> I became a page to a court noble, Atagodainagon, living at Kojinguchi in Kyoto. I learned Chinese classics and calligraphy from his son-in-law adopted into the family (a son of Kugadainagon).
>
> Iwasaki (1974*, p. 17, trans. by the present author)

> In May 1868, I started to practice *sodoku* of *Shisho* under Mr. Kishiro, an ex-retainer of the Tokugawa family.
>
> Kojima (1941*, p. 6, trans. by the present author)

> Around 1870 or 1871, before public elementary schools were established, I went to a *terakoya* with some others, including Mr. Shozaburo Saito, one of the 3rd class graduates from SAC, where we sat at low tables. I saw a student stand next to the table hanging a wooden bucket filled with water from his right hand [because of his poor performance].
>
> Maki's comments cited from
> *Keitekiryoshi* (1933**, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

I went to Mr. Ide's *terakoya* at around my 8th or 9th year, where I studied *tenarai* and *Rongo* and *Moshi* as hard as I could, although I didn't understand the meaning of them at all.

Minami's comment cited from
Minami Takajiro (1958*, p. 94, trans. by the present author)

When I reached my 7th year in 1866, while I went to a nearby *terakoya*, I started to learn Chinese studies for the first time under Mr. Uzen Miyazaki, a Confucian of the Iwamurata domain, who lived at Nakaokachi-machi in Shitaya.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, p. 17, trans. by the present author)

In our youth, *genpuku*, attainment of manhood, was celebrated when a man born in a samurai family reached his 15th year, at which time we had to go to a castle and execute the necessary formalities. Although the education system was not well organized at that time, we tended to speak as if we were adults. For we had read Chinese classics like *Shisho* from our 8th or 9th year although we did not understand the meaning well..

Nitobe (1909c*, p. 2, trans. by the present author)

There was no public elementary school in my hometown, Morioka at that time, whereas there were many in Tokyo. I went every morning to an old-fashioned private school of Chinese studies. In the afternoon, I practiced martial arts, the rudiments of using swords, spears, and horsemanship. Because my father liked *jujutsu* and had a small hall to practice it in our residence, I often practiced it there, together with my neighbors…. In addition, I occasionally joined some

military drills of my domain.... I was too small, however, to carry firearms.

Nitobe (1909c*, pp. 2-3, trans. by the present author)

Our family physician, a man of advanced views, introduced us to the mysteries of the English tongue. He himself had only the merest smattering of it. He had brought from Tokyo four or five rudimentary books — too few to lend us — and no bookstore had a copy of "crab-letter" books, as European writing was called, because the words are read horizontally like the crawling of a crab.

He began by teaching us A B C, showing us what angular and spiky forms the letters had. In a few days we were given a vocabulary. It began with articles of stationery—ink, pen, pencil, penknife, etc.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 514)

Every single word was new and opened vistas of an unknown life and activity. Both my brother and I got more interested in English lessons than in Japanese, which consisted in reading aloud the Analects of Confucius and the Works of Mencius, without in the least comprehending what these sages meant to convey to our youthful minds, if indeed they had ever cared much for little folks. The curiosity aroused within me spurred me on in my lessons and a burning desire caught hold of me to see Tokyo, where the people who called at our house told my mother great things were going on and great men from all parts of the country were gathered. I entreated my poor mother and pestered her times without number to let me go to Tokyo, assuring her that only by going thither could I ever hope to become a great man.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 515)

At around my 7th or 8th year I started to do *kendo* under my father's tutelage to train my body. I received a strict education as a samurai.

K. Ono (1939*, p. 1, trans. by the present author)

When I reached 6 years of age in 1865, I entered the *terakoya* in Zozen Temple at the corner of my village, in which I started to practice *tenarai* and *sodoku*.

Oshima (1993*, p. 6, trans. by the present author)

I learned sodoku through *Shisho-Gokyo* from elders at *Kifunjo* located in a castle, calligraphy from Tadato Ota, one of my father's leading students, and horsemanship—riding a wooden horse every morning and evening—from Denya Nitobe, a master of the Otsubo school, who lived next door. I also learned *kendo* and *judo* from elders or masters.... I was busy with kite-flying in spring, fishing in summer, mushroom picking in fall, and ice-skating in winter. This is a memory when I was at my 12th or 13th year of age directly before or after the Meiji Restoration.

S. Sato (1937*, pp. 190-191, trans. by the present author)

Although I was just a child, when my father was on night duty, I had to go to a castle and work with him, being careful about my behavior.

S. Sato (1937*, p. 192, trans. by the present author)

When I got to my 7th year in 1863, I began to learn calligraphy and Chinese classics under Mr. Shida. I entered the domain school, *Rikkyokan* in 1868, in which I practiced *sodoku*, *taidoku*, and *egyo*, then I entered *Shizangijuku*.

Yanagimoto (1937/1993*, p. 1, trans. by the present author)

I completed *sodoku* of *Daigaku*, *Chuyo*, and *Rongo* under a teacher. He ordered us to sit in front of his desk in turn, and directed us to imitate his way of reading word by word, while he was pointing to the words with a long whip. If we finished memorizing it, he called the next pupil by whipping the desk and did the same thing. If a pupil had a bad memory, the teacher whipped his head. The pupil continued to read weeping.

Uchimura's comment cited from
S, Saito (1986*, p. 327, trans. by the present author)

When I reviewed at home, my aunt would often do needlework on either side of a paper-covered lamp stand, listening to my reading and sometimes indicating my mistakes.... When my father found me reciting without looking at a book, he told me to read while pointing to the words.

Uchimura's comment cited from
S, Saito (1986*, p. 327, trans. by the present author)

My father was a good Confucian scholar, who could repeat from memory almost every passage in the writings and sayings of the sage. So naturally my early education was in that line; and though I could not understand the ethico-political precepts of the Chinese sages, I was imbued with the general sentiments of their teachings.

Uchimura (1895*, p. 9)

When I was at my 7th or 8th year of age, our family temporarily lived in Numazu…. My mother always saw me off at the gates of the castle in the morning sunlight and kept standing on the bank watching me go alone to school. My mother sometimes visited the school and took

some lecture notes in the next room.

T. Watase's comment cited from
H. Kosaka (1934*, p. 263, trans. by the present author)

One day, I visited a senior, Hiroyoshi Ogata, with an umbrella and asked him to write down some words on it in English, saying Tottori-ken Hino-gun Kurosaka-mura, Mototaro Zumoto. I compared the Japanese with the English to find it very strange that one letter in Japanese was written in two or three letters in English. I learned A B C from him and became familiar with writing Japanese in the English alphabet. This was the first time for me to meet English.

Zumoto (1939*, p. 10, trans. by the present author)

4-2. Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

Age

The participants in this chapter belong to the period when they received the primary education prior to English learning. The ages of 18 participants' starting to learn English were found: Fourteen were recorded in documents, and the ages of the other four (Iwasaki, Kawamura, Saito, and Shiga) were inferred from data. The mean was about 12; the range, from 9 to 17; the median, 13; the mode, 11 (see Table 4). This indicates that most of the participants started to learn English in their early teens.

Table 4
Age Starting to Learn English

Name	Age
Nitobe	9
Hiroi	10
Ito	10
Kojima	10
Uchimura	10
Arakawa	11
Kawamura	11
Miyabe	11
Shiga	11
T. Watase	11
Zumoto	11-13
Minami	12
K. Ono	13
Ibuki	14
Oshima	15
S. Sato	15
Yanagimoto	15
Iwasaki	17

Class

The participants officially lost their status, their responsibilities as community leaders, and the stipends from their lords simultaneously in 1871 when the Meiji government abolished the domains nationwide, which had lasted for about 250 years. The class system was also terminated and ex-samurai were allowed freedom in their hairstyle and the choice of bearing or not bearing swords. According to the calculation by Norman (1973**), the number of ex-samurai was 1,892,449[1] out of 34,300,000, which is the estimated total population for the country in 1870. The ratio is between 5% and 6%.

Social Background

General system

In this period, the participants encountered a great change in the general systems in Japan. The four developed domains, Satsuma,

Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen, united against the Shogunate under the banner of the emperor and overthrew it after the civil war called the *Boshin* War between 1867 and 1868. Almost all of the participants met the new era, Meiji, before they became 10 years old.

In the first year of the Meiji era, in order to establish the orientation, the new government published the Charter Oath, which consisted of five articles: (a) Assemblies shall be widely established and all state affairs referred to public opinion; (b) All classes shall unite in actively administrating state affairs; (c) All people in the nation shall persevere to realize each ideal; (d) Irrational conventions shall be disposed and all actions conformed to the providence of nature; (e) Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to encourage the foundations of imperial rule. The Charter declared that the political systems and organizations would be drastically changed. The political center, Edo, was renamed Tokyo in the same year, following which, Tokyo was officially established as the capital of Japan, and in the succeeding year, all of the people were allowed to hold surnames. Telegraphic communications began between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1870. In the next year, the government executed the abolishment of domains in order to establish a centralized administration, by which domains were officially done away with and the strict class system was terminated, as described in the previous chapter.

General standards

The participants in this period also encountered great changes in general standards as a result of the reform of the general systems abovementioned. The change, however, did not reach the lives of the participants very quickly. For some years after the Edo era ended, there remained the conventional remnants of Confucianism and *Bushido* in ex-samurai society. In addition, the early Meiji era was a constant state

of flux. The government's structural reform program in the first two decades of the Meiji era was so fluid that there were multiple ideas that were proposed for a new Japan (S. Kato, 1989**). Meiji leaders needed a national unity beyond the conventional frameworks of the domain and class systems (Nakano, 1979**) to strengthen the country as quickly as possible because they were afraid that Western countries might colonize Japan, as well as China and India.

Educational system

There was no educational system officially proclaimed by the Shogunate in the Edo era, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Domains managed their own schools as their higher institutions to train samurai bureaucrats, other than which, there were many primary schools called *terakoya* and *shijuku* around the country.

It was five years after the fall of the Shogunate that the Meiji government established the first educational law in 1872. The Education Law (*Gakusei* in Japanese) had four directional features: (a) It declared that all citizens could and should study; (b) It encouraged all citizens to succeed in life by studying; (c) It recommended all citizens to study practical science; (d) It ordered all guardians to give their children a primary education. It was an extension of the government's policy attempting to unify the nation because the old education had been mainly for each domain, not for the nation as a whole.

Under the law, children had to receive primary education from their 6th to 13th year of age. They were scheduled to be able to enter public elementary schools in 53,760 districts nationwide and proceed to secondary schools in 256 districts between their 14th to 19th year of age, and to higher schools in 8 districts from their 20th year of age. The attendance of public schools required them to pay a school fee.

The framework of the educational forms, however, was not clearly

designated. It implied that students could freely select their schools and teachers as they could in the Edo era. The number of people who actually registered as students in 1874, was 1,590,115 out of 4,923,272 who were supposed to register as students under the law (*Monbusho Dai 2 Nenpo*, 1874/1964**). The school attendance rate was only 32.3% and the construction of schools did not progress easily due to the large scale of the reform. The Education Law could not complete the original plans in real terms.

It is certain, however, that the conventional forms of education began to change. Many *terakoya* were renamed and reconstructed into private or public primary schools under the Education Law (Sekiyama, 1996**[2]). Some of the schools for domains also turned into elementary schools (e.g., *Sakujinkan* in the Morioka domain), secondary schools (e.g., *Meishinkan* in the Fukui domain), and a language school (e.g., *Kounkan* in the Nagasaki domain). Each school, nonetheless, maintained the characteristics in the early Meiji era (Ichishima, 1926/1970**) as schools in the late Edo era had had (Umihara, 1983**).

Educational standards

The typical contents of the education the participants of the present study received were an extension of the preschool education: *tenarai*, military arts, Chinese studies, and, in some cases, arithmetic. Some participants received such education at temple schools, private schools, or domain schools till the onset of Meiji, and other participants at private schools, public elementary or secondary schools after the Education Law. The participants started to go to school at about 7 years of age (see Table 3.1 in the previous chapter), as most of the children in the late Edo did (Dore, 1984**; M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Okita, 2000**; Sekiyama, 1996**; Tada, 1992**). Meritocracy was common throughout the Edo era: in the no-classroom system in temple schools, in which

students at different levels gathered in one place but did different things using different textbooks in accordance with their ability, and in the tracking system in the other schools abovementioned.

Meritocracy, however, spread beyond the class system and hereditary hierarchy from the late Edo era probably because each domain needed to appoint excellent personnel to cope with the cruxes of that time. As the Edo era got closer to the end, success in life as a leader of each domain depended on the extent to which they studied not only Chinese classics but also other more practical subjects: Japanese history, mathematics, medical science, military science, Dutch or English, and so on (K. Ishikawa, 1972**). The academic level of temple schools were approaching that of private schools and domain schools as the Edo era was drawing to a lose (M. Ishikawa, 1978**). In the late Edo era, other classes besides the samurai came to be permitted to study even in domain schools, which were originally established only for samurai (K. Ishikawa, 1972**; M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Okita, 2000**). This indicates that study of Chinese classics, which had been the scholarship only for the privileged class for a long time, was spreading in all classes little by little (M. Ishikawa, 1978**). Conversely, it can be said that the equality in classrooms gradually tore the wall of the class system as Tada (1992**) mentioned. Dore (1984**) summarized a profound insight about the expansion of the merit system during this period.

> This had two consequences. The fact that mobility aspirations were already at a high level meant that when political and technological change created new opportunities in a more fluid Meiji society they were eagerly taken up. It was easier to create a go-getting competitive society because enough people were already psychologically prepared to offer themselves as competitors. Secondly, education continued to be an important mechanism of

> social ascent. It was by acquiring new knowledge and new skills—not just by entrepreneurial boldness or a keen eye to the main chance—that one moved ahead in Meiji Japan. (p. 293)

Meritocracy continued to be adopted in a more strict tracking system in the early Meiji era. Yet, whether at private schools or domain schools, in samurai society, education was oriented to train talented persons useful for society by cultivating their character (Umihara, 1983**).

L1 Teaching

It is no exaggeration to say that Japanese teaching for the participants was conducted for achieving proficiency in Chinese studies. The purpose of Chinese studies was to become a cultivated adult as an administrator; therefore, the way to achieve the goal was to become familiar with the classics and to model themselves after sages. Chinese studies was the only academic subject which was taught in all of the domain schools, amounting to 272 established from the mid Edo to the very early Meiji era (K. Ishikawa, 1971**). Chinese studies had been the most important subject in the period in which the participants spent their childhood.

Curriculum in Temple Schools

Temple schools were the outset for formal learning for almost all the participants. Sekiyama (1996**) stated that each temple school had 50 to 60 students on national average, or 20 to 60 according to M. Ishikawa (1978**). Asaoka's (1892**) survey revealed that the students in temple schools in Tokyo gathered before 7:30 and were dismissed around 14:30 every day, except for the holidays on 1st, 15th, and the last day of the month, and special holidays of about 15 days in a year. It can be said that it was the standard throughout the nation as seen by Sekiyama (1996**).

The main activity was *tenarai*, practices of reading and writing using

textbooks of normal social behavior, morals, and proverbs expressed in poetic or epistolary style, and of Buddhist or Confucian tales. Students thoroughly imitated the model given by their teacher in reading and writing. Through the activity of *tenarai*, students learned not only various subjects but also discipline and wisdom to live by (K. Ishikawa, 1972**; M. Ishikawa, 1978**). The tasks were decided according to the students' needs and proficiency in the no-classroom system. Excellent students, depending on schools, proceeded to the further step of reading Chinese classics called *sodoku*, in which students practiced reading aloud Chinese classics in noble and academic Japanese to the extent that they could memorize them.[3] The activity required learners to punctuate texts without any punctuation marks—although there were sometimes some marks or the Japanese syllabary, *kana*, to assist—imitating their teacher's reading as a model.

Material in Temple Schools

The traditional Japanese syllabary, *Iroha*, various collections of epistles, *Orai*,[4] a collection of Buddhist proverbs, *Jitsugokyo*, a collection of Confucian proverbs, *Sanjikyo*, a collection of Buddhist and Confucian tales, *Dojikyo*, and disciplines of samurai, *Imagawajo* were popularly used as textbooks in *tenarai* (Asaoka, 1892**; Sekiyama, 1996**). The Classic of Filial Piety (*Kokyo* in Japanese), and the Four Books and Five Classics (*Shisho-Gokyo* in Japanese) were mainly read at the further step, *sodoku* (Asaoka, 1892**; Dore, 1984**; Sekiyama, 1996**). The Four Books literally consists of four books: the Analects of Confucius (*Rongo* in Japanese), the Discourses (or Works) of Mencius (*Moshi* in Japanese), the Greater Learning (*Daigaku* in Japanese), the Doctrine of the Mean (*Chuyo* in Japanese). The last two are extractions from the Book of Rites (*Raiki* in Japanese) by Zhu Xi, which explains the ethical significance of etiquette and is one of the Five Classics

comprising five books. The other Five Classics are the Book of Odes (*Shikyo* in Japanese), the oldest poems collected in the Chou era, the Book of History (*Shokyo* in Japanese), a record of legendary kings in China, the Book of Changes (*Ekikyo* in Japanese), an explanation of divination and its philosophy or the Way of Yin and Yan, the Chronicles of Lu (*Shunju* in Japanese), which it is said that Confucius himself wrote about his country, Lu. According to Takeuchi (1965**), Confucius encouraged the study of the Five Classics because he thought, in short, that they made the learners' etiquette more refined, their sentiments and knowledge richer, and their power of meditation and expressions stronger.

Teachers in Temple Schools

Teachers in temple schools were generally close to their students and the students' guardians even though teachers belonged to various classes and occupations from samurai to monks, Shinto priests, calligraphers, and doctors (Asaoka, 1892**; M. Ishikawa, 1978**). Excellent teachers were able to write letters from the opposite side of a desk because they had to quickly retouch as many students' writing as they could (Asaoka, 1892**; Nakae, 2007**).

Curriculum in Private Schools and Domain Schools

At private schools and domain schools, Chinese studies was regarded as the most academic subject to pursue. Previous studies show almost consistent evidence of the curriculum of Chinese studies (e.g., Dore, 1984**; M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Umihara, 1983**): the two stages of reading and workshop. Reading began with *sodoku*. After that, the students were led to read faster, longer, and more extensively. At this stage, *sodoku* was often called *dokusho*. Next, students were directed to read in a group of two (*taidoku* in Japanese) or more (*rindoku* in Japanese). The workshop can be divided into several forms: lectures

(*kogi* in Japanese), debates (*egyo* or *rinko* in Japanese).

Material in Private Schools and Domain Schools

The Four Books and Five Classics were selected as the textbooks at the stage of *sodoku* (M. Ishikawa, 1978**; Sekiyama, 1996**). The Classic of Filial Piety and the Tales of Sages (*Shogaku* in Japanese) were occasionally used as an introductory textbook; the Analects of Shun Scholars (*Kinshiroku* in Japanese) and the Collection of Poems (*Monzen* in Japanese), the Great Stories in Verse (*Mogyu* in Japanese) were popular as further reading (Dore, 1984**).

Teachers in Private Schools and Domain Schools

Teachers of Chinese studies were generally respected by the students in that the teachers were substantially considered to be ethical and academic successors of ancient sages (Murayama, 1977**). Teachers in private and domain schools in charge of pupils seem to have been rather revered owing to their dignity. The teachers' atmosphere seems to have been as follows.

> A man who was called a scholar of Chinese studies had the distinctive style of a Confucian, and had acquired much knowledge of Chinese studies. Confucianism originally consists of *kyo* (doctrine) and *shi* (history); therefore, the scholars had a wide range of knowledge of philosophy, literature, ethics, politics, economics, law, history and so on. In addition, they were capable of making proper judgment and of composing Chinese poems. (Miura, 1998, p. 4**, trans. by the present author)

Classmates

Almost all the classmates of the participants can be considered as the ones belonging to the same privileged class: samurai or quasi-samurai in the Edo era, and ex-samurai in the early Meiji era.

L2 Teaching

There is no indication that the participants traveled abroad or that they saw English men in this period with only a few exceptions. Even after the Meiji era began, there were still few foreigners on a nationwide scale. Uchida, however, seems to have taken some lessons from a native speaker although there is no material to indicate when. Machimura was also in an environment where English, German, and French were taught in the domain school, *Meishinkan*, although he was not old enough to learn them there. It was also found that Nitobe was taught English shortly or irregularly and Zumoto was strongly interested in the English words during this period. Mimashi and Miyabe can be thought to be another exception in that they learned German before English. LLSs and outcomes of L2 thus were not found in this chapter.

Learning

Cognition

Sodoku can be considered as the most outstanding cognitive activity in the primary education of the participants because *sodoku* was an indispensable step to make a scaffold for reading other academic materials on their own. The participants practiced reading aloud Chinese classics in noble and academic Japanese to the extent that they could memorize them as noted. The activity required learners to punctuate texts imitating their teacher's reading as a model, and accordingly to notice the rules of various linguistic elements.

Metacognition

There were a number of data exemplifying that the participants controlled their learning. Although it might be seen that they just observed the conventional teaching method of Chinese studies under their strict teachers, they grappled with it, made an effort to complete

the learning tasks given by their teachers, and reviewed or previewed the learning contents. Some of them seem to have started to turn their thoughts to the subjects they should study in the future, English studies, which is evidence that they could objectify themselves and plan the future to achieve their ideal-self. It can be said that this is an evidence of developing metacognition.

Outcome

L1 Proficiency

The Chinese classics the participants mentioned that they had read during their primary education were hard to read for most people, including those in the ruling class in Japan at that time, and, probably today. It is conceivable that the participants were still educational elites even after the class of samurai was abolished and that they had advanced Japanese proficiency as well as a wide range of academic knowledge owing to the higher-level education in the upper society.

4-3. Discussion: Dual Decoding Process

The interaction between L1 and L2 is the main issue of discussion in this section. Viewed from the findings abovementioned, it would be fruitful to examine the influence of Chinese studies on English proficiency and to discuss what factors of Chinese studies had an effect on English proficiency. In fact, there was some evidence that Chinese studies was mentioned as one of the factors affecting the English proficiency in the early Meiji era: “When I was a child, I was often told that English proficiency would not develop, unless the ability of Chinese studies was developed. Those who were also good at Chinese studies were good at English” (Saba, 1927**, p. 373, trans. by the present author). These issues will be discussed by reviewing previous

studies on the interaction between L1 and L2.

Review of Previous Studies on Interaction between L1 and L2

In modern linguistics, the interaction between L1 and L2 has been pointed out since as early as the 1950s (e.g., Haugen, 1953), and the issues of “interference” or “transfer” of L1 to L2 has been reported from both the angles of a learner’s failure or success in L2 learning. It might be said that the concept of contrastive analysis was basically theorized from the negative point of view (see Lado, 1957; Weinreich, 1953). Another aspect of the interaction, “avoidance,” was first introduced by Schachter (1974) according to R. Ellis (1985), which explained that learners tended to avoid the structures of the L2 that were not included in their L1 (e.g., relative clause in English for Japanese people). Vygotsky (1934/1986), on the other hand, emphasized the developmental influence of L1 on the success of L2 learning and vice versa.

> Success in learning a foreign language is contingent on a certain degree of maturity in the native language. The child transfers to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own. The reverse is also true — a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language. The child learns to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories, and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations. (pp. 195-196)

A series of work by Cummins (1976/2001a; 1979/2001b; 1980/2001c) refined this idea more systematically. Similar comments had been often reported in Meiji era in Japan.

Review of Previous Studies on Interaction between English and Chinese Studies

As far as the author knows, K. Nakamura is the first scholar in

Japan that officially pointed out the developmental relationship between Chinese studies and English studies (*Eigaku* in Japanese) as early as 1887. He claimed that Japanese should not dismiss Chinese studies and was against the movement for abolishing Chinese studies when the enthusiasm for English language learning was increasing. The first point of his claim was as follows:

> Observing the students who distinguish themselves in English studies, all of them already mastered Chinese studies. The students who excel in Chinese studies and are accomplished in its prose and poetry, are also proficient in English studies and have a good command of English. They overwhelm others. (K. Nakamura, 1887/1989**, p. 23, trans. by the present author)

The second point was that:

> When I came back from London, I ordered my students to discontinue their Chinese studies and taught only English studies. Their proficiency increased at the beginning, but stopped at the further stage of learning… In addition, I met some men who went abroad in their childhood and returned in their middle years. They were similar to my students mentioned above although they attained a decent level of proficiency in English performance. Comparing them to those who studied abroad after mastering Chinese studies, there was a huge difference in the proficiency of English studies. (K. Nakamura, 1887/1989**, p. 24, trans. by the present author)

The comments above seem to be not only similar to the concepts of Vygotsky (1932/1986) as quoted above but also consistent with the observational results of a French immersion program for English native speakers in Montreal, Canada by Lambert and Tucker (1972) and a Spanish immersion program for English native speakers in Culver City, U.S. by A. D. Cohen (1974). This series of points also offer an

interesting resemblance to a chain of explanations by Cummins. His first finding is below.

> …there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to affect his cognitive functioning. (Cummins, 1976/2001a, p. 51)

The second finding is that:

> The initially high level of L1 development makes possible the development of similar levels of competence of L2. However, for children whose L1 skills are less well developed in certain respects, intensive exposure to L2 in the initial grades is likely to impede the continued development of L1. This will, in turn, exert a limiting effect on the development of L2. (Cummins, 1979/2001b, p. 75)

The former is called “the threshold hypothesis,” and the latter “the developmental interdependence hypothesis.” The “threshold” is a linguistic level of cognitive growth. Semilingualism is a state below the lower threshold level, in which learners are at low levels in both languages. Dominant bilingualism is a state between the lower threshold level and the higher threshold level: One language is too dominant to be compatible with the other. Additive bilingualism is a state beyond the higher threshold level, in which learners are at high levels in both languages. The developmental interdependence hypothesis was later elaborated by Cummins (1980/2001c), integrating several previous studies such as Burt and Dulay (1978), Hernandez-Chavez, Burt, and Dulay (1978), and Oller (1978). He differentiated cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP), related to literacy skills developed in linguistic manipulation (e.g., reading) from basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS), which everybody acquires in natural communication. Cummins considers CALP to be a

result of a developed common underlying proficiency (CUP), which is built by either language or both languages in the case of bilingualism.

On the other hand, there is another idea that Chinese studies is regarded as foreign language learning. Uchimura (1899*) deemed written Chinese as a foreign language in word order, which he also thought was extremely unorganized. In Takase (2003**), K. Kaneko also recalled Chinese studies as foreign language learning, but saw it as a scaffold for English learning.

> I could write English sentences because I had learned Chinese studies at *Shuyukan* in Fukuoka. I already had a background in writing and I knew the model compositions. The constructions of English and Chinese are almost the same. The difference consists in letters. All of the elegance of my argument and the delicacy of my thoughts are attributed to Chinese studies…(p. 232, trans. by the present author)[5]

The word order of Chinese—though Chinese sounds were incorporated into Japanese as similar sounds—was much different from Japanese. Moreover, as Kamata (1972**) stated, Chinese has different forms from Japanese in not only the writing system and syntax, but also in logical connections and metaphors. Readers might have noticed such differences between Japanese and Chinese, and have gained a metacognitive view for both Japanese and Chinese. In that sense, the word "background"—translated by the present author as an equivalent to the Japanese word "*soyō*"—in the quotation above, can be exchanged with the more specific term, "schemata." Schema is "the organizational aspect of knowledge" (Just & Carpenter, 1987, p. 11), or "an active organization of past reactions, or of past experiences, which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response" (Bartllet, 1932, p. 201). The mechanism of constructing

schemata appears to be universal to human beings (e.g., Bartlett, 1932; Tomasello, 1999).

Ota (1995**) cited the comments of G. Muko,[6] which can be thought to have the same idea as Kaneko.

> Some of my basic knowledge of language learning is derived from German, but the reason why my ability in German developed lies in Chinese studies. Chinese is my first foreign language. It is no wonder that I acquired German in two years because I already had a background by learning Chinese studies. (Ota, 1995**, pp. 144-145, trans. by the present author)

Ota (1995**) interpreted Kaneko's comment from the point of view that the word order of English and Chinese are relatively similar. The "background" in the two comments above, however, appears to imply more if the word "background" can be exchanged with "schemata." The arguing point is not only the similarity of word order between English and Chinese—although it must be one of the important points for learning them—but also the organized background knowledge, or schemata, which, in learning another language, make it easy to conceptualize semantic features and make it possible to pay attention to linguistic rules.

Interpretation

Considering the history of Japan, Japanese people brought in two foreign cultures as well as their languages: Chinese and English (Nitobe, 1936/1970b*). They, however, internalized the former by completely modifying it into the Japanese lexicon so that they could write and speak it as the Japanese language (Takashima, 1998a**, 1998b**, 1998c**). Japanese, therefore, became a dual language constituting Chinese original words and Japanese original words (H. Kato, 1899**; K. Ishikawa, 1999**). Chinese original words have

especially had an important role on the formation of the academic words, phrases, and sentences in Japanese because the Chinese terms were deeply connected to the advanced Chinese ideas for a long time.

The characteristic of reading Chinese classics in Japanese consists in that readers saw a textbook written in Chinese, processed it in the linguistic systems of both Chinese and Japanese, and read it aloud in Japanese (see Figure 4).

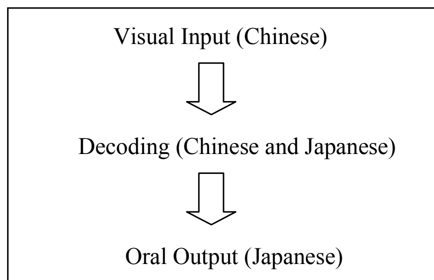


Figure 4 Dual decoding process

The classics were, however, "after all, of profound philosophical content, and it would be unreasonable to expect unformed minds to understand them," as Dore (1984**, p. 130) pointed out. Eventually, it can be seen that the aims of reading Chinese classics in Japanese for children is related to remembering a number of lexical items and to organizing the schemata of prosody and syntax. Even if the reading is just imitation in the case of *sodoku*, it is not necessarily passive activity but can be rather active, heuristic, and metacognitive if learners attempted to change the real level of conditions into an ideal level of conditions. The rhetoric, logic, and truth should be gradually understood with age. Through these activities, the learners could visually internalize the lexical items of Chinese and simultaneously

could incorporate the accent, rhythm, and intonation, while observing the Japanese oral system. Taken together, the practice of reading Chinese classics in the Japanese language can be claimed to have dual decoding process. The readers were able to develop their CALP as well as CUP to become, so to speak, "pre-bilingual" before learning English because Chinese is a foreign language as well as the Japanized lexicon occupying almost all of the academic words in Japanese. Although some critics say that the distinction between BICS and CALP lacks empirical support (see Baker, 1993), the difference is relatively clear in the Japanese language. It is likely as a result, that Chinese studies was learning which could make learners become additive bilinguals beyond the higher threshold.

4-4. Summary

The participants of the present study started to go to school at about 7 years of age. They received their primary education at temple schools, private schools, or domain schools until the onset of the Meiji era, and thereafter, in some cases, at private schools, public elementary or secondary schools established by the new government. They learned *tenarai*, Chinese studies, martial arts, and arithmetic in their primary education, where meritocracy was commonly adopted.

Although the participants encountered the great change of general system from the late Edo to the early Meiji era, the change did not reach the lives of the participants very quickly. Even for some years after the Edo era ended, there remained conventional remnants such as Confucianism and *Bushido* in the society in which they lived. The center of their academic interest was still Chinese studies, which also continued to rule their way of living.

The most outstanding cognitive activity in their primary education was dual decoding processed in the rudimentary activity of Chinese studies, *sodoku*, in which learners practiced reading aloud Chinese books in noble and academic Japanese to the extent that they could memorize them. The activity technically required learners to read texts without any punctuation marks while imitating their teacher's reading as a model, and linguistically required learners to simultaneously process the two language systems of Chinese and Japanese.

It could be significant for participants to learn the Chinese linguistic system which was different from their L1 before learning English in that they had to construct prosodic schema in Japanese and syntactic schema in Chinese. There is a possibility that the ability to access these schemata would later facilitate the establishment of the prosodic and syntactic schemata in English. In addition, considering that most Japanese academic vocabulary consists of Chinese characters, it is easy to think that learning Chinese characters through the activity of *sodoku* developed the CALP and CUP of the participants, and consequently prepared the foundations for the learning of English. Grosjean (1989) noted: "We may then be ready to consider bilinguals, not as two monolinguals in one person" (p. 6). To borrow his words, the participants can be seen trilinguals, not as three monolinguals in one person. Moreover, as Goethe stated, "he who knows no foreign language does not truly know his own." The participants already knew their own language to some extent by learning Chinese before they started to learn English. This indicates that the participants obtained a metacognitive point of view in learning languages during their primary education.

Notes

1 Norman (1973**) noted that he cited the number of ex-samurai population surveyed in Fujii and Moriya (1934**), but the number might have been higher because the delayed petitions as the ex-samurai were not counted in the statistics as Fujii and Moriya (1934**) mentioned.

2 Sekiyama (1996**) investigated the temple schools and private schools in Tokyo and stated that there were 293 temple schools at the end of the Edo era, almost all of which (240 temple schools) were registered as private schools at the beginning of Meiji. As many as 176 private schools out of 240 were changed into private primary schools after the Education Law.

3 Practicing *sodoku* is vividly recollected in Yamakawa (1943/1983**), whose father ran his own private school of Chinese studies in the late Edo era in Mito, located near present Tokyo.

4 The word *Orai* here was used to represent its original meaning as a term referring to the textbooks which contained different kinds of contents in epistolary style to make it easy to explain the characteristics of each kind of textbook. *Orai* became a general term for all textbooks for the primary education in the Edo era (M, Ishikawa, 1978**).

5 This is a recollection by K. Kaneko (1853-1942) when he obtained good results in English composition during his school days in the United States in the 1870s. He was selected by the government as an excellent student of Chinese studies and ordered to study there. After graduation from Harvard University, he later became the Minister of Justice in Japan.

6 G. Muko (1865-1943) was a well-known lecturer in German at Keio

University and Kansai University.

5. DATA ANALYSIS 3: SECONDARY EDUCATION

5-1. Excerpts from the Participants

The following are some representative excerpts related to the LLVs for participants of the present study regarding their secondary education.

> Because I was also a boarding student [of *Kogyokusha*] and my English was a bit more advanced than his [Mr. Shigetaka Shiga], I was asked by Mr. Jiro Shiga, the superintendent as well as one of Shiga's relatives, to move to his apartment, to live with Mr. Shigetaka Shiga, and to help him with review of English in the morning and evening.
>
> Kawamura (1927a*, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

> I began with *Webster's Spelling Book*. After a month, I expanded my ability to the extent that I could recite most of the text and write it as well. In a year, I reached such a level that I could read through *Mitchell's Geography*, *Goodrich's History of England*, and *Wayland's Economy*. We read, however, just to comprehend the contents without understanding the grammar. Although we received lectures by an English man for 2 or 3 hours once a week, we could not comprehend what he said at all. Interpreters sometimes lessened the burden of listening.
>
> Kojima (1941*, pp. 10-11, trans. by the present author)

> In 1873, I entered Nagaoka Junior High School at my 10th year, in

which we had most lectures using textbooks written in English, including *Malcom's History of England*. In Niigata Junior High, the conditions were the same. I was trained by foreign teachers.

Maki (1941*, p. 9, trans. by the present author)

When I reached my 15 year, I mainly practiced kendo and judo, and started to learn the spelling of English at the domain school in Omura.

Minami's comment cited from
Minami Takajiro (1958*, p. 94, trans. by the present author)

The curriculum of Takashima School was, what is called, Seisoku, in which we received lectures of reading, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, and so on, by American teachers from the 1st grade. It was like an American school…I learned elementary English from Japanese teachers for about a month at the annex before attending the classes by foreign teachers.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, p. 23, trans. by the present author)

I began with A B C. The printed letters looked so ugly. The cursive characters were more artistic. I encountered the same difficulty in pronouncing the letters of the alphabet that other boys did. L and V, particularly, sounded un-human in my ears. I thought the sound of *er* as in *her* and of *ur* in *hurt* were emitted from the inner corner of the eye.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 522)

Moreover, my uncle had told me that without foreign knowledge I

could not become a great man, and I inferred from his statement that by learning Japanese I should remain a small man.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 523)

I was put in a lower grade and began with a small grammar [*First Book in Grammar*] by Quackenbos. The opening sentence was: “Weeds grow rapidly.”… I did not at first grasp the sense of this, simple sentence. Questions like these troubled my poor head: “What really are weeds?” “Do they grow more rapidly than other plants?” “Is it only in growth that they are rapid?”—I felt that I was being transported from a Japanese to a Western way of thinking.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, pp. 531-532)

Finding I was making some headway with my studies, Uncle now decided to put me in the best school then existing.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 534)

I took the entrance exam [of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages] and was permitted to enter at the bottom of the list. I studied there for 6 hours in English under foreign teachers. Even textbooks like geography and arithmetic were written in English.

Nitobe (1909a*, p. 3, trans. by the present author)

Because we received education in English every day and accordingly neglected Chinese studies, we became perplexed at translating English into Japanese.

Nitobe (1909c*, p. 4, trans. by the present author)

It was in about 1876 that the class of Chinese studies started in

Tokyo School of the English Language to be conducted as an extracurricular lecture every other afternoon, where we practiced reading. The order of seats in every classroom was determined in accordance with the result of examinations. I still remember that the first seat was occupied by Shosuke Sato, present president of Tohoku Imperial University Agricultural College. I took a seat in the middle of the lowest class. We read *Aesop's Fables* translated in Chinese supplemented with kana characters, but I was poor at it.

Nitobe (1909c*, pp. 4-5, trans. by the present author)

Osaka School was an English school for mainly educating sons of the nobility, established by Kawata Oko, a well-known scholar at that time. The school building was on Mr. Kawata's premises in Ushigomewakamiya-cho, where American teachers gave American style of instruction.

Oshima (1993*, p. 18, trans. by the present author)

I became dissatisfied with the level of the school [Osaka School] after I increased my academic ability, so in 1875, I took the examination at a national school, Tokyo School of the English Language located in Hitotsubashi, Kanda. I passed it luckily.

Oshima (1993*, p. 20, trans. by the present author)

The students at that time, probably because the new era had barely begun, were bold and bighearted, patriots, and persons of real fiber. They studied to become great men.

S. Sato (1931*, trans. by the present author)

We began with learning Webster's spelling book and I can now recall

my delight when I came to learn words and could spell *b a*, *ba*, *k e r*, *ker*; *baker*. After two years of study I was able to spell that longest word in the language, *incomprehensibility*, and I then thought that my work was over. We learned also the Willson's Readers series and it was in the Third reader that I came in contact with Christianity for the first time.

Uchimura (1914*, p.329)

I saw for the first time a big steamship anchoring, Western men and women walking, and some huge buildings of trading houses rising, which at last opened my eyes.

Yanagimoto (1937/1993*, pp. 2-3, trans. by the present author)

I felt very happy then that I could get a chance to learn English from an American teacher. His name was McLaren and, looking back now, he was from the West, not well-educated, and just an elementary school teacher at best, but I was greatly interested in just learning English from foreign teachers and really appreciated it. I was overjoyed that I could feel like my English ability was extending day by day.

Zumoto (1939*, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

My English ability at that time was elementary as I just read the 3rd volume of certain readers series in school. It was not enough at all for me to be qualified for an interpreter; however, I was gradually getting used to the pronunciation of the American man thanks to the training under foreign teachers, and, even if I still had much to study, I was able to speak with proper utterances. I did not have much trouble after 2 or 3 days and eventually managed to work as an

interpreter for 11 days.

Zumoto (1907*, p. 10, trans. by the present author)

One day, we were called by Mr. Korekiyo Takahashi to his presence and were told, “As a penalty for a fuss, memorize one more chapter of *Parley’s Universal History*.” Shiga begged me to undertake the work for him because he thought it was beyond his ability. I consented to his proposal and went to Mr. Takahashi the day after and said, “Could you let me undertake the work for two? Shiga told me he could not.” He was so generous that he let me do it.

Kawamura (1927a*, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

My elder brother lived as a servant in the dormitory for foreigners, which was called *Kyoshikan*, in which the SAC teachers such as Clark, Wheeler, Penhallow, and so on, lived. I lived with my elder brother and I was a substitute as an interpreter when my brother was unavailable. I accordingly came to be good at English.

Kojima (1941*, p. 14, trans. by the present author)

When I was in *Ko* class of the 5th division [at Tokyo School of the English Language], the teacher was the drunk English man called MacArthur. It seems that he used to be a merchant and didn’t know more than the four operations in arithmetic.... I called on him with a classmate to learn more arithmetic and asked him about fractions. He replied in a matter-of-fact manner, “Fractions? I do not know such things.”

Miyabe’s comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, p. 29, trans. by the present author)

The teacher of the superior class was an American educator, Scott, who had an excellent command of teaching composition. After I entered the class, my composition ability developed at a tremendous rate, and his training of composition proved to be extremely beneficial later.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, p. 30, trans. by the present author)

Since the school [Tokyo School of the English Language] adopted a strict tracking system, I studied by dim lamplight until after 11 o'clock, and sometimes later until around midnight, because of which I damaged my eyesight a little.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, p. 31, trans. by the present author)

In a government school which I attended about thirty-five years ago, was an English teacher, who, like several of his compatriots, thought that any one east of Hongkong was out of Christendom and out of Christian morality. He used to come into the class room, sit on the table, and smoke an enormous pipe which we admired more than his knowledge or the size of his head. Mere children as we were, we had no respect for him though in his teaching there was no particular fault to find. And the sooner we could say "Sayonara" to him the better, we thought.

On the other hand I have an example to give you of a young man from America who ought never to have come to Japan. He was an entirely good man. He loved the boys, but in teaching he was a negligible quantity. In teaching he spoke too fast. The boys under him were dissatisfied, came to the principal, and asked him to excuse

them or the teacher.

Nitobe (1909b*, p. 14)

Whenever the class was confronted with a problem in mathematics that was troublesome, he [M. M. Scott] would stand before the blackboard, and taking a piece of chalk in his hand, would say: "Now, boys! let us see if we can solve this knotty problem. What shall I put down first? You see I am only an instrument in your hands. Tell me now, anyone, how should I begin?"

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 541)

His [M. M. Scott's] chief forte lay in teaching composition. In this art he was simply marvelous, and it was by writing sentences that our ideas were crystallized and clarified.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 541)

He [M. M. Scott] also introduced us little by little to the beauties of English literature. We had not command enough of the language to appreciate the fine points of good writing; but none the less were we given a glimpse of the excellency of Shakespeare, the wisdom of Bacon, the dignity of Milton, the geniality of Goldsmith.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, p. 541)

We [Miyabe, Nitobe, and Uchimura] promised to use English whenever we would meet with each other. If we could not find the words that we wanted to say, we could ask the others to permit us to use Japanese. In the case of speaking Japanese without permission, we had to pay the fine of five *rin*.

Nitobe (1930/1969f*, p. 556, trans. by the present author)

Every time we [Miyabe, Nitobe, and Uchimura] gathered, we talked about not only English but also higher education and our dreams.

Nitobe (1930/1969f*, p. 557, trans. by the present author)

Here is a poem which encouraged my mind when I was a child. The poem, as you know, is the one appearing at the first in the collection of poems by Sanyo Rai:

Passed has the thirteenth year of my life:
Passed have years as water flows
Despite the infinite universe,
Destined for death are men.
How I wish I could become
A man figured in history forever.

This is a well-known poem, which Sanyo wrote at his 13th year of age. I experienced great empathy with it when I read it. I still went to Tokyo School of Foreign Languages then.

Uchimura (1899/1946*, p. 12, trans. by the present author)

We obtained education in the true sense of the word for the first time in the highest class in the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University [Tokyo School of the English Language at that time], the present First High School. Mr. Scott, an American, a leader of the training of teachers in our nation was the first man to teach us that education was not for cramming but for the development of intelligence.

Uchimura's comment cited from
Iwasaki (1974*, p. 54, trans. by the present author)

The teaching disciplines along which we were educated before

consisted of memorizing words and observing grammar. He [M. M. Scott] was, however, completely the opposite. This was because he guided us to understand the contents of groups of words rather than to memorize the definition of each word.

Uchimura (1927*, p. 386, trans. by the present author)

What I remember next as his [M. M. Scott's] device for teaching is that he set a task of composing quite a few short sentences once a week without worrying about the grammatical terms, rules, and so on. We could accordingly represent our own thoughts and affect by using English. It led us to the world of expression outside of the grammar-first-world in which I had lived…. Other grammar teachers persisted in analysis so much that they could not afford to deal with parts of speech and syntax, which should be considered more important. Mr. Scott gave us the tasks of composition and encouraged us to put English to practical use without bothering us about that troublesome parsing.

Uchimura (1927*, pp. 386-387, trans. by the present author)

Till I entered SAC, I had boarded with a well-known scholar of the Chinese classics, Mr. Shigeaki Gamo, while going to the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University in the daytime. Mr. Gamo disliked my studying English because he still discriminated against Western people at that time.... Although I did not feel like abandoning English study, I read *Kaikokuheidan* by Shihei Hayashi on his advice and felt strongly the strategic necessity of defending Hokkaido against Russia's encroachment.

Zumoto (1935*, p. 22, trans. by the present author)

5-2. Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

Age

The participants discussed in this chapter belong to the period when they received secondary education prior to entering SAC. In this period, the participants started to regularly learn English. The participants' age of enrollment in SAC is found in Table 5.1. Out of the 70 participants, 47 are used in this statistics. There is no document to show the ages of enrollment of the rest. The mean was about 18; the range, from 14 to 22; the median, 18; the mode, 17 and 18. This indicates most of the participants had learned English for about 6 years before entering SAC.

Social Background

General System

The participants started to become involved in more concrete changes of the general system for Westernizing Japan in this period. There were two domestic policies for undertaking the modernization of Japan: One was overseas dispatch of students and the other was employment of foreign experts (*Yogaku Kotohajime*, 1993**). That was considered the quickest way for the nation to internalize Western knowledge.

In 1871, after completing the execution of the most revolutionary policy, the abolition of domains, the Iwakura Mission of 108 people, including 48 government officials in high office, left Yokohama for America and Europe to observe Western civilization and to negotiate the revision of some unequal treaties. The rest of the officials in the government continued to carry out modernization following the model of Western countries.

The following year, 1872, was also an epoch-making year in that

Table 5.1
Age of Enrollment in Sapporo Agricultural College

Name	Age
H. Nakane	14
Hiroi Kojima Matsunaga Nitobe Saito Takagi	15
Kon T. Nakane Teshima Uchimura	16
Arakawa Ito K. Ono Kawamura Kodera Miyabe Oshima Sakuma Shiga Takenobu S. Watase T. Watase	17
Adachi Machimura Mimashi Minami Oizumi Sase Takaoka Tsurusaki Uchida Yuki Zumoto Zusho	18
Yanagimoto Fujita Hosokawa S. Ono Hasegawa	19
Ibuki Iwasaki Kuroiwa S. Sato Suwa	20
Otsu	21
Omachi	22

many changes visibly appeared in the capital city: New banknotes were issued and the unit of the currency called *ryo* was changed to *yen*; Brick buildings were constructed in the heart of Ginza in Tokyo instead of traditional wooden structures; public telegraphic communications between Tokyo and Kyoto, and railway between Shinbashi and Yokohama were opened; the calendar was changed from the lunar to the solar at the end of the year; and national holidays were officially prescribed. In 1873, the conscription system was adopted by which adults at their 20th year of age, whether they were ex-samurai or not, had 3 years of compulsory military service.

In the middle of the year, however, the main officials of the Iwakura Mission returned and were flatly opposed to the caretaker government about the issue of the diplomatic policy for Korea, which resulted in the resignation of the principal caretaker officials. Although the government established the Metropolitan Police Department (*Keishicho* in Japanese) to take precautions against it, a number of people rose in rebellion at Saga in Kyushu, a big southern island, in 1874. As of this year, students numbering 373 were officially studying abroad, including 250 students on the government grant (*Monbusho Dai 1 Nenpo*, 1873/1964**), and the total employment of foreign teachers amounted to more than 500 in Japan (Baba, 1998**).

General Standards

The participants lived in a state of social enthusiasm for Western knowledge, especially in big cities like Tokyo. General standards also dramatically changed in accordance with Westernization. Nitobe (1907/1969d*) looked back then as follows:

> They thought that reading the alphabet was a favorable condition to enter government service. If you could read *Parley's Universal History*, you would be considered to be a man who was familiar with

> the circumstances of the world. If you could half understand *Wayland's Economy*, you would be regarded as a man who could be in charge of affairs of the nation. If you could read *Quackenbos' Physics*, you would be respected as a master of natural history. If you had been abroad even for a while, you would be so famous that passersby would point to you everywhere you walked. So, the dream of boys was to become a Councilor of State after studying abroad. (p. 19, trans. by the present author)

The political dynamics in the early Meiji era changed the traditional values as well as the educational orientation. Success in English studies became a new value equated with being a well cultivated and capable leader of new Japan.

On the other hand, *Bushido* still remained a part of ex-samurai's way of living as another aspect of general standards in the early Meiji era. Some of the senior participants changed their first names at around 15 years of age, which means that they followed the convention of samurai even at the time. When samurai children reached their 15th year, they were supposed to shave their forehead and change their hairstyle to that of adults, and also change their first names. This ceremony was called *genpuku*, when children were officially allowed to be adult samurai and to go to the battlefield as soldiers. Although it seems that the participants did not substantially experience the ceremony because the rule of samurai had already ended with the fall of the Shogunate before they reached the proper age, *Bushido* and Western thoughts would coexist in the participants' minds in this period.

Educational System

The participants were still in the unstable educational system in this period because the Education Law had not progressed nationwide. Elites like the participants, however, started to gather to learn Western

knowledge because schools which could meet their demand were established only in some big cities like Tokyo. In 1873, the highest institution managed by the Ministry of Education, the First School (*Ichiban Chugaku* in Japanese) was reorganized as Kaisei College (*Kaisei Gakko* in Japanese), and it was determined that all of the classes should be taught in English. In the same year it was renamed again as Tokyo Kaisei College, and at the same time Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (*Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakko* in Japanese), where five languages (English, French, German, Russian, and Chinese) were taught, was established as the preparatory school for Tokyo Kaisei College. In 1874, although the same type of school as Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was established in Osaka, Aichi, Hiroshima, Miyagi, Nagasaki, and Niigata, the English department of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages became independent and was renamed as Tokyo School of the English Language (*Tokyo Eigo Gakko* in Japanese); likewise, the other six schools of foreign languages changed their names. The seven national English schools closed in 1877 but Tokyo School of the English Language remained as the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University (*Yobimon* in Japanese) in accordance with the birth of Tokyo University, the only university in Japan at that time.

These national schools mentioned above conducted immersion education under the administration of the Ministry of Education. In the meantime, other organizations established several schools similar to the national schools: the College of Engineering (*Kogaku Ryo* in Japanese) by the Ministry of Engineering, the Temporary College of the Colonial Department (*Kaitakushi Kari Gakko* in Japanese) by the Colonial Department, the Tokyo School of Law (*Tokyo Ho Gakko* in Japanese) by the Department of Justice, and so on. Under the decision

of government officials, foreign teachers—for there were few foreign teachers who were able to understand Japanese—taught their mother tongues and instructed various subjects such as arithmetic, geography, and world history.

Voluntary options for education in the Edo era, however, remained available. Students could freely select their schools and teachers although meritocracy continued to be adopted in the well organized tracking system in this period.

Educational Standards

The participants received their secondary education in an atmosphere of social enthusiasm for Western knowledge, especially English studies. English was thought to be the most necessary and popular for the elites to learn (see *Miyabe Kingo*, 1996*; Nitobe, 1929/1970a*, 1936/1970b*; Oshima, 1993*; Yanagimoto, 1937/1993*). The educational status of English in Japan was fixed because the influence of the English language had been the strongest right after the end of the policy of isolationism, which was ended by America (Nitobe, 1929/1970a*, 1936/1970b*), and the superior academic institution, Kaisei College, adopted English as the instructional language in 1873 (Kawasumi, 1998**). The year 1874, when seven national schools of English were opened, might be regarded as the starting point for the rise of enthusiasm for English studies in Japan. Many private schools also taught the English language and the knowledge of Britain and America. As many as 82 schools teaching English—68 private and 14 public schools—were registered to the Ministry of Education in 1874, according to *Monbusho Dai 2 Nenpo* (1874/1964**). Nitobe (1936/1969b*) later recollected that Chinese and Japanese classics had lost the influence on the education system at that time.[1] It turned out that English studies deprived the students of the energy for Japanese

learning or Chinese studies. The social conditions during the early Meiji era urged the young to learn English for prestige and to fulfill their hunger for knowledge (Ota, 1995**).

Almost all of the participants received English studies in the two major forms of English education in the early Meiji era: *Seisoku* and *Hensoku*. The lessons in the former were conducted in English mainly by foreign teachers, which naturally required learners to acquire correct pronunciation. Nitobe (1929/1970d*) later pointed out that *Seisoku* was similar to the "so-called 'Direct' or 'Reformed' method in the English system of teaching modern studies" and "(t)he 'Berlitz' method may be taken as the [this] type..." (p. 446). The lessons in the latter were conducted in Japanese by Japanese teachers, and required the learners only to understand what the text said irrespective of the correctness of pronunciation. Eventually *Seisoku* came to be considered as a type of immersion education, in which the learners did the tasks of the four skills, while the learners in *Hensoku* only did the task of reading for Western knowledge. The schools adopting *Seisoku* method — most national schools were *Seisoku* schools in fact — were differentiated as technical schools (*senmon gakko* in Japanese) from other kinds of schools when the Education Ordinance (*Kyoikurei* in Japanese) was announced in 1877, which replaced the prior regulations, the Education Law.

Table 5.2 illustrates the names of the last school the participants attended before SAC. The data of 58 of the participants was able to be collected, which reveals that 57 participants were graduates of the national institutes that adopted a type of immersion education (Kikuchi was the only exception. Hiroi, Kojima, and S. Ono had once studied at Tokyo School of the English Language. Machimura and Zumoto had once studied in Aichi School of the English Language. Minami had once

Table 5.2
Schools before Enrollment in Sapporo Agricultural College

Name	School
Adachi Fujita Hasegawa Hayakawa Hisajima Ibuki Ideta Iwasaki Kawamura Kuroiwa Mimashi Miyabe Muto Nakashima Nitobe Nozawa Oshima Saito Sakuma S. Sato Shiga Sugiyama Takagi Takaoka Tanouchi Uchida Uchimura S. Watase T. Watase Yanagimoto Zumoto	Tokyo School of the English Language (The Preparatory Department of Tokyo University)
Arakawa Hori Ito Kojima Kon H. Nakane T. Nakane K. Ono S. Ono Sase I. Sato Yuki Zusho	The Preparatory Department of Sapporo Agricultural College (Sapporo School)
Hiroi Machimura Minami Suwa	The Preparatory Department of the College of Engineering
Matsunaga Takenobu Teshima	Aichi School of the English Language
Omachi Otsu	Miyagi School of the English Language
Tsurusaki	Nagasaki School of the English Language
Kodera	Osaka School of the English Language
Maki	Niigata Junior High School
Hosokawa	Tokyo University
Kikuchi	Keio Gijuku

belonged to Nagasaki School of the English Language).

L1 Teaching

Japanese learning of the participants was conducted by means of becoming proficient in Chinese studies. Some participants seem to have learned Chinese studies in private schools along with English studies at first, but it is plausible that the more attention they paid to English studies, the less attention they paid to Chinese studies. In fact, the participants attending Tokyo School of the English Language and its reconstituted organization, the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University, took little education in Chinese studies there. Although Uchimura enjoyed reading poems written in Chinese (*Kanshi* in Japanese) by Sanyo Rai, a well-known author at the end of the Edo era, when going to Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Nitobe inclined to avoid reading it and accordingly he thought that he was poor at it. Zumoto attended a private school of Chinese studies while studying in the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University. Any comments on their Japanese teaching in their secondary education cannot be found in the present study except above.

Curriculum

Sodoku is presumed to still have been conducted in their L1 teaching. It was used in the class at Tokyo School of the English Language in about 1876.

Material

The material of Chinese classics in this period can be considered almost the same as those described in the previous chapter. A textbook in the class at Tokyo School of the English Language from about 1876 seems to have been *Aesop's Fables* translated in Chinese with *kana* characters.

L2 Teaching

Some of the participants listed in Table 5.1 seem to have learned in *Hensoku* schools, especially at beginner's level (e.g., Kawamura, Kikuchi, Kojima, Saito, S. Sato, Shiga, Nitobe, Yanagimoto, T. Watase, Zumoto), but most of them themselves changed schools to learn in *Seisoku*. The size of classes in the national schools was generally small —from 4 to 28 students per teacher on average—which were managed by English, American, German, and Japanese teachers (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3
Number of Teachers and Students in Each National School of the English Language at the End of 1874

School	Teacher					(b) Student	(b)/(a)
	Japanese	English	American	German	(a) Total		
Tokyo	5	8	1	0	14	337	24.1
Osaka	10	5	0	0	15	205	13.7
Aichi	5	0	2	0	7	161	23.0
Hiroshima	3	1	1	0	5	138	27.6
Miyagi	3	0	0	1	4	75	18.8
Nagasaki	6	2	1	0	9	63	7.0
Niigata	5	0	1	0	6	26	4.3

Note. Based on data from *Monbusho Dai 2 Nenpo* (1874/1964**) and *Monbusho Dai 3 Nenpo* (1875/1964**).

Curriculum

At the beginners' level of the participants, spelling books seem to have been their first textbooks, following which, they began to read some English readers or books about geography or history. This procedure was the general way of English learning in the early Meiji era (Takanashi, 1993**). Although the curriculum in most of the private schools included Chinese studies, arithmetic, and other languages, the details of the classes depended on the teachers' judgments. Seven national schools of the English language, established

in Tokyo, Osaka, Aichi, Hiroshima, Miyagi, Nagasaki, and Niigata, however, had an almost common curriculum consisting of three classes, which included conversation, dictation, translation, composition, recitation, reading, spelling, dictation, grammar, penmanship, arithmetic, geography, and history. The activities in language classes were well-balanced for the four skills (see an example of Tokyo School of the English Language in Table 5.4). To say nothing of input of vocabulary, collocation, and grammar, the classes concentrated on output such as conversation and composition. More concrete exercises can be seen in the report cards called "Synopsis of Examination" for students.[2] It included the name of various subjects: composition, dictation, grammar, memorizing, reading, recitation, spelling and sentence, translation, writing, algebra, arithmetic, geography, geometry, history, map-drawing, and physical geography.

Table 5.4
Subjects and Class Hours per Week in Tokyo School of the English Language[3]

Class		Ⅲ		Ⅱ		Ⅰ		Total
Division		6	5	4	3	2	1	
English	Language	9	9	6	6	6	6	42
	Reading & Spelling	6	6	0	0	0	0	12
	Reading & Dictation	0	0	6	6	3	3	18
	Grammar	0	0	3	3	3	3	12
	Penmanship	6	6	3	3	3	3	24
Other Subjects	Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
	Geography	0	0	3	3	3	3	12
	History	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
Total		24	24	24	24	24	24	144

Note. Based on data from *Monbusho Dai 3 Nenpo* (1875/1964**). Music classes and physical education are omitted. The grades and ranks go higher from left to right.

Material

Table 5.5 shows some examples of textbooks most of the participants of the present study mentioned in their comments that they used in their early secondary education before entering the national schools of the English language.

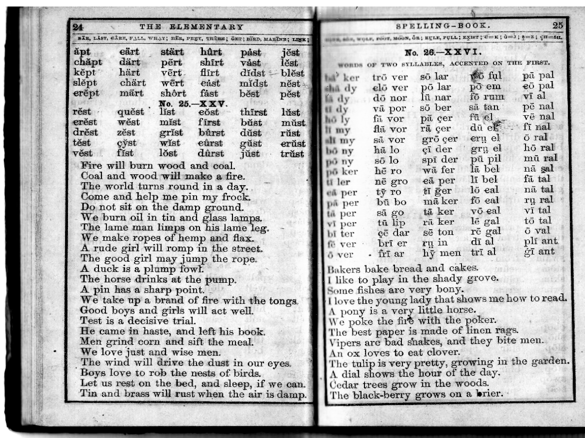
Table 5.5
Examples of Textbooks in Early English Learning

Name	Textbook
Kawamura	*Parley's Universal History*
Kojima	*Webster's Elementary Spelling Book*
	Mitchell's New School Geography
	Goodrich's History of England
	Wayland's Political Economy
Maki	*Malcolm's History of England*
Nitobe	*Quackenbos' First Book in Grammar*
	Parley's Universal History
	Mitchell's New School Geography
	Quackenbos' History of England
	Wayland's Moral Science
Shiga	*Parley's Universal History*
Uchimura	*Webster's Elementary Spelling Book*
	Willson's Readers
T. Watase	*National Readers*
	Willson's Readers
	Mitchell's New School Geography

Webster's Elementary Spelling Book, *Willson's Readers of the School and Family*, *National Readers*, *Parley's Universal History*, *Mitchell's New School Geography*, and *Quackenbos' First Book in English Grammar* are considered as being among the most used textbooks in the early Meiji era (Takanashi, 1993**). Because most of the textbooks for English learning were imported from Western countries, the available selection was small; therefore, there is a strong possibility that the participants learned the same or similar content such as

stories from the Bible, or stories of famous men and places, in different textbooks, and that the participants used the same or similar textbooks in different ways in different schools.

***Webster's Elementary Spelling Book*.** For very beginners, *Webster's Elementary Spelling Book* can be said to be the most prevalent and influential textbook of English at that time (Mozumi, 1989**, Takanashi, 1993**). Figure 5.1 shows the *Elementary Spelling Book* published in 1866. This book contained 169 pages. The word "baker" in Figure 5.1 is likely the one that Uchimura practiced pronouncing like "*b a*, *ba*, *k e r*, *ker*; *baker*" in his opening excerpt above.



24 THE ELEMENTARY

BÄR, LÅST, CÂRE, FALL, WHAT; HĒR, PREY, THÊRE; ĠET; BĪRD, MARÏNE; LINK;

ăpt	eärt	stärt	hûrt	påst	jĕst
chăpt	därt	pẽrt	shĩrt	våst	lĕst
kĕpt	härt	vẽrt	flĩrt	dĭdst	blĕst
slĕpt	chärt	wẽrt	eåst	mĭdst	nĕst
erĕpt	märt	shôrt	fåst	bĕst	pĕst

No. 25.—XXV.

rĕst	quĕst	lĭst	eŏst	thĩrst	lŭst
erĕst	wĕst	mĭst	fĩrst	bŭst	mŭst
drĕst	zĕst	grĭst	bûrst	dŭst	rŭst
tĕst	çȳst	wĭst	eûrst	gŭst	erŭst
vĕst	fĭst	lŏst	dûrst	jŭst	trŭst

Fire will burn wood and coal.
Coal and wood will make a fire.
The world turns round in a day.
Come and help me pin my frock.
Do not sit on the damp ground.
We burn oil in tin and glass lamps.
The lame man limps on his lame leg.
We make ropes of hemp and flax.
A rude girl will romp in the street.
The good girl may jump the rope.
A duck is a plump fowl.
The horse drinks at the pump.
A pin has a sharp point.
We take up a brand of fire with the tongs.
Good boys and girls will act well.
Test is a decisive trial.
He came in haste, and left his book.
Men grind corn and sift the meal.
We love just and wise men.
The wind will drive the dust in our eyes.
Boys love to rob the nests of birds.
Let us rest on the bed, and sleep, if we can.
Tin and brass will rust when the air is damp.

SPELLING-BOOK. 25

No. 26.—XXVI.

WORDS OF TWO SYLLABLES, ACCENTED ON THE FIRST.

bā ker	trō ver	sō lar	wō fụl	pā pal	
shā dy	elō ver	pō lar	pō em	eō pal	
lā dy	dō nor	lū nar	fō rum	vī al	
tī dy	vā por	sō ber	sā tan	pē nal	
hō ly	fā vor	pā çer	fū el	vē nal	
lī my	flā vor	rā çer	dū el	fī nal	
slī my	sā vor	grō çer	erụ el	ō ral	
bō ny	hā lo	çī der	grụ el	hō ral	
pō ny	sō lo	spī der	pū pil	mū ral	
pō ker	hē ro	wā fer	lā bel	nā sal	
tī ler	nē gro	eā per	lī bel	fā tal	
eā per	tȳ ro	tī ger	lō eal	nā tal	
pā per	bū bo	mā ker	fō eal	rụ ral	
tā per	sā go	tā ker	vō eal	vī tal	
vī per	tū lip	rā ker	lē gal	tō tal	
bī ter	çē dar	sē ton	rē gal	ō val	
fē ver	brī er	rụ in	dī al	plī ant	
ō ver	frī ar	hȳ men	trī al	ġī ant	

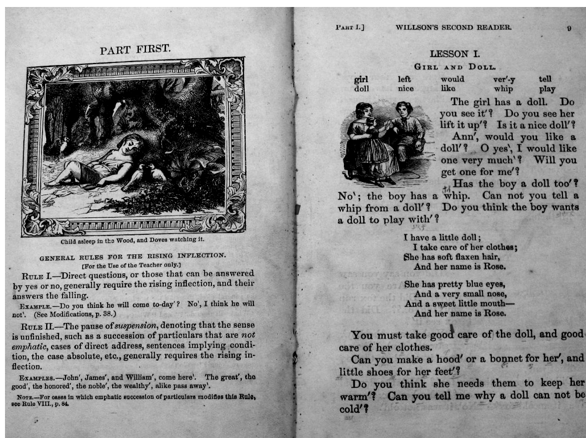
Bakers bake bread and cakes.
I like to play in the shady grove.
Some fishes are very bony.
I love the young lady that shows me how to read.
A pony is a very little horse.
We poke the fire with the poker.
The best paper is made of linen rags.
Vipers are bad snakes, and they bite men.
An ox loves to eat clover.
The tulip is very pretty, growing in the garden.
A dial shows the hour of the day.
Cedar trees grow in the woods.
The black-berry grows on a brier.

Figure 5.1 Webster's Elementary Spelling Book
(*Meiji Iko Gaikokugo Kyoiku Shiryo,* n.d. a**)

This spelling book substantially dealt with not only orthography but also pronunciation. According to the preface, the other aims of the book were to teach the manner of forming the various derivatives and the distinctions of the parts of speech, and to impart an understanding of grammar. The words in the textbook were often broken down into

syllables because the book directed learners to learn the sounds of individual letters first, and the sounds of letters in combination were taught next. Phonics, the correlation between letters and sounds was explained as remembering words in the diagrams of the same sounds, in sentences or in short stories.

***Willson's Readers of the School and Family*.** Further reading in the early Meiji era was implemented mainly with *Willson's Readers of the School and Family* (see Figure 5.3). The *Willson's Reader* series, together with the *National Reader* series, were some of the most prevalent textbooks used in this period (Mozumi, 1989**; Takanashi, 1993**): The former is based on the Christian faith, but the latter is based on literature such as Dickens, Hawthorne and the like (Takanashi, 1993**).



PART FIRST.

Child asleep in the Wood, and Doves watching it.

GENERAL RULES FOR THE RISING INFLECTION.

[For the Use of the Teacher only.]

RULE I.—Direct questions, or those that can be answered by yes or no, generally require the rising inflection, and their answers the falling.

EXAMPLE.—Do you think he will come to-day′? No‵, I think he will not‵. (See Modifications, p. 38.)

RULE II.—The pause of *suspension*, denoting that the sense is unfinished, such as a succession of particulars that are *not emphatic*, cases of direct address, sentences implying condition, the case absolute, etc., generally requires the rising inflection.

EXAMPLES.—John′, James′, and William′, come here‵. The great′, the good′, the honored′, the noble′, the wealthy′, alike pass away‵.

NOTE.—For cases in which emphatic succession of particulars modifies this Rule, see Rule VIII., p. 84.

PART I.] WILLSON'S SECOND READER. 9

LESSON I.

GIRL AND DOLL.

girl	left	would	ver′-y	tell
doll	nice	like	whip	play

The girl has a doll. Do you see it′? Do you see her lift it up′? Is it a nice doll′?

Ann′, would you like a doll′? O yes‵, I would like one very much‵? Will you get one for me′?

Has the boy a doll too′? No‵; the boy has a whip. Can not you tell a whip from a doll′? Do you think the boy wants a doll to play with′?

I have a little doll;
I take care of her clothes;
She has soft flaxen hair,
And her name is Rose.

She has pretty blue eyes,
And a very small nose,
And a sweet little mouth—
And her name is Rose.

You must take good care of the doll, and good care of her clothes.

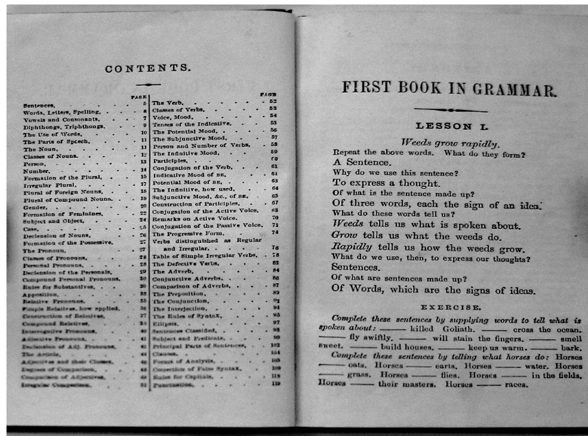
Can you make a hood′ or a bonnet for her′, and little shoes for her feet′?

Do you think she needs them to keep her warm′? Can you tell me why a doll can not be cold′?

Figure 5.2 Willson's Second Reader
(*Meiji Iko Gaikokugo Kyoiku Shiryo*, n.d. c**)

***Quackenbos' First Book in English Grammar*.** It was *Quackenbos' First Book in Grammar* that served as a first step to learning English

grammar in the early Meiji era (Takanashi, 1993**). This book began with the sentence, “Weeds grow rapidly” and adopted a dialogic form of catechism (see Figure 5.3). Although it was a grammar book, it contained a number of sentences originating from the Bible, Western philosophy, and English literature such as Shakespeare.



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FIRST BOOK IN GRAMMAR.

LESSON I.

Weeds grow rapidly.

Repeat the above words. What do they form?

A Sentence.

Why do we use this sentence?

To express a thought.

Of what is the sentence made up?

Of three words, each the sign of an idea.

What do these words tell us?

Weeds tells us what is spoken about.

Grow tells us what the weeds do.

Rapidly tells us how the weeds grow.

What do we use, then, to express our thoughts?

Sentences.

Of what are sentences made up?

Of Words, which are the signs of ideas.

EXERCISE.

Complete these sentences by supplying words to tell what is spoken about: ——— killed Goliath. ——— cross the ocean. ——— fly swiftly. ——— will stain the fingers. ——— smell sweet. ——— build houses. ——— keep us warm. ——— bark.

Complete these sentences by telling what horses do: Horses ——— oats. Horses ——— carts. Horses ——— water. Horses ——— grass. Horses ——— flies. Horses ——— in the fields. Horses ——— their masters. Horses ——— races.

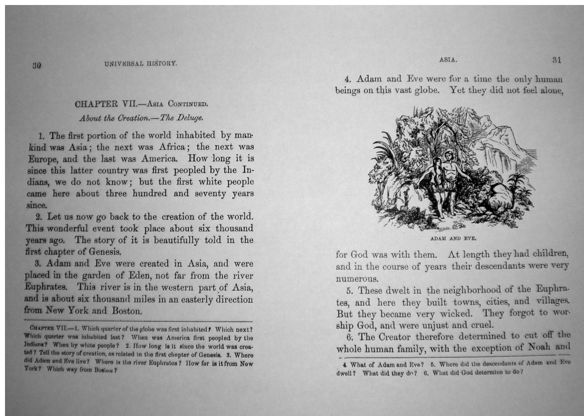
Figure 5.3 Quackenbos’ First Book in Grammar
(*Meiji Iko Gaikokugo Kyoiku Shiryo*, n.d. d**)

Parley’s Universal History. This reader was one of the popular books at that time as a reader for intermediate level learners (Takanashi, 1993**). The book (see Figure 5.4) began with the following paragraph.

> If you should enter a balloon, rise into the air, and sail along over the country, how many interesting things you see! At one moment you would be passing over a city, at another you would look down upon a valley, or a river, or a hill, or a mountain!

It had an intriguing device in which readers could travel around the world beyond space-time with an old man, Peter Parley. It is said to have been written by N. Hawthorne (see Kiyasu, 1947/1972b*, p. 52). It

consisted of 700 pages.



30 UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER VII.—ASIA CONTINUED.

About the Creation.—The Deluge.

1. The first portion of the world inhabited by mankind was Asia; the next was Africa; the next was Europe, and the last was America. How long it is since this latter country was first peopled by the Indians, we do not know; but the first white people came here about three hundred and seventy years since.

2. Let us now go back to the creation of the world. This wonderful event took place about six thousand years ago. The story of it is beautifully told in the first chapter of Genesis.

3. Adam and Eve were created in Asia, and were placed in the garden of Eden, not far from the river Euphrates. This river is in the western part of Asia, and is about six thousand miles in an easterly direction from New York and Boston.

CHAPTER VII.—1. Which quarter of the globe was first inhabited? Which next? Which quarter was inhabited last? When was America first peopled by the Indians? When by white people? 2. How long is it since the world was created? Tell the story of creation, as related in the first chapter of Genesis. 3. Where did Adam and Eve live? Where is the river Euphrates? How far is it from New York? Which way from Boston?

ASIA. 31

4. Adam and Eve were for a time the only human beings on this vast globe. Yet they did not feel alone,

ADAM AND EVE.

for God was with them. At length they had children, and in the course of years their descendants were very numerous.

5. These dwelt in the neighborhood of the Euphrates, and here they built towns, cities, and villages. But they became very wicked. They forgot to worship God, and were unjust and cruel.

6. The Creator therefore determined to cut off the whole human family, with the exception of Noah and

4. What of Adam and Eve? 5. Where did the descendants of Adam and Eve dwell? What did they do? 6. What did God determine to do?

Figure 5.4　Parley's Universal History[4]

Brown's First Lines of English Grammar. This book was the only book of grammar used in Tokyo School of the English Language (see Table 5.6). Almost half of the participants can be inferred to have used this textbook. It began with suggestions for oral lessons (see Figure 5.5).

It was divided into four chapters because the author considered English Grammar as divided into four parts; namely Orthography, Etymology,[5] Syntax, and Prosody as the elements of speaking, reading, and writing English correctly. In each part, parsing—the resolving or explaining of a sentence according to the definitions and rules of grammar—and analysis—the separation of a sentence into the parts which compose it—are proposed as exercises. An example of a parsing exercise follows:

"*Contentment* is a common noun; of the third person, because it is spoken of; of the singular number, because it denotes only one; of the

neuter gender, because it is neither male nor female; of the nominative case, because it is the subject of the verb *brings*. *Brings* is a verb, because it signifies action. *Happiness* is a common noun of the third person, singular number, neuter gender, and of the objective case, because it is the object of the verb *brings*"(p. 29).

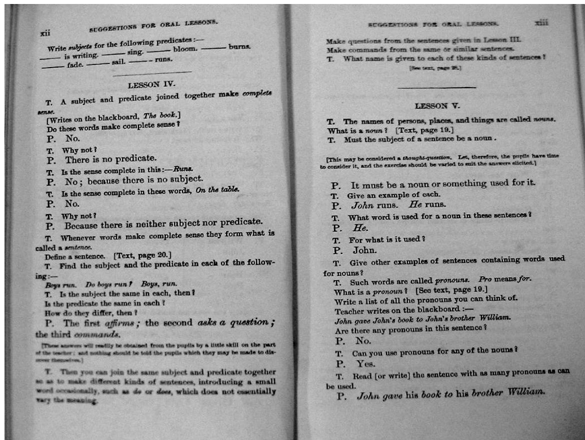
Table 5.6
Textbooks in Tokyo School of the English Language

Class	Division	Textbook
Ⅲ	6	*Willson's Spelling Book*
		Chamberlain's First Reader
		Rengohen [The collection of phrases]
		Spencer's Third and Fourth Penmanship
	5	*Willson's Spelling Book*
		Chamberlain's Second Reader
		Rengohen [The collection of phrases]
		Spencer's Fifth and Sixth Penmanship
Ⅱ	4	*Chamber's Third English Reader*
		Rengohen [The collection of phrases]
		Robinson's Practical Arithmetic
		Spencer's Seventh and Eighth Penmanship
	3	*Chamber's Fourth English Reader*
		Rengohen [The collection of phrases]
		Robinson's Practical Arithmetic
		Maury's Geography
Ⅰ	2	*Brown's Grammar*
		Robinson's Practical Arithmetic
		Maury's Geography
		Worcester's History
	1	*Brown's Grammar*
		Robinson's Practical Arithmetic
		Maury's Geography
		Worster's History

Note. Based on data from *Monbusho Dai 3 Nenpo* (1875/1964**).

The following is an example of an analyzing exercise: "This is a simple declarative sentence. The subject is *contentment*; the predicate, *brings*;

the object, *happiness*" (p. 29).



xii SUGGESTIONS FOR ORAL LESSONS.

Write *subjects* for the following predicates:—
—— is writing. —— sing. —— bloom. —— burns.
—— fade. —— sail. —— runs.

LESSON IV.

T. A subject and predicate joined together make *complete sense.*
[Writes on the blackboard, *The book.*]
Do these words make complete sense?
P. No.
T. Why not?
P. There is no predicate.
T. Is the sense complete in this:—*Runs.*
P. No; because there is no subject.
T. Is the sense complete in these words, *On the table.*
P. No.
T. Why not?
P. Because there is neither subject nor predicate.
T. Whenever words make complete sense they form what is called a *sentence.*
Define a sentence. [Text, page 20.]
T. Find the subject and the predicate in each of the following:—
Boys run. Do boys run? Boys, run.
T. Is the subject the same in each, then?
Is the predicate the same in each?
How do they differ, then?
P. The first *affirms*; the second *asks a question*; the third *commands.*
[These answers will readily be obtained from the pupils by a little skill on the part of the teacher; and nothing should be told the pupils which they may be made to discover themselves.]
T. Then you can join the same subject and predicate together so as to make different kinds of sentences, introducing a small word occasionally, such as *do* or *does*, which does not essentially vary the meaning.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORAL LESSONS. xiii

Make questions from the sentences given in Lesson III.
Make commands from the same or similar sentences.
T. What name is given to each of these kinds of sentences?
[See text, page [illegible].]

LESSON V.

T. The names of persons, places, and things are called *nouns.*
What is a *noun*? [Text, page 19.]
T. Must the subject of a sentence be a noun.
[This may be considered a *thought-question.* Let, therefore, the pupils have time to consider it, and the exercise should be varied to suit the answers elicited.]
P. It must be a noun or something used for it.
T. Give an example of each.
P. *John* runs. *He* runs.
T. What word is used for a noun in these sentences?
P. *He.*
T. For what is it used?
P. John.
T. Give other examples of sentences containing words used for nouns?
T. Such words are called *pronouns.* *Pro* means *for.*
What is a *pronoun*? [See text, page 19.]
Write a list of all the pronouns you can think of.
Teacher writes on the blackboard:—
John gave John's book to John's brother William.
Are there any pronouns in this sentence?
P. No.
T. Can you use pronouns for any of the nouns?
P. Yes.
T. Read [or write] the sentence with as many pronouns as can be used.
P. *John gave* his *book to* his *brother William.*

Figure 5.5　Brown's First Lines of English Grammar
(*Meiji Iko Gaikokugo Kyoiku Shiryo*, n.d. b**)

Teachers

Different levels of teachers taught the participants in this period because there were few foreign people in Japan, or Japanese people who had mastered Western knowledge, and it was difficult to invite a sufficient number of teachers from other countries at great expense; therefore, the government employed foreigners who were already in Japan as teachers with little examination. It can be said that good and bad teachers were mixed at first: There were well-educated scholars, clerics, and professional teachers while there were also itinerant workers such as sailors, merchants and so on.

Classmates

Most of the classmates of the participants were sons of samurai or quasi-samurai belonging to an educationally privileged class in the preceding Edo era, compared with those who belonged to other lower

classes. According to the statistics in *Shiryo Meiji Hyakunen* (1966**), the number of students in secondary and higher educational institutions, or immersion schools, substantially consisting of technical schools (*senmon gakko* in Japanese, as noted) and Tokyo University, was only 5,762 in 1877 when the population was 35,870,000 (see Table 5.7). The ratio is 0.02%, just 1.6 out of 10,000. Almost all of them were sons of ex-samurai.

Table 5.7
Number of Students of Immersion Schools and the Ratio to the Country's Population

	Technical Schools (A)	University(B)	Immersion Schools (A+B)	Country's Population	%
1873	4146	0	4146	34985000	0.01
1874	7186	0	7186	35154000	0.02
1875	7686	0	7686	35316000	0.02
1876	7591	0	7591	35555000	0.02
1877	4012	1750	5762	35870000	0.02
1878	4329	1829	6158	36166000	0.02

Note. Based on data from *Shiryo Meiji Hyakunen* (1966**).

Learning

Cognition

The degree of cognitive activities the participants were engaged in during their secondary education contained a great deal of input well-balanced in the four skills. The pace of reading textbooks in the schools that the participants attended was very fast although the volumes were huge. According to Takanashi (1993**), *Willson's Third Reader* had 264 pages, *National Reader* (Vol. 4) had 348 pages, and *Mitchell's New School Geography* had 456 pages. All five volumes of *National Readers* comprised 12,340 word types—if the same word is repeated, it is not counted again—according to Ozasa, Umamoto, Motooka, and Matsuoka (2001**). In ordinary English schools, one

reader and one history or geography book of about 300 pages were read for a period spanning 6 months to 1 year, the pace of which can be said to be almost the same as in Tokyo School of the English Language if the curriculum was strictly conducted. The contents were meaningful, dialogical, and analytical. There is a high possibility that the contents were repeated spirally while the participants varied from one school to another. The correctness of pronunciation, spelling, and grammar were highly expected. The grammar lessons were allocated to the higher grades' learners and most of the time was spent on the analysis of sentences and parsing parts of speech. In either of *Seisoku*, or *Hensoku*, the effort to increase and enrich vocabulary was constantly required to comprehend textbooks of, at that time, history, geography, political economy, arithmetic, and moral science. The most important goal for them was to digest Western knowledge: Without comprehension, they could neither manage to achieve tasks nor win promotion in the tracking system of each school.

Metacognition

Metacognition can be found in the voluntary actions of school-selection and strategic learning of vocabulary by the participants of the present study. The following are two LLS clusters found in the participants' secondary education.

Arrangements of Learning Situations. The participants changed from one school to another depending on their needs, proficiency, and financial conditions. Almost all of the participants eventually headed for the national English schools adopting an immersion program. They analyzed their own ability in the TL, and chose situations suitable for learning it. The process is called here *arrangements of learning situations*. Quite a number of the participants (e.g., Hiroi, Kawamura, Kojima, Mimasu, Minami, Miyabe, Nitobe, Oshima, Sakuma, S. Sato,

Takaoka, Uchimura, T. Watase, Yanagimoto, Zumoto) attended more than three schools before SAC. There were even some cases where the participants changed the schools only several months after entrance (e.g., Hiroi, Kojima, Miyabe, S. Sato, T. Watase, Yanagimoto).

Decontextualizing. A series of vocabulary learning strategies was extracted from the data of seven participants: Nitobe, Saito, Sakuma, Takenobu, Uchida, Uchimura, and Zumoto (see Table 5.8). Six of them, all except for Uchida, later recommended their LLSs to other learners. This indicates that these LLSs might have been useful in their English learning. Although the LLSs in Table 5.8 cannot be clearly determined to have been used by them in their secondary education, except Nitobe's decontextualizing strategy, it is possible to speculate that the LLSs started to be used in this period when vocabulary learning was highly focused.

Table 5.8
Vocabulary Learning Strategies

LLS	Nitobe	Saito	Sakuma	Takenobu	Uchida	Uchimura	Zumoto
Decontextualizing (and wirting down on something)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Articulating with correct pronunciation	*	*	*	*		*	*
Using dictionaries	*		*				
Memorizing with equivalents of L1					*	*	
Memorizing with part of speech						*	
Memorizing with word-parts						*	
Using in sentences	*			*		*	
Reciting as often as opportunity allows	*		*			*	*
Focusing on limited (frequency) words first	*					*	

The seven participants seem to have had some strategies in common as part of a strategy cluster, which can be called here *decontextualizing* as a whole. They intentionally memorized vocabulary articulating them

and examining the linguistic elements out of context, especially when they found expressions that they didn't know, or when they were interested in rhetoric or in a saying, following which, they contextualized the vocabulary again and articulated it in the original or their own sentences.

Outcome

L1 Proficiency

There are few documents available with which to examine the L1 proficiency of the participants of the present study in this period. As far as the present author is concerned, the essay written in Japanese by Oshima while in Tokyo School of the English Language, was composed in such a refined style of writing that a person without the knowledge of Chinese studies could not have written it effectively (see Oshima, 1993*, pp. 24-25).

L2 Proficiency

Morse (1917a**) evaluated the proficiency of the learners in the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University in 1877 as follows:

> We visited the Imperial University with Professor Toyama. It was a strange sight to see the students, all in Japanese costume, studying Gray's Botany, at work in the chemical laboratory, performing experiments in physics, and using English textbooks. A preparatory school for the study of English is connected with the University and all students must understand English well before entering the University. (p. 15)

A number of participants of the present study, especially the later students of the fourth and fifth classes in SAC, attended the school in 1877. It seems to have been rather easier for Japanese who were learning English to talk with English speaking people in English than

to talk with people from distant areas in Japanese because Japanese dialects were so different at that time (Nitobe, 1933/1969g*, 1934/1970c*).

Beliefs

It is inferred that the participants believed that they should be taught by native-speaking teachers energetic, sympathetic, and well-educated, that immersion programs were the best to achieve their goals of becoming their ideal men, or those who could become familiar with English and its culture, and that memorizing as many words as they could was a high priority element in learning a language. It seems that these beliefs might emerge from the experiences of learning Chinese studies, in which it is natural for learners to change their schools depending on their needs and learning stages, and enriching vocabulary is one of the most important activities. As their autonomy matured and English ability developed, some participants came to direct their passion of English learning to productive activities such as composition because they didn't think that the mechanical practices of parsing and memorizing were sufficient for their learning goals.

Attitude

For most of the participants, English seems to have not necessarily been merely a tool of superficial communication but a door to knowledge. English was a tool of significant communication for understanding Western wisdom, thoughts, and souls. They needed English studies, not just English language learning. Reading English in itself produced worthwhile learning to become a new type of cultivated man or a leader who were needed in the newly established nation. In the case of Nitobe (1934/1970c*), English books were "the only tree of knowledge" (p.543): Uchimura (1895*) learned "all that was noble, useful and uplifting through the vehicle of the English language" (p.91),

and also claimed later that language consisted of sounds and letters, both of which stood for thoughts, and the aim of language learning consequently was to understand ideas (Uchimura, 1899*).

5-3. Discussion 1: Arrangements of Leaning Situations

A LLS cluster, arrangements of learning situations, is the main issue of discussion in this section. Arrangements of learning situations refer to a LLS cluster in which learners evaluate their proficiency, and place themselves into situations suitable for learning a TL more effectively, for maintaining their interest to learn further, and for achieving their goals. The purpose of this section is to examine (a) the process of the arrangements of learning situations: why GLLs set up effective situations for learning a L2; and (b) the mechanism of setting arrangements: why it may be useful to learn a L2.

Review of Previous Studies on Arrangements of Learning Situations

There seems to have been little research conducted hitherto with regard to arrangements of learning situations. A great deal of the research on metacognitive activities relating to it, however, has been reported. Studies provide consistent evidence that GLLs could control and manage their learning to improve their ability (e.g., Griffiths, 2003; Mochizuki, 1999; Naiman et al., 1978: O'Malley, et al., 1985a; Stern, 1975). Stevick (1989) reported that one characteristic of GLLs was that they could find the right people to talk with. Norton and Toohey (2001) stated that GLLs would seek to set up a condition in which they facilitated their access not only to the L2 but also to social networks by gaining respect and value among their communities. Lambert (1977) also claimed: "(S)triving for a comfortable place in two cultural systems may be the best motivational basis for becoming bilingual, which in

turn is one's best guarantee for really belonging to both cultures" (p. 26).

Interpretation

Arranging situations for learning a TL might not have been treated as a strategic way of learning for a long time in the study of SLL. It is conceivable, however, that the process of arranging the learning situations is an autonomous activity and it is attributable to activating learners' metacognition; that is, their learning situations are arranged by their examination into themselves. Although the decision of arrangements of learning situations, or beliefs and attitude might not always be proper, the decision itself could positively function for their learning because human motivation is at its highest when people have sufficient autonomy (Dörnyei, 2001) and, as Dewey (1913) noted, "(p)ersons, children or adults, are interested in what they can do successfully, in what they approach with confidence and engage in with a sense of accomplishment" (pp. 35-36).

The reason why GLLs attempt to change situations for better learning proves to be the belief that they need more appropriate information and tasks from teachers and classmates suitable to them. In other words, it can be said that GLLs tend to pay attention to having more useful and interesting opportunities for their L2 training, in which they can become involved in profitable input and output. It is natural to think that native-speaking teachers have more information about practical use of a TL than non-native teachers. In addition, some researchers have reported that there is a high probability that native-speaking teachers modify their talk for non-native students (Ferguson, 1975; Ishiguro, 1987, 1990), especially in immersion programs (Krashen, 1982). Considering these understandings, learning situations can be seen as one of the most decisive factors in that they

comprise various LLVs in L1/L2 teaching such as curriculum, material, teachers, and classmates; and, if arranged properly, can provide “the zone of proximal development” (Vygotsky, 1934/1986), or “comprehensible input” (e.g., Krashen, 1989, 2004) slightly beyond the current level of each learner’s ability.

In order to understand GLLs, social practices in the contexts in which individuals learn L2s should be paid attention to (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 318). Given the ideas presented here, arrangements of learning situations can be said to play a great role becoming GLLs, although further research is needed.

5-4. Discussion 2: Decontextualizing

A LLS cluster for enriching vocabulary of a TL (see Nyikos & Fan, 2007, for the collection of vocabulary learning strategies, and Schmitt, 1997, for taxonomy of the strategies), decontextualizing, is the main issue of discussion in this section. The purpose is to reveal the learning mechanism of decontextualizing, in which learners (a) encounter an unknown word, (b) look it up in dictionaries to understand its meaning, pronunciation, and other grammatical components, when necessary, (c) write it down on a card or something, (d) repeat it as often as opportunity allows, and (e) use it in the original or their own sentences. It is deeply concerned with the two aspects as Mezynski (1983) proposed: the process of acquiring word knowledge and how it relates to learning from texts. The following section describes some previous studies on the two problems.

Review of Previous Studies on the Process of Acquiring Word Knowledge

The importance of vocabulary in learning language has been pointed

out in plenty of previous research because word recognition is the most prominent perceptual concept in reading is word recognition (Just & Carpenter, 1987), "related to the major ideas presented in the text" (Anders & Bos, 1986, p. 610), "a requisite for reading comprehension" (Anderson & Freebody, 1981, p. 110), "the best predictor of success in reading" (Laufer, 1997, p. 31), crucial "in both the receptive and productive skills associated with effective communication" (Nyikos & Fan, 2007, p. 251), and "essential for mastery of a language" (Krashen, 1989, p. 440). This comes as no surprise because, as Menzynski (1983) stated, "it is difficult to imagine how a reader could comprehend text in which most of the words were unfamiliar" (p, 253).

Words can be processed through the same systems as language: pragmatic, semantic, lexicogrammatical, and phonological/orthographic elements, in order to understand meanings because the basis of the cognitive process from perceiving to thinking is that "some fundamental 'effort after meaning' seeks expression" (Bartlett, 1932, p. 227). Vocabulary meanings do not exist by themselves: They only emerged in relationships to one another (Anderson & Freebody, 1981; Fillmore, 1985) in a certain context in which a word is embedded (Drum & Konopak, 1987). Learners acquire a word meaning by connecting it to each situation where the word is given (Hakuta, 1976; Tomasello, 1999). Situations also offer pragmatic usage of language (Tomasello, 1999), different intonation (Halliday, 1978; Pike, 1945), and ad hoc meaning of words (Ogden & Richards, 1952). Through such situations, learners can build components of word meanings gradually by adding more and more features to the unit of word meaning constructed in the past (E.V. Clark, 1973, 1995, 2007; Elshout-Mohr & van Daalen-Kapteijns, 1987).

The process of internalizing the knowledge of vocabulary has been

often measured and analyzed from two dimensions: breadth and depth (e.g., Anderson & Freebody, 1981; Jiang, 2004; J. Read, 1998, 2004; Wesche & Paribakht, 1996; Vermeer, 2001). Breadth means the number of words while depth, the quality of understanding (Anderson & Freebody, 1981, p. 93). They can be also called "size" and "richness" respectively as Jiang (2004, p. 102) noted. Wesche and Paribakht (1996) pointed out: "(T)he two measures show moderate correlations" (p. 33); and J. Read (2004) commented about the correlations that "as learners expand the absolute number of words that they have some understanding of, they will also be learning more about words that they encounter or use frequently" (p. 221).

Some research, however, suggested that a certain amount of vocabulary size does not correspond to the ability of usage (Gu & Johnson, 1996; Mezynski, 1983). The discussion of the process of learning vocabulary from first encounter to the expansion of understanding the size has also reached the discussion of *automaticity* (LaBerge & Samuels, 1974), or accuracy-fluency dimension in language learning, which requires three steps to be achieved as the following shows (Samuels, 1979, p. 406).

1. The first level is what may be called the non-accurate stage. The student has great difficulty in recognizing words, even when a reasonable amount of time is provided.

2. The next level is the accuracy stage. The student is able to recognize printed words with accuracy but attention is required.

3. The third and most advanced level is what we call the automatic stage. At the automatic stage, the student is able to recognize the printed words with little attention.

Automatic word recognition is a stage at which learners can use word and lexical items actively. The stage is in accordance with or beyond the

final level of passive word knowledge as suggested by Dale (1965): "We know it. We would recognize it again if we saw it, and we are likely to remember it" (p. 898). Humans are limited-capacity information processors (McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983; Miller, 1956), which points out serious limitations in the continuous flow of a discourse (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Learners cannot concentrate on meaning if they are pressed with the decoding work, which is often explained as the working memory system consisting of "a limited capacity 'work space' which can be divided between storage and control processing demands" (Baddeley & Hitch, 1974, p. 76). It is inferred under the theory of working memory that even short-term memorization is impossible without intake, and that automatic decoding requires learners to internalize target words in the four levels of de/coding system to the extent which they can unconsciously process the words.

Several researchers agreed with the opinion that automatizing of lexical items—a word or words that can be generally understood to convey a single meaning—is an inevitable element of fluency (Day & Bamford, 1998; M. Lewis, 1993/2002; Pawley & Syder, 1983; Tomasello, 2003) and native selection (Pawley & Syder, 1983) in using languages. It is a problem relating to the level at which learners can actively use lexical items. The measure of understanding word knowledge consequently can be said to have the dimensions of breadth-depth and accuracy-fluency. The process of learning lexical items can be seen as changing the condition from passive to active in practical, schematic, and heuristic activities of communication.

Review of Previous Studies of How Word Knowledge Relates to Learning from Text.

Clarke (1980) claimed in his short circuit hypothesis that the reading

strategies one employs in the first language would not transfer to the L2 if L2 knowledge is below a certain threshold. According to Laufer (1997), the threshold level is assumed to be 3,000 word families, or 5,000 words, if derivations and inflexions are included. The threshold was also reported in experiments with Japanese participants: The threshold was the 357-429 TOEFL interval in Perkins, Brutten, and Pohlmann (1989); there was a remarkable difference in TOEFL scores between those at the more than 3,000 word family level and those whose level was less than that according to Shimamoto (1998). Nation and Kyongho (1995) suggested that students should be taught from the most frequent 2000 word families.

Poor comprehension could be attributed to the failure of constructing a consistency of meaning of the whole text in processing all words. The threshold, however, is not concerned with the problem of transfer of "reading ability," "reading skills," or "reading strategies," but with the degree of access to prior knowledge, or various kinds of schemata. The lack of linguistic knowledge, primarily vocabulary knowledge, just prevents learners from applying their prior knowledge, which "plays a ubiquitous organizational role in the comprehension of text" (Just & Carpenter, 1987, p. 259). Carrell (1983) also claimed that "(i)f a reader is not actively using his or her background knowledge, a significant part of the reading process isn't taking place, and the construction of meaning suffers" (p. 200). Yorio (1971) stated that "the wrong choice of cues or the uncertainty of the choice makes associations more difficult" (p. 108).

Given these ideas, it indicates that incidental learning from incomprehensible texts is almost impossible and intentional learning is required to efficiently expand vocabulary knowledge. For Coady (1997), 3,000 word families are the lowest level necessary to acquire vocabulary

incidentally through extensive reading (p. 235). Nation (2001) stated: "learning from meaning-focused input can best occur if learners are familiar with at least 95% of the running words in the input they are focusing on" (p. 2). Although Nagy, Herman, and Anderson (1985) claimed that "the number of words to be learned is too enormous to rely on word-by-word instruction" (p. 252), it can be concluded that it is crucial to familiarize learners with as many high frequency words as possible at first, and that, as Pressley, Levin, and McDaniel (1987) pointed out, "effective vocabulary-inferring processes and effective vocabulary-remembering strategies are complementary vocabulary-acquisition components, with one's strength being the other's weakness, and vice versa" (pp. 107-108).

Interpretation

The strategy cluster, decontextualizing, is ultimately oriented for memorizing and active automatic processing. It is worth paying attention to the fact that target words are originally in text, not from a list because, as van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) claimed, text memory is "very much better than for lists of words or nonsense syllables" (p. 356). The significance of decontextualizing is in focusing on a target item, as Oxford and Crookall (1990) stated. Clarifying the components of the target item reinforces understanding. Fluent articulation, the main activity through the cluster, is requisite to memorize at least short term in the working memory theory (Baddeley, Gathercole, & Papagno, 1998), in which "the slower rehearsal of longer words" allows "greater forgetting" (Baddeley, 2001/2002, P. 86) although L. C. Seibert, as early as 1927, exemplified the effect of articulation to memory.

> (S)tudying aloud is the best method and that it has a double advantage, greater accuracy and more persistent retention. When these advantages are added to the undisputed increase in fluency in

pronunciation it is clear that studying aloud is the most advantageous course to follow. (Seibert, 1927, p. 309)

In repeating aloud or reciting at both the word and the sentence level, the understanding is deepened and the retention is strengthened, gradually approaching the active automatic processing. Moreover, the last activity of decontextualizing, where learners use target words in an original sentence or their own sentences, has much to do with the idea of Gu and Johnson (1996): (V)ocabulary learning should aim toward "vocabulary in action" (p. 659).

From what has been discussed thus far, the LLS cluster, decontextualizing, can be concluded that it is a rational way of learning lexical items from texts from both viewpoints of the process of word recognition and the process of acquiring word knowledge. This strategy cluster includes the three factors of facilitating vocabulary acquisition as suggested by Altman (1997): "the presence of oral models, confluence of opportunity, and the need to produce" (p. 95). Besides, another strategy of getting familiar with some limited words first, could lead learners to make a scaffold for inferring unknown words, to accelerate broadening the vocabulary size, and, as a result, to foster fluency.

5-5. Summary

Most of the participants of the present study started their English learning from their early teens. The onset of learning corresponded to the time when the Meiji government made the policy clear to centralize and Westernize the nation after the confusion of the civil war. The policy changed the educational standards and involved the participants in the social enthusiasm for Western studies, especially English studies in a more strictly organized tracking system. It is plausible to think

that the general/educational systems and standards motivated the participants to learn English.

The participants began to learn English from Japanese teachers, or both Japanese and foreign teachers at the beginning, using some spelling books first. The participants often changed their schools on their own decision to obtain suitable learning places and eventually settled in immersion programs. They developed their English proficiency even in the crammed and fast paced style of education, where they were gradually engaged in practices well balanced in the four skills and where they shifted their learning orientation from input-centered to output-centered.

Two LLS clusters were found in this chapter: arrangements of learning situations and decontextualizing. In the former, the participants changed from one school to another depending on their needs and learning stages to gain more suitable input for better learning and to maintain their interest to learn further. In the latter, some of the participants intentionally memorized target words by examining their linguistic elements out of context and contextualizing the words again in the original or their own sentences. It is assumed that this LLS cluster was triggered by the word-focused activities emphasized in their immersion schools. The participants had to broaden and deepen vocabulary knowledge sufficient enough to comprehend volumes of textbooks, or might have believed that vocabulary knowledge was crucial to comprehend texts.

The two LLS clusters, however, might be also clusters in Chinese studies, in which it is natural for learners to change their schools in accordance with their proficiency and to become familiar with as many combinations of Chinese characters as possible to absorb the wisdom of Chinese sages. It is likely that previous learning of Chinese studies

constructed strategic schema for other language learning.

As Ota (1995**) claimed, it seems that it was the national schools of the English language that played the greatest role in the development of English proficiency of the participants, and caused the emergence of “the English masters generation” (p. 94, trans. by the present author); that is, immersion programs from early teens functioned very well for the participants, who had already reached a high level of L1 ability.

Notes

1 Nitobe (1936/1969b*) confessed that he then did not know a Japanese classic, *Tsurezuregusa*. He found out about it at around his 20th year of age, and looked for it at a bookstore; however, it had been put in a warehouse because it did not sell for a long time.

2 Four pieces of the “Synopsis of Examination” for Nitobe are archived in the Morioka Memorial Museum of Great Predecessors.

3 Tokyo School of the English Language was substantially divided into the upper department (*joto* in Japanese) and the lower department (*kato* in Japanese); however, the participants of the present study entered SAC after or immediately before they completed the lower department. This table, therefore, only shows the curriculum of the lower department.

4 From *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography* (pp.30-31), by S.G. Goodrich, 1875, New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor. Copyright 1992 by Ozorasha. Reprinted with permission.

5 The word “etymology” seems to have the old meaning, “parts of speech,” being different from the present meaning: the study of the origin of words and historical development of words.

6. DATA ANALYSIS 4: HIGHER EDUCATION

6-1. Excerpts from the Participants

The following are some representative excerpts related to the LLVs for participants of the present study regarding their higher education.

> When the fifth class members entered SAC, the original spirit of the college—the pioneering spirit—had completely vanished.
>
> Hayakawa (1907*, p. 45, trans. by the present author)

> Since SAC was originally established as an exemplary agricultural school to cultivate students as gentlemen, they were required to learn not only philosophy, engineering, and various other sciences, but also literature, politics, and rudimentary economics. Moreover, debates in English were conducted so that the students might have some preparation before debating in the Diet as landowners in the future. English composition was emphasized, and classics such as *Milton's Paradise Lost* were studied in literature classes to the extent that I can even still recite some phrases.
>
> Hayakawa (1907*, p. 47, trans. by the present author)

> Because it was right after the new era began, we were driven by ambition and talked a lot about our dreams of participating in constructing a new nation: becoming a minister or vice-minister; laying long rails like Sengoku Mitsugi; directing our energy to engineering like Koi Furuichi.
>
> Hayakawa (1907*, p. 47, trans. by the present author)

Here [in Sapporo], we obtained the most pleasant education, unforgettable in all our lives. The best teacher in Sapporo was nature rather than man. Hokkaido at that time still remained untouched and a very beautiful paradise.

Uchimura's comment cited from
Iwasaki (1974*, p. 54, trans. by the present author)

The questions he [Mr. Brooks] asked in the classroom or elsewhere were so precise that we were almost struck dumb. One day he questioned the diameter of a rope with which we carried fruit trees. Besides this, he minutely explained even how to move our fingers or arms in order to use farm implements, we were astonished and talked to each other about how hard it was to be a farmer.

Joyokoji (1895a*, p. 49, trans. by the present author)[1]

There was a class of original declamation at that time taught by Mr. Brooks, also known as "Buru." One student [who had been scolded by Mr. Peabody, the teacher of mathematics] wrote a long paper entitled "Mathematical Idiot's Dream" and dispelled his dissatisfaction by addressing this paper in the classroom. He regarded Mr. Peabody—also known as *Daruma* [Bodhidharma]—as the King of Hell and mockingly expressed the scene in which he gave a zero to the student.

Joyokoji (1895b*, p. 52, trans. by the present author)

The students [in SAC] at that time were diligent and studied hard. Fortunately the library held a relatively wide selection of books, where we had the right to borrow two books a person at a time. We sometimes obtained a friends' participation, and borrowed more books equivalent to two or three people, and compiled them for

ourselves.

Kawamura (1933*, p. 10, trans. by the present author)

Though it was called an agricultural college, the main aim was to train persons of ability to develop the new land, Hokkaido. We students devoted ourselves to studying subjects we chose; in other words, we attempted to build our characters and educate ourselves.

Kawamura (1933*, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

The students in early SAC organized a society called *Kaishikisha*, and held meetings in which speeches and debates were conducted. We occasionally held the meeting out of school at a theater.... For example, Mr. Brooks talked about fruit culture through an interpreter, a graduate of the fifth class, Sozo Yamaguchi, and Mr. Cutter spoke of cholera through an interpreter, a graduate of the fourth class, Motosada Zumoto.

Kawamura (1933*, p. 11, trans. by the present author)

I regret very much the return of Prof. D. P. Penhallow, of whose valuable instruction I have received to the full three years. Besides the regular instructions of the college-course, I had particularly enjoyed his advice and teaching in the preparation of microscopical specimens, and also enjoyed the privilege of conducting and observing several experiments on physiological botany, chiefly on the vegetable growth under his supervision and direction. Knowledge we get by our own observations will doubtlessly be much more useful in our after life than mere learning from books and journals. Truly by such system of education, the spirit of original investigation, which to the rapid and true progress of science is just essential, will have its firm

foothold in our young growing mind to the benefit and honor of our country.

Miyabe's letter to Clark in 1880, cited from
Onishi (1981b*, p. 81)

The lectures were conducted in English, of course. We sometimes used textbooks the college provided. We took notes with pencils in the classroom and made a fair copy of it with a fountain pen on the same day in the notebooks the college provided, too. The next day at the beginning of each class for five to ten minutes, we were asked some questions to review the contents of the last class. Though it was not inconvenient for those who were good at English, it was for those who were bad at English.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1987*, p. 60, trans. by the present author)

Elocution was also trained in the classroom. We recited addresses by famous men in America and Britain, and the carriage and intonation were minutely criticized.... In some cases, we debated on questions proposed some weeks before the class, in which we made two groups of three and discussed a topic in English, following which, the rest voted for and against it. An example of such topics was "Which is the most urgent need in Hokkaido, the promotion of agriculture or fishery?" In the class of original declamation, we ourselves addressed our own manuscript.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1987*, pp. 60-61, trans. by the present author)

It seems strange that younger students were far superior to the elder

in English proficiency. It is probably because the younger encountered the transition period in which the policies of the new government were in flux, and hence for the most part received education in English. I well understood the lectures by American teachers in SAC and I felt no inconvenience.

Miyabe (1947a*, p. 5, trans. by the present author)

If I am asked what was the most useful of all the subjects in 4 years of SAC, I will not hesitate to answer that it was English literature indeed. The lecture on literature was not necessarily hard to understand. The textbook was just *Underwood's Specimens of English Literature*, but the intellectual thoughts in the book produced a powerful effect on the cultivation of our spirit. I do not believe this idea belongs merely to me. I am sure that my classmates in early SAC will agree with me.

Nitobe (1907*, p. 41, trans. by the present author)

Despite the name, the College [SAC] did not aim to turn out farmers. Its object was to train youths for the administrative service of the State, that they might open up new land for the settling of immigrants from the south, and create new society.

Nitobe (1934/1970c*, pp. 551-552)

Poor Mother! She wrote to each of us [Nitobe and his brother] a brave letter of comfort. "You left me when you were eight", she wrote to me, "and you have grown in body and mind.... I like the little poem you sent me.... There has been falling snow on my head of late; but if you flourish in your studies and attain to greatness, I shall not mind how much whiter it may become. Ten years are nothing. You must not be

so weak as to yearn for home. Remember you have an important work to do, and to do it you must be strong-minded. When I, who am only a feeble old woman, can bear separation, certainly you can and must, with a cheerful heart."

(Nitobe, 1934/1970c*, pp. 553-554)

The new college [SAC] was started in September, and Dr. Clark became its president. Several boys joined us from a preparatory English school in Sapporo. The rules and regulations of the preparatory department were shown and interpreted to the president. He simply laughed and said, "These rules and regulations cannot make men: they should be abolished at once, and I will give only two words in their place, 'Be gentlemen'". From the next day, we all felt that we were treated as gentlemen, and even some naughty ones began to have self-respect.

Oshima (1926b*, p. 56)

The [Sunday School] meeting was opened with the Lord's Prayer, which was followed by reading from the Bible. The passages were read by students in turn, and short explanations were given mostly for homiletic lessons. That was the regular part of the exercise. Other things were extempore. Sometimes, he [Mr. Clark] sat still for a few moments, and then burst out into a strong prayer, so impressive as to penetrate the heart of every one present. Sometimes, he read sermons, and essays from newspapers, journals and books. Sometimes, he stood up and spoke himself. He was naturally an eloquent speaker. His speech was always full of fire. When he spoke, it was so powerful that we felt, as if the whole building were shaken by his energy. Even dogs outside were frightened and barked and

barked while he was preaching. At other times, he gave us gentle talks. Then, his delivery became sometimes dictative and sometimes persuasive, as a father talks to his children.

We never heard him sing. Either he could not sing or he abhorred the use of singing, taking the same ground as Quakers. But he usually read hymns. His reading was very impressive, and invariably produced in us a tender spirit of devotion. “Rock of Ages”, for instance, when he recited it, never failed to touch the penitent heart. Sometimes, he let the students recite the hymns. When their rehearsals were satisfactory, they were usually highly praised and encouraged.

He made selections of good passages of the Bible, such as the one hundred third psalm, the fifty-third and fifty-fifth chapters of *Isaiah Beatitude* [italics added], the thirteenth chapter of *Romans* [italics added] and the thirteenth chapter of the *First Corinthians* [italics added], and let the boys commit them in memory and make rehearsals. Then, he let the boys select good pieces themselves. When our selections struck on good passages, and received high remarks, we felt very triumphant. Young folks always like to be praised. We searched and searched for good passages of the Bible, in order to get high commendation of our master. Now, the Bible was the hardest book to understand, but by our earnest searches for good passages, we gradually became to acquaint ourselves with Bible phraseologies and dimly understand their meaning.

Oshima (1926b*, pp. 57-58)

Since we studied in the time when there were few textbooks, we had to take notes of all lectures. We spent every night looking up words in a dictionary under the lamp in the dormitory rooms, exerting

ourselves to complete the notebooks in which there were a lot of blanks.

"Hey, Mr. Clark today often referred to the word, "pa-re-n," didn't he? How do you spell?"

"There are many "chy-ma" in my notebook instead of "pa-re-n." I wonder which is correct."

"I got it! I found it!"

Just at that moment, a classmate turning the pages of a dictionary shouted next to us.

"Here!"

We looked at the word he pointed out, and found that it was "Parenchyma."

Everything went like that, but the pains Mr. Clark took were the same as ours because he sometimes came around to us and corrected our mistakes and helped complete our notebooks.

Oshima (1993*, pp. 100-101, trans. by the present author)

Finally, Mr. Clark gave us earnest lessons of elocution in which he said that leaders like us had to be good at making a speech. I believe that it was one of the permanent treasures given from Mr. Clark. Based on his opinion that there was no distinction between English and Japanese in the way of expressing our thoughts, he had us practice making speeches and thoroughly taught us posture and carriage on the platform, intonation, and tempo. We often recited *Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* and Anthony's addresses in *Shakespeare's Julius Caesar*.

Oshima (1993*, p. 104, trans. by the present author)

He mounted again on horseback and taking rein in one hand, and a

whip in the other looked back toward us, and called aloud: “Boys, be ambitious like this old man.”

Oshima (1926b*, p. 59)

I am proud enough to say that there is perhaps no pupil in Japan who receives instruction under such favorable circumstances as we now are.

Oshima’s letter to Clark in 1877, cited from Onishi (1980a*, p. 154)

On the 4th of July, we had an exhibition of freshman class and [it] was very interesting. Arakawa, Oshima, Sato Shosuke, Watase and Yasuda declared original English orations. Kuroiwa’s oration was selected a piece from Mazepa and mine a piece by William James Fox, “On American affairs” declared before the Parliament. Ito declared Japanese oration.

Tanouchi’s letter to Clark in 1877, cited from Onishi (1980a*, p. 155)

When I was a student of SAC, Mr. Brooks, an American professor, one day gave a lecture entitled, “the knowledge necessary for farmers.” He told us that we were required to learn geology, chemistry, meteorology, mechanics, physics, botany, zoology, anatomy, physiology, hygienics, entomology, veterinary, economics, political economy, politics, book-keeping, jurisprudence, practical farming, mathematics, civil engineering, horticulture, geography, physiography, history, psychology, epigraphy, and so on. He taught us then the reasons why such knowledge was required.

S. Saito (1891*, p. 5, trans. by the present author)

I shared a room with Mr. Shozaburo Watase. I recited poems composed in the Tang period while he anatomized a snake. He read Darwin's book, *the Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms, with Observations on Their Habits*, while I read a biography of Jan Hus. We, however, were very friendly as ever.

Shiga (1892b*, p. 7, trans. by the present author)

I remember that Mr. Clark always told us students various adventure stories. I feel as if he were talking in front of me about his favorite, Livingston's adventure in Africa. The students at that time had a large degree of adventurous spirit and were full of energy in trying to be pioneers in unexplored fields.

S. Sato's comment cited from
M. Sato (1948*, p. 87, trans. by the present author)

Speaking of grammar, looking back to "the English language" I studied in SAC, I just learned one elementary book. We, however, neither had very much trouble in talking with foreigners nor in reading general English books.... We did not know the difficult technical terms that appeared in current grammar books. All we knew were merely parts of speech.

Takenobu (1906*, pp. 119-120, trans. by the present author)

It was after I read *the History of England* by Macaulay two or three times that I finally became aware that I could fairly write English sentences. I read thereafter *Sketch Book* and some prose by Goldsmith a few times. I believe that we are able to grasp different authors' writing style if we repeatedly read books written by the same author.

Takenobu (1906*, p. 123, trans. by the present author)

I could recite *Belfast Address* by Tyndale. I memorized *the Cricket on the Hearth* by Dickens because it was interesting. At the same time I met Hardy's novel, *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Since it was also enjoyable, I nearly memorized it while reading repeatedly.

Takenobu's comment cited from
Uei (1930*, p. 21, trans. by the present author)

Everybody in SAC wished to do something international in the future.

Takenobu's comment cited from
Fukuhara (1930*, p. 12, trans. by the present author)

As no religious books in our vernacular were available for our purpose, we [eight Christians in the second class: Adachi, Fujita, Hiroi, Miyabe, Nitobe, Sakuma, Takagi, Uchimura] had recourse mostly to English and American publications. By the effort of some of our Christian friends, some eighty volumes of the publications of the American Tract Society were secured, and the bound volumes of the *Illustrated Christian Weeklies* were endless sources of enjoyments to us. We had also about one hundred volumes sent by the London Tract Society and the Soc. of Promoting Christian Knowledge. Later, the Unitarian Association of Boston kindly contributed to us a good set of their publications, which too we were not afraid to read. But the books that helped us most were the well-known Commentaries by the lamented Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia. Deep spirituality that pervades these volumes, their simple but lucid style and so much of Puritanism in them as to serve as healthy astringents upon the

young converts in a heathen land, made these commentaries specially useful and fascinating to us. I believe by the end of my college course I read every word in his commentaries upon the New Testament, and the theological stamp of this worthy divine has never been removed from my mind.

Uchimura (1895*, pp. 25-26)

The dormitory [of SAC] could accommodate 50 students, in which two students shared one room equipped with beds, desks, chairs, tables, a shelf, and a heater. We gathered at the dining hall at a regular time to eat breakfast consisting of a Western dish, bread and butter, tea and sugar, lunch of Japanese dishes, and dinner of two Western dishes, bread and butter, and coffee or tea. Bathing was permitted from 4 p.m. to sunset. At 9 p.m. a person on night duty called the roll and we went to bed. We received two pairs of tops and bottoms for winter, a coat, and one pair of top and bottom for summer, two pairs of shoes, boots, a shirt, underpants, socks, shoe polish, a collar, a tie, a calligraphy set, and a set of stationary every year, and 20 sen as an allowance allocated for necessary items such as toothpaste or stamps, and so on every week. Once a week, a launderer came to pick up our laundry and returned it the next week. As a result, we lived in comfort as holders of a government scholarship, which was the same condition as studying abroad on a government grant.

Yanagimoto (1937/1993*, p. 8, trans. by the present author)

My English proficiency greatly developed in SAC. I read many books when I was free from class.

Zumoto (1907*, p. 10, trans. by the present author)

> Since I did not have to prepare very much for the subjects in SAC, I spent my free time reading various English books irrespective of curriculum. I deeply thought about what I should devote myself to in the future. I was most interested at that time in a paper that Mazzini, a leader of the unification of Italy, wrote in English during his life in exile in London. I was most impressed with a discussion that each nation takes on a different mission and so does each man.... After I had been undecided for about a year, I finally found that I should live by making use of English, which I was relatively good at.
>
> Zumoto (1935*, p. 22, trans. by the present author)

6-2. Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

Age

The participants in this chapter are the students of SAC. The youngest entered SAC at the age of 14 and the eldest at the age of 22 (see Table 5.1 in the previous chapter). The graduates studied for 4 years whereas Sakuma, Tsurusaki, and Suwa studied for 5 years because of a disease for Sakuma and unsatisfactory results for the other two.

Social Background

General system

Nation. The participants received their higher education in SAC under the general system for strengthening centralism and Westernizing the nation. The graduates in the first class entered SAC in 1876, and those in the fifth class in 1881. In the year when SAC opened, the abolishment of wearing swords had just been proclaimed (*Haitorei* in Japanese): The citizens in Japan were prohibited to wear

swords, which had been a symbol of being an ex-samurai. It was consequently the decisive factor that triggered several rebellions of ex-samurai, whose privileges had been gradually diminished by a series of revolutionary laws of the new government. All of the rebellions broke out in the southwestern areas far away from the capital city, Tokyo: The biggest of them, the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, lasted for about 7 months.

Although the triumphs of the government gave a display of the military power which had been drilled in a Western manner with modern weapons, and demonstrated that the government was already administering the nation not as just a junta, the great expense for the civil wars caused an economic crisis for the government and the new movement for freedom and people's rights (*Jiyu Minken Undo* in Japanese), which was formed in order to make a request for the establishment of a Diet.

It was decided in 1881 that the Diet should be convened 9 years later. In the meantime, a Western-style hall called the *Rokumeikan*, where foreign officials were invited to experience the civilization of Japan, was opened in Tokyo in 1883. The government thereby hoped to achieve a treaty revision with Western countries.

Sapporo, Hokkaido. The Colonial Department (*Kaitakushi* in Japanese) was established in 1869 one year after the new era began. It was located at Sapporo in Hokkaido, one of the most northern islands of Japan, which had so few inhabitants that great nature was left almost untouched. The aim of the Colonial Department was to break fresh ground, to promote industry and agriculture, and to provide protection against an attack by Russia under the guidance of experts invited from America.

There were only seven inhabitants in Sapporo when the government

buildings of the Colonial Department started to be built in 1869, but the number reached 2,615 when SAC opened in 1876 (*Sapporoshishi Gaikyo Nenpyo*, 1955**). It was in 1880 that the first railway was laid, which connected the short length between Sapporo and Temiya. The Colonial Department finished its role in 1882 as had previously been planned and Hokkaido started to be administered by the governors of three prefectures until 1855 when the fifth class of the participants of the present study graduated from SAC.

General standards

Nation. The participants, especially the first to fourth class graduates, were still in the general standards of Westernization and enthusiasm for English studies. The instability of the transition period gradually settled after the government suppressed the rebellions: The victory of the government which had Westernized the armed forces, convinced the bulk of the people of the advantage of Westernization. Although the remnant of *Bushido* still remained at every turn, the urban areas were swiftly modernized as Western thought and materials prevailed. Diplomatic policies like the *Rokumeikan*, however, suffered the criticism that they were too deferential to Western countries, which later led to the rise of nationalism: What was the identity of the Japanese people and Japanese culture as a race and as an independent country.

Sapporo, Hokkaido. The general standards in Sapporo were composed of a mixture of *Bushido*, American way of thinking, and a pioneering spirit because the administrators in the Colonial Department used to be samurai and moved to Sapporo to become pioneers following the advice of American experts. Since Sapporo was so far away from Tokyo and the battlefields of the rebellions, their influence was almost nonexistent.

Educational system

Nation. The participants lived in the period when the Ministry of Education planned to spread education wider and in a more organized form under the government's policy of Westernization. In the following year when SAC was established, Tokyo Kaisei College was reorganized as Tokyo University to be the only university in Japan. At the same time, as described, Tokyo School of the English Language was reorganized as the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University. The Education Ordinance (*Kyoiku Rei* in Japanese) was newly promulgated in 1879. It aimed to give children a basic education under the responsibility of their guardians, and to introduce a locally elected school board in each community to facilitate the establishment of new schools or the development of existing schools. The voluntary and tracking system of education also continued in the same way as they had been conducted since the previous educational law. From 1879, many private schools of jurisprudence or politics were established in a surge of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, such as *Tokyo Hogaku Sha* (present Hosei University) in 1879, *Senshu Gakko* (present Senshu University) in 1880, *Meiji Horitsu Gakko* (present Meiji University) in 1881, *Tokyo Senmon Gakko* (present Waseda University) in 1882, and *Egiri Horitsu Gakko* (present Chuo University) in 1884. The Education Ordinance was also as flexible as the last one, the Education Law, which strictly standardized neither the curriculum nor the materials.

The number of foreign teachers the Ministry of Education had hired reached a peak of 78 people in 1876 and thereafter dwindled until 1883 (*Gakusei Hyakunenshi*, 1972**); as a result, the number in 1883 was nearly one-third of that in 1876. While the number of foreign teachers decreased, Japanese teachers giving their lectures in foreign languages

increased.

Sapporo, Hokkaido. Sapporo School opened in 1875 to prepare students for entering SAC. These students moved from the Temporary College of the Colonial Department, located in Tokyo. It was reorganized as the Preparatory Department of SAC, when SAC was established the next year in 1876, under the supervision of the Colonial Department at Sapporo. SAC was modeled on Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC) in America, from which the ongoing president of MAC, W. S. Clark, was invited.

After abolishment of the Colonial Department, SAC was accordingly transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce (*Noshomusho* in Japanese). Because the two supervisory administrations were independent of the Ministry of Education, the educational system was almost outside the influence of the Ministry of Education.

Educational standards

Nation. The participants received their higher education in a social enthusiasm for Western knowledge, especially English studies. The popularity of English studies continued because most of the higher education was still conducted in English even while nationalism gradually emerged. Chinese studies, on the other hand, were not studied as hard as they used to be, although they were still important to obtain high office where official documents were written in the manner of Chinese studies because the colloquial style was not yet settled at that time (Murakami, 1994**).

Sapporo, Hokkaido. For the participants of the present study, the educational standards were the ones in SAC. The standards in SAC are described all together in the "L2 teaching" section.

L2 Teaching

L2 teaching in higher education of the participants was conducted in SAC. The annual reports were published six times: in 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1888, making reports on its facility, object, general rules, requirements, faculty, course of instruction, each department, examinations, rank lists, and so on. Most of the following descriptions are based on these reports.

Facility

SAC was situated on a fertile plain in the valley of the Ishikari River. Around the college, great nature was left almost untouched. The buildings of SAC at the second semester of the first school year included the north building, south building, library, chemical laboratory, and dormitories that could accommodate about 50 students, the quota of the college. The college farm lay immediately to the north of Sapporo, containing 250 acres and a barn. The Meteorological Station was on the school grounds. In the second school year, the interior arrangement of the north building was remodeled to include a lecture room and a drawing office for engineering on the second floor, and on the first floor were three recitation rooms for the Preparatory Department and a reading room, available from 8 a.m. to sunset, whose papers and magazines were supplied by the faculty of SAC and their friends. In the third school year, the two-storied Military Hall was built, which afforded a drill hall, an armory on the second floor, and the College Museum and two lecture rooms on the first floor. In the fifth school year, the Astronomical Observatory was erected and a tower-clock was built into the Military Hall. The number of books in the College Library had gradually increased and was reported to be 8,815 Japanese and Chinese books and 4,635 Western books—most of which were English books—in the fourth annual report. Books of reference and textbooks

for use in the course of instructions were delivered from the library, which opened from 1 till 2 p.m. daily.

Daily Schedule

Regular exercises were held every morning except on Sundays and holidays during the school term. Wednesday afternoons were regarded as a time for recreation. Other afternoons were occupied by field work, military drill—which actually started from the third school year—and scientific excursions. The daily schedule is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1
Daily Schedule in Sapporo Agricultural College

	1 October—31 March	1 April—30 December
6:00		Rising
6:30		Breakfast
7:00	Rising	
7:30	Breakfast	Review
8:00	Review	
8:30	Classes	
12:30	Lunch	
13:00 15:00	Classes	
16:00	Bath	
17:30	Dinner	
18:00	Review	
22:00	Bed	

Note. Based on data from *Hokudai Hyakunenshi* (1981a**, pp. 258-259).

Object

The object of early SAC had not been changed very much since the first president Clark determined it. He stated the aim of the college as being "the education and practical training of young men from all parts of the Empire who are expected to become its [the Colonial Department's] employès after graduation" (*First Annual Report*, 1877*, p. 41). The second president, W. Wheeler, succeeded the former

president, and stated the aim more concretely.

> It is the aim of the College to qualify its students for intelligent and effective work in the administration of business, and in those departments of industry and science pertaining to agriculture and the development of natural resources, manufactures, and the maintenance of an advanced civilization; also to promote conceptions of their relations to the state and to society, and of self-culture befitting their prospective stations, and the distinctive attributes of Man (*Second Annual Report*, 1878*, pp. 90-91).

The principle for education to achieve the goals can be summarized in three words: the cultivation of autonomy, morality, and practicality.

> The instruction should be as practical as possible in all departments so that the graduates of the College may ever be distinguished for their sound judgment, their enterprising spirit, and their strict morality. (*First Annual Report*, 1877*, p. 48)

The other principle is concerned with languages.

> In the study of the English and Japanese languages great pains should be taken to secure fluency and correctness both in speaking and writing, and especially in oral and written translations from one to another. (*First Annual Report*, 1877*, p. 48)

SAC, as a result, was a school which adopted a total immersion program as other higher institutions in Japan were doing.

Instructional Requirement

An instructional requirement of SAC for students was to take notes, neatly copy them into a suitable book, and to submit it because the teachers were required to instruct students by oral and practical teaching while textbooks were used in connection with them. The notebooks of students were critically examined and corrected by the teachers. Clark brought with him a sufficient number of Webster's

unabridged English dictionaries so that each participant had his own personal copy for study purposes (J. Maki, 2002**, p. 170). An example is shown in Figure 6.1 (in which the present author circles two parts to point out the participant's errors and a teacher's feedback).

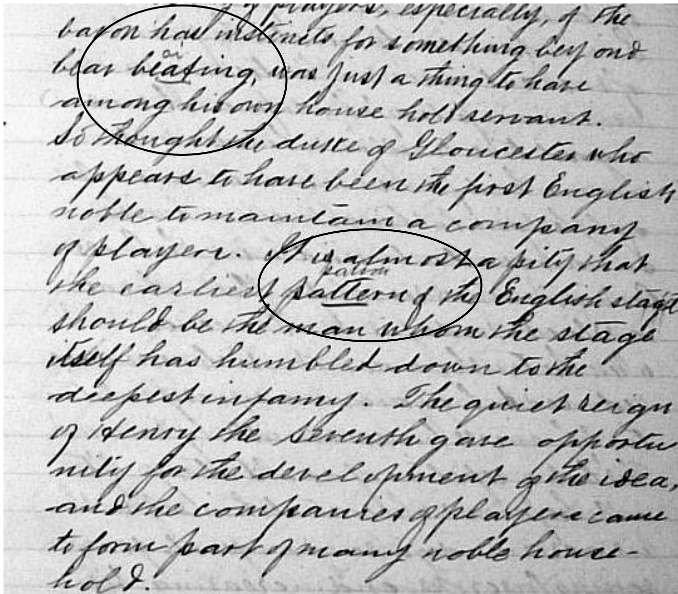

of prayers, especially, of the
baron has instincts for something beyond
bear beating, was just a thing to have
among his own house hold servant.
So thought the duke of Gloucester who
appears to have been the first English
noble to maintain a company
of players. It is almost a pity that
the earliest pattern of the English stage
should be the man whom the stage
itself has humbled down to the
deepest infamy. The quiet reign
of Henry the Seventh gave opportu-
nity for the development of the idea,
and the companies of players came
to form part of many noble house-
hold.

Figure 6.1 Lectures on Book-Keeping by Sozo Ibuki[2]

Rank, Prize, and Dismissal

An accurate record was kept of the deportment, attendance, and scholarship of every student. At the end of each term, writing examinations were held and the papers were marked on a scale of 100 for perfection. The average mark for the daily recitations of the term was added to the examination mark and the sum was divided by two. For the purpose of rewarding good conduct and earnest and faithful scholarship, a budget of 150 dollars was allocated every year. The

awards were distributed in accordance with the rank in each subject in sums of money not exceeding 20 dollars to any one student. J. Maki (2002**) mentioned that this rewarding system was derived from that of MAC. On the other hand, if the general average mark of any student for any term was less than one-half the maximum points, he was discharged.

Examination

"The abstract of the final examination or the questions and topics for written examinations" can be seen in each annual report in 1878, 1879, and 1880. The tests of the liberal arts including English were mostly open-ended: The students must have been able to argue freely with questions inquired. Some of the examinations appear in Appendix C for reference.

Curriculum

Outline. The curriculum of SAC is shown in Table 6.2. L2 teaching was conducted in the curriculum of a total immersion program with the aim of becoming bilingual. The curriculum of the school remained relatively unchanged until the graduation of the fifth class, an exception being a reduction in the English classes during the fifth class. The curriculum included a wide variety of subjects as follows: Agriculture, Algebra, Astronomy, Book-keeping, Botany, Chemistry, Chinese, Conics and Trigonometry, Drawing, Engineering, Fruit Culture, Geology, Geometry, Manual Labor, Mechanics, Mental Science and History of Civilization, Meteorology, Microscopy, Military Drill, Mineralogy, Human Anatomy, Practical Horticulture, Physics, Physiology, Political Economy, Spectrum Analysis, Surveying, Topography, Veterinary, Zoology, Composition, Debate, Declamation, Elocution, English, English Literature.

Table 6.2

Curriculum of Sapporo Agricultural College from 1876 to 1887

August 1876-July 1877 (Meiji 9-10)				
		Subject	Prof.	h.
F Ⅰ	1	Botany	Clark	*6*
		Algebra	Wheeler	*6*
		English*	Clark→Penhallow	*6*
		Chemistry	Penhallow	*6*
	2**	Geometry→Chemistry	Wheeler→Penhallow	*6*
		Physiology→Agriculture	Clark→Brooks	*6*
		Chemistry→Geometry	Penhallow→Wheeler	*6*
		English	Clark	*6 →0*
		→English	Penhallow	*0 →4*
		→Botany	Penhallow	*0 →2*
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	*6*

Note . *Penhallow replaced Clark from 18 September. **The curriculum of this term was changed from 17 April due to Clark's resignation.

August 1877-July 1878 (Meiji 10-11)				
		Subject	Prof.	h.
F Ⅱ	1	Chemistry	Penhallow	*6*
		English	Brooks	*2*
		Chinese	Nagao	*4*
		Algebra	Wheeler	*6*
		Agriculture	Brooks	2
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	*6*
	2	Geometry*	Wheeler	*6*
		Chemistry	Penhallow	*6*
		Agriculture	Brooks	*4*
		English	Brooks	*2*
		Drawing*	Wheeler	*3*
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	*6*
SO Ⅰ	1	Conics & Trigonometry	Wheeler	*6*
		Agriculture	Brooks	*4*
		English	Penhallow	*2*
		Chemistry	Penhallow	*12*
		Drawing*	Wheeler	*3*
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	*6*
	2	Surveying*	Wheeler	*6*
		Chemistry	Penhallow	*8*
		Agriculture	Brooks	*3*
		Chinese	Nagao	*2*
		Drawing*	Wheeler	*3*
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	*AR*

Note . *Wheeler had been absent for about four months from the end of March; therefore these examinations were deferred until the following term.

General Note . This table is based on three materials: (A) timetables in *Hokudai Hyakunenshi* (1981a**); (B) "Rank Lists" and (C) "Abstracts of Final Examination Exercises" in each *Annual Report* from the first to the fifth (1877-1881*, 1888*). (B) and (C) are the most trustworthy historical sources in organizing the table because they were published after the terms, and are concerned with assessments which are directly synchronized with the contents of the classes. (A) was published just before the terms; therefore it does not reflect any changes during the term. In the table, the most reliable data is provided in roman type without underlines or parentheses, which indicate that the information (A) fits (B) or (C). The second most reliable data is underlined, which indicates that there remains the material (B) or (C) only. The third most reliable data is put in italics, which indicate that there remains the material (A) only. Finally, the most unreliable data is enclosed in parentheses, which indicates that the data is assumed by a mutual relationship between the previous curriculum and the following, or other sources, although there is no information in the three sources. Dash signifies that there were no sources to rely on or few relationships to compare with. A school year with no classes is shown with blanks.
F = Freshman; SO = Sophomore; J = Junior; SE = Senior; Ⅰ-Ⅵ = 1st-6th class; 1 = First Term; 2 = Second Term; h = Hours of Teaching per Wee. "AR" refers to "as required."

Table 6.2 (continued)

Class	Term	Subject	Prof.	h.
		August 1878-July 1879 (Meiji 11-12)		
F III	1	Chemistry	Penhallow	6
		Algebra*	Wheeler→Ichigo	6
		English	Cutter	6
		Agriculture	Brooks	2
		Military Drill**	Kato	2
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	6
	2	Geometry	Peabody	6
		Chemistry	Penhallow	4
		Agriculture	Brooks	4
		English [English & History]	Cutter	4
		Drawing	Peabody	3
		Military Drill	Kato	1
		(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	(6)
SO II	1	Agriculture	Brooks	4
		English	Brooks	2
		Botany	Penhallow	3
		Physiology	Cutter	3
		Geometry	Wheeler	2
		Chemistry	Penhallow	8
		Military Drill**	Kato	2
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	6
	2	Chemistry	Penhallow	4
		Botany	Penhallow	4
		Trigonometry & Surveying	Peabody	6
		Agriculture	Brooks	2
		Military Drill	Kato	1
		Drawing	Peabody	3
		(Practical Horticulture)	(Penhallow)	(3)
J I	1	Astronomy	Wheeler	3
		Fruit Culture	Brooks	3
		Zoology	Cutter	3
		Topography & Surveying	Wheeler	4
		English	Cutter	3
		Drawing	Wheeler	3
		Military Drill**	Kato	2
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	AR
	2	English Literature	Cutter	6
		Physics	Peabody	6
		(Elocution)	(Penhallow)	(1)
		Agriculture	Brooks	3
		English [History]	Cutter	(1)
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Drawing	Peabody	3
		(Practical Horticulture)	(Penhallow)	(2)

Note. *Ichigo replaced Wheeler from 8 November. **Military instruction had been given during three weeks only of the term.

Class	Term	Subject	Prof.	h.
		August 1879-July 1880 (Meiji 12-13)		
SO III	1	English & Elocution	Cutter	4
		Agriculture	Brooks	4
		Botany	Penhallow	3
		Physiology	Cutter	3
		Chemistry	Penhallow	8
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Manual Labor	*Brooks*	6
	2	Chemistry & Spectrum Analysis	Penhallow	4
		Botany	Penhallow	4
		Trigonometry & Surveying	Peabody	6
		Agriculture	Brooks	2
		Military Drill	Kato	1
		Drawing	Peabody	3
		Practical Horticulture	*Penhallow*	3
J II	1	Composition & Elocution	Cutter	1
		Fruit Culture	Brooks	3
		Botany	Penhallow	3
		Astronomy	Peabody	3
		Topography	Peabody	3
		Zoology	Cutter	6
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Topographical Surveying & Drawing	Peabody	3
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	AR
	2	English Literature	Cutter	6
		Mechanics	Peabody	6
		Elocution	Penhallow	1
		Agriculture	Brooks	3
		Composition	Cutter	1
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Drawing	Peabody	3
		Practical Horticulture	*Penhallow*	2
SE I	1	Geology	Penhallow	3
		Physics	Penhallow	6
		Agriculture	Brooks	3
		Mental Science & History of Civilization	Cutter	3
		Book-keeping	Penhallow	4
		Agricultural Debate	Brooks	2
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Microcopy	Penhallow	4
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	AR
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Veterinary	Cutter	6
		Political Economy	Cutter	4
		Declamation	Penhallow	1
		Engineering	Peabody	6
		Military Drill	Kato	2

Table 6.2 (continued)

August 1880-July 1881 (Meiji 13-14)				
		Subject	Prof.	h.
F Ⅳ	1	Chemistry	Miyasaki	6
	1	Algebra	Peabody	6
	1	_Agriculture*_	_Brooks_	2
	1	English	Summers	6
	1	Military Drill	Kato	2
	1	_Manual Labor*_	_Brooks_	6
	2	_Agriculture_	(Brooks)	4
	2	_English_	(Summers)	4
	2	_Geometry_	(Peabody)	6
	2	_Chemistry_	(Miyasaki)	6
	2	_Drawing_	(Peabody)	3
	2	_Manual Labor_	(Brooks)	3
	2	_Military Drill_	(Kato)	2
J Ⅲ	1	_Fruit Culture*_	_Brooks_	3
	1	_Botany*_	_Brooks_	3
	1	<u>Composition</u>	_(Cutter)_	?
	1	Zoology	Cutter	6
	1	Astronomy	Peabody	3
	1	Topography	Peabody	3
	1	English	Cutter	4
	1	Military Drill	Kato	2
	1	_Surveying & Drawing_	_Peabody_	6
	1	_Manual Labor*_	(Brooks)	AR
	2	_Composition & Elocution_	(Cutter)	2
	2	_English Literature_	(Cutter)	6
	2	_Fruit Culture_	(Brooks)	3
	2	_Agriculture_	(Brooks)	3
	2	_Mechanics_	(Peabody)	6
	2	_Drawing_	(Peabody)	3
	2	_Practical Horticulture_	(Brooks)	2
	2	_Military Drill_	(Kato)	1
SE Ⅱ	1	Physics	Peabody	6
	1	_Agriculture*_	_Brooks_	3
	1	_Agricultural Debate*_	_Brooks_	2
	1	Geology	Kudo	4
	1	History	Cutter	6
	1	Book-keeping	Peabody	3
	1	Military Drill	Kato	2
	1	Microscopy	Cutter	6
	1	_Manual Labor*_	(Brooks)	AR
	2	_Engineering_	(Peabody)	6
	2	_Agriculture_	(Brooks)	5
	2	_Declamation_	(Brooks)	1
	2	_Veterinary_	(Cutter)	6
	2	_Political Economy_	(Cutter)	5
	2	_Military Drill_	(Kato)	2

Note. *There is a strong probability that Brooks had been sick and absent for a long time during this term because his subjects were not evaluated.

August 1881-July 1882 (Meiji 14-15)				
		Subject	Prof.	h.
F Ⅴ	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	2	_English & Elocution_	_Cutter_	6
	2	_Geometry_	_Tachibana_	6
	2	_Chemistry_	_Miyasaki_	8
	2	_Drawing_	_Summers_	1.5
	2	_Drawing_	_Tachibana_	1.5
	2	_Military Drill_	_Kato_	3
	2	(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	?
SO Ⅳ	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	2	_Chemistry_	_Miyasaki_	6
	2	_Trigonometry & Surveying_	_Tachibana_	6
	2	_Drawing_	_Tachibana_	3
	2	_Military Drill_	_Kato_	2
	2	(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	?
SE Ⅲ	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	1	?	?	?
	2	_Engineering_	_Tachibana_	6
	2	_Veterinary_	_Cutter_	6
	2	_Political Economy_	_Cutter_	5
	2	_Declamation_	_Summers_	1
	2	_Military Drill_	_Kato_	2

Table 6.2 (continued)

Class	Term	Subject (August 1882-July 1883 (Meiji 15-16))	Prof.	h.
SO V	1	Botany	Brooks	3
		Agriculture	Brooks	4
		English & Elocution	Cutter	4
		Human Anatomy	Cutter	3
		Chemistry*	Miyasaki →Kudo	8
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		Manual Labor	Brooks	6
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Zoology	(Cutter)	6
		Chemistry**	(Kudo→Toyohara)	4
		Astronomy	(Kudo)	2
		Trigonometry & Surveying	(Tachibana)	3
		Botany	(Brooks)	3
		Surveying	(Tachibana)	3
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	3
J IV	1	Zoology	Cutter	6
		Astronomy	Kudo	3
		Surveying	Tachibana	3
		Fruit Culture	Brooks	3
		Composition & Elocution	Cutter	1
		Botany	Brooks	3
		Drawing	Tachibana	3
		Military Drill	Kato	2
		(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	?
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Fruit Culture	(Brooks)	3
		English & English Literature	(Cutter)	2
		Composition & Elocution	(Cutter)	2
		Geology & Mineralogy	(Kudo)	3
		Physics	(Tachibana)	6
		Book-keeping	(Tachibana)	2
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Practical Horticulture	(Brooks)	2

Class	Term	Subject (August 1883-July 1884 (Meiji 16-17))	Prof.	h.
F VI	1	Agriculture	(Brooks)	4
		Chemistry	(Toyohara)	6
		Human Anatomy & Physiology	(Cutter)	4
		English	(Cutter)	6
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	6
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	4
		English	(Cutter)	3
		Algebra	(Tachibana)	6
		Botany	(Miyabe)	3
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	1.5
		Chemistry	(Toyohara)	8
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	6
J V	1	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Fisheries	(Cutter)	2
		History	(Cutter)	6
		Surveying	(Tachibana)	3
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	3
		Mechanics	(Tachibana)	4
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	AR
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Fruit Culture	(Brooks)	3
		English & English Literature	(Cutter)	2
		Composition & Elocution	(Cutter)	2
		Geology & Mineralogy	(Kudo)	3
		Physics	(Tachibana)	6
		Book-keeping	(Tachibana)	2
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		Practical Horticulture	(Brooks)	2
SE IV	1	Agriculture	(Brooks)	3
		Agricultural Debate	(Brooks)	2
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	6
		Physics & Meteorology	(Tachibana)	6
		Geology	(Kudo)	3
		Microscopy	(Cutter)	3
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2
		(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	?
	2	Agriculture	(Brooks)	4
		Engineering	(Tachibana)	6
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	6
		Political Economy	(Cutter)	5
		Declamation	(Brooks)	1
		Military Drill	(Kato)	2

Note. *Kudo replaced Miyasaki in December because of Miyasaki's resignation.
**Toyohara arrived in March to replace Kudo; however he died in January 1884.

Table 6.2 (continued)

Class	Term	August 1884-July 1885 (Meiji 17-18) Subject	Prof.	h.
F VII	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		*Chemistry**	(-)	*6*
		Human anatomy & Physiology	(Cutter)	*4*
		English	(Cutter)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Kato)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
	2	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		English	(Cutter)	*3*
		Algebra & Geometry	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Botany	(Miyabe)	*3*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*1.5*
		*Chemistry**	(-)	*8*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
SO VI	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		*Chemistry**	(-)	*8*
		Botany	(Miyabe)	*4*
		Geometry & Conics	(Tachibana)	*6*
		English	(Cutter)	*2*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*1.5*
		Military Drill	(Kato)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
	2	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*3*
		*Chemistry**	(-)	*4*
		Botany	(Miyabe)	*3*
		Trigonometry & Surveying	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Zoology	(Cutter)	*6*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*3*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*3*
SE V	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*3*
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	*2*
		Physics & Meteorology	(Tachibana)	*6*
		*Geology**	(-)	*6*
		Agricultural Debate	(Brooks)	*3*
		Microscopy	(Cutter)	*3*
		Military Drill	(Kato)	*2*
		(Manual Labor)	(Brooks)	?
	2	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		Engineering	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	*6*
		Political Economy	(Cutter)	*5*
		Declamation	(Brooks)	*1*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*

Class	Term	August 1885-July 1886 (Meiji 18-19) Subject	Prof.	h.
F VIII	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*3*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*6*
		Algebra	(Tachibana)	*6*
		English	(Cutter)	*5*
		Anatomy, Physiology & Hygienics	(Cutter)	*4*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*3*
	2	*Agriculture*	(Agriculture)	*4*
		Japanese Agriculture	(Minami)	*2*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*10*
		Geometry	(Tachibana)	*4*
		English	(Cutter)	*3*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
SO VII	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*5*
		Japanese Agriculture	(Minami)	*2*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*8*
		Microscopy	(Cutter)	*3*
		Trigonometry & Conics	(Stockbridge)	*4*
		Book-keeping	(Tachibana)	*2*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*1.5*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
	2	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		Botany	(Miyabe)	*6*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*4*
		Surveying	(Tachibana)	*7*
		Astronomy	(Tachibana)	*3*
		History	(Cutter)	*5*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*3*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
J VI	1	*Fruit Culture*	(Brooks)	*6*
		Agricultural History & Statistics	(Minami)	*2*
		Botany	(Miyabe)	*6*
		Zoology	(Cutter)	*3*
		Mechanics	(Tachibana)	*4*
		Topography	(Tachibana)	*3*
		Surveying & Drawing	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
	2	*Stock-farming*	(Brooks)	*6*
		Geology & Mineralogy	(Stockbridge)	*5*
		Zoology & Fishery	(Cutter)	*5*
		Physics	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)

Note . *These classes seem to have been cancelled until the successor, Stockbridge arrived.

Table 6.2 (continued)

August 1886-July 1887（Meiji 19-20）				
		Subject	Prof.	h.
SO Ⅷ	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*5*
		Japanese Agriculture	（Minami)	*2*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*8*
		Microscopy	(Cutter)	*3*
		Trigonometry & Conics	(Tachibana)	*4*
		Book-keeping	(Tachibana)	*2*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*1.5*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	*6*
	2	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		Botany	(Brooks)	*6*
		Chemistry	(Stockbridge)	*4*
		Surveying	(Tachibana)	*7*
		Astronomy	(Tachibana)	*3*
		History	(Cutter)	*5*
		Drawing	(Tachibana)	*3*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
J Ⅶ	1	*Fruit Culture*	(Brooks)	*6*
		Agricultural History & Statistics	(Minami)	*2*
		Botany	(Brooks)	*6*
		Zoology	(Cutter)	*3*
		Mechanics	(Tachibana)	*4*
		Topography	(Tachibana)	*3*
		Surveying & Drawing	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
	2	*Stock-farming*	(Brooks)	*6*
		Geology & Mineralogy	(Stockbridge)	*5*
		Zoology & Fishery	(Cutter)	*5*
		Physics	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
SE Ⅵ	1	*Agriculture*	(Brooks)	*4*
		Forestry	(Brooks)	*1*
		Entomology	(Adachi)	*2*
		Agricultural Debate	(Brooks)	*2*
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	*6*
		Physics & Meteorology	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Manual Labor	(Brooks)	(AR)
	2	*Book-keeping*	(Tachibana)	*4*
		Bee Culture & Silkworm Culture	(Adachi)	*2*
		Engineering	(Tachibana)	*6*
		Veterinary	(Cutter)	*9*
		Economy	(Cutter)	*4*
		Declamation	(Brooks)	*1*
		Military Drill	(Takata)	*2*
		Farming	(Brooks)	(AR)
		Graduation Thesis	?	?

Manual Labor. The practical instruction called "Manual Labor" was also conducted and emphasized in SAC, at the end of which the participants were paid five sen per hour as wages. Later some fixed fields were provided to the participants and its profits for crops were also given to them. The aim and contents are as follows:

> Although the students are destined to become officers, it is intended to teach them thoroughly all the processes of practical agriculture, including the use of hand implements and of machinery, the care of domestic animals, and the management of teams both of oxen and horses. They will work in the field with Professor Brooks two afternoons of each week, when the weather permits. (*First Annual Report*, 1877*, p. 35)

English. The subjects of English in early SAC can be roughly divided into two categories:

1. The input-oriented: Literature, History[3]
2. The output-oriented: Composition, Elocution, Declamation, Debate

The teachers in charge of subjects relating to English and their class hours are shown in Table 6.3. There are, however, few reports on English teaching in the annual reports. W. P. Brooks (1878*) wrote the following in the second annual report.

> In addition to lectures, it is proposed to introduce extempore debates upon agricultural subjects, near the close of the college course. This exercise it is believed will prove very beneficial, both as a review of the subjects treated of in the earlier portions of the course, and as an effectual training in habits of logical thinking and talking. (p. 43)

J. C. Cutter's (1880*) report in the fourth annual report reads:

> During the first term, the studies for the junior class were English Literature and English. In the preceding term a course of lectures on the prominent historic characters and events of the Eighteen

Table 6.3
Teachers in Charge of Subjects Relating to English and their Class Hours

W. S. Clark		Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ	Ⅵ	Total
Freshman	1st	6*						6*
	2nd	6**						6**
Sophomore	1st							0
	2nd							0
Junior	1st							0
	2nd							0
Senior	1st							0
	2nd							0
		12***	0	0	0	0	0	12***

D. P. Penhallow		Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ	Ⅵ	Total
Freshman	1st	6	0	0				6
	2nd	4	0	0				4
Sophomore	1st	2	0	0				2
	2nd	0	0	0				0
Junior	1st	0	0					0
	2nd	2	2					4
Senior	1st	0	0					0
	2nd	1	0					1
		15	2	0	0	0	0	17

W. P. Brooks		Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ	Ⅵ	Total
Freshman	1st		2	0	0	?	0	(2)
	2nd	0	2	0	0	0	0	(2)
Sophomore	1st	0	2	0	?	0	0	(2)
	2nd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Junior	1st	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2nd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senior	1st	2	2	?	2	3	2	(11)
	2nd	0	1	0	1	1	1	(4)
		2	9	(0)	(3)	(4)	3	(21)

J. C. Cutter		Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ	Ⅵ	Total
Freshman	1st			6	0	?	6	(12)
	2nd			4****	0	6	3	13
Sophomore	1st		0	4	?	4	2	(10)
	2nd		0	0	0	0	0	0
Junior	1st	3	1	4	1	6	0	15
	2nd	8	8	8	4	4	0	32
Senior	1st	3	6	?	0	0	0	(9)
	2nd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		14	15	(26)	(5)	(20)	11	(91)

J. Summers		Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ	Ⅵ	Total
Freshman	1st				6	?		(6)
	2nd				4	0		4
Sophomore	1st				?			?
	2nd				0			0
Junior	1st			0				0
	2nd			0				0
Senior	1st		0	?				?
	2nd		0	1				1
		0	0	(1)	(10)	(0)	0	(11)
Total		31	26	(27)	(18)	(24)	14	

Note .This table is based on Table 6.2. Classes from the First to the Sixth are represented by I-VI. The subjects involved are the following: "English," "Composition," "Elocution," "Agricultural Debate," "Declamation," "English Literature," "History, " and "Mental Science & History of Civilization." Question marks signify that there were no sources to rely on; therefore there is a possibility that the numbers in parentheses were actually more than those given. *Penhallow replaced Clark from 18 September (see Penhallow's section). **Penhallow became the successor of the subject, "English," from 17 April due to Clark's resignation. The hours decreased from six to four a week (see Penhallow's section). ***This number is not included in the grand total of the first class for the reasons above. ****In this term, only "English" is counted because there is no information about the hours for "Composition."

> Christian Centuries had been commenced. One hour per week was devoted to their continuation. The object of these lectures was to refresh the memory and to indicate the influence of continental manners, customs and events upon English History and English Literature, as well as a drill in the use of a class of words not used in the natural sciences.
>
> As a preliminary to the study of the literature of the English speaking nations, a brief period was devoted to the physical features of Great Britain, the neighboring countries and the adjacent waters, followed by a review of the political and social geography of England and Scotland. Subsequent to this, several weeks were devoted to the history of the English nation and people. The class then passed under consideration, the principal literary men, their lives, works and influence. At all times the central idea was to bring into consideration the influence of the country, the people and the times upon the literature, and conversely the influence of the writers upon their own and subsequent times.
>
> The Freshman class were instructed in English and English composition four hours in the week. To make this more interesting, more instructive and more developmental, the drill in the use of the language was associated with a study of the geography—physical, political and social—of Europe and the history of modern Europe to the year 1858. (pp. 37-38)

The following is a description by J. Summers (1881*) in the fifth annual report.

> After giving attention to the defects in their pronunciation I proceeded to criticise every passage as they read it—calling their attention to defects in style and to passages that were worthy of imitation. Two hours in a week were occupied in this way.

One lecture a week was devoted to the principles of English composition, in which, as there was no suitable text book, I communicated to them much of the matter contained in the admirable little work of Prof. Nichol of Glasgow with notes and comments of my own. The practise of taking notes is much to be encouraged, and I have found the students very apt in doing so.

In addition I delivered a course of lectures on Rhetoric to aid them in the writing of Essays and in literary composition generally. These lectures were founded on the *Elements of Rhetoric by G. Flon*—a work published under the authority of the Council of Public Instruction in France. A portion of this work I translated for the purpose and adapted to their wants. Some valuable illustrative passages they carefully studied. Writing from dictation and endeavouring to comprehend the new ideas brought to their notice in this way has had the most beneficial effect upon many of the students. The running commentary upon the subject of the lectures, and the continued practice of catechetical teaching has, I am fain to believe, rendered the Freshman class able to make good progress.

Subjects on which they were fully acquainted or which I had clearly explained were given as themes for their compositions, of which they had to produce one exercise every fortnight.

One hour in the week was devoted to elocutionary exercise in the repetition of some good passage from an English classical author. By this means the class has been familiarized with standard style in English. Their pronunciation has thus improved, and they have, I trust, canght [*sic*] something of the shythm [*sic*] [,] a spirit of the language.

The common error is to advance the student by rapid steps to new matter before the old has been fully mastered. For this reason the

committing to memory from time to time passages from good authors has an important and invigorating effect on the minds of students of language. (pp. 35-36)

Extracurricular Activities

The participants were encouraged by their teachers to voluntarily arrange and participate in various extracurricular activities.

Collecting. The participants were required and stimulated to be engaged in other out-door exercises such as the collection of specimens in botany, zoology, and entomology, or other industrial operations of various kinds such as in the production of wood tar, the cooking of coal, the manufacture of soap, candles and matches, analysis of ores, as well as refining fish oil, and leather manufacture.

Scientific excursion. During the summer vacation, it was determined that the teachers and students should devote their time to scientific excursions into the unexplored parts of the island. Wheeler stated in his annual report:

> During the summer vacation the students of the present Sophomore class were organized in three parties to assist in various practical works under the direction of members of the faculty, —an excellent method of uniting thorough recreation with instruction from the best of books—Nature, under the best of teachers—Experience. (*Second Annual Report*, 1878*, p. 8)[4]

D. P. Penhallow also reported his opinion of an excursion in his annual report.

> The summer vacation was profitably employed by teachers and students, either in the direct prosecution of government work, or in excursions for general observations whereby they might increase their knowledge of the physical condition and resources of the island. (*Third Annual Report*, 1879*, p. 8)

The following are the main societies the participants established under the support of their teachers.

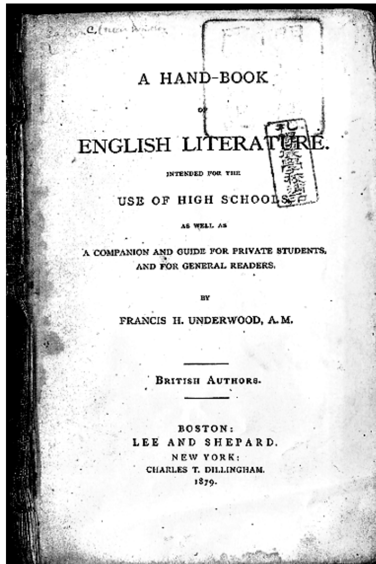
Club. A literary club, *Kaishikisha*, was organized in November in 1876, the members held a meeting every Saturday evening in which the students were engaged in the activities of readings, declamations, and debates in both Japanese and English. A critic was appointed for each meeting who would critique the proceedings and performances at the close of the session (see Appendix E).

Besides, there were two meetings of Christians. One meeting was held by the Christians in the first class: Ito, Kuroiwa, Oshima, S. Sato, Yanagimoto, T. Watase, Uchida, all of whom signed “the Covenant of Believers in Jesus,” which Clark recommended them to sign. The other consisted of the Christians in the second class: Adachi, Fujita, Hiroi, Miyabe, Nitobe, Sakuma, Takagi, Uchimura. The two groups separately had meetings once a week to pray and study the Bible in English.

Material

All of the materials for the instruction of the participants were written in English except the materials for Chinese studies. As mentioned above, because oral and practical instruction was the main way of teaching in SAC, there is little known about the materials used in classes. Summers (1881*), nonetheless, reported that he adopted *Lord's Modern History of Europe* as a reading textbook for the fourth class and Saeki (1982**) and Matsuzawa (2005**) revealed that Cutter adopted *Underwood's Hand-Book of English Literature*, which was used in the class of English Literature for second to fifth class participants. The textbook contained several lists indexing a great deal of authors' names and, occasionally, excerpts from their works from “about the time of Chaucer to Spenser” to “Contemporary authors (since 1810).” The list included poets, essayists, dramatists, novelists,

diarists, philosophers, theologians, metaphysicians, political writers, historians, classical scholars, satirists, divines, letters, translators, travelers, teachers, printers, bishops, critics, rhetoricians, chroniclers, annalists, commentators, political economists, romancers, song writers, logicians, scientific writers, geologists, clergymen, and orators.


A HAND-BOOK
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE.
INTENDED FOR THE
USE OF HIGH SCHOOLS,
AS WELL AS
A COMPANION AND GUIDE FOR PRIVATE STUDENTS,
AND FOR GENERAL READERS.
BY
FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD, A.M.

BRITISH AUTHORS.

BOSTON:
LEE AND SHEPARD.
NEW YORK:
CHARLES T. DILLINGHAM.
1879.

Figure 6.2 Underwood's Hand-Book of English Literature[5]

Gray's Lessons, *Gray's Manual of Botany for the Northern United States*, and *Bessey's Botany* had been used by Penhallow and Brooks till 1885; thereafter, Brooks adopted *Gray's Structural Botany* in place of *Lessons* and *Goodale's Physiological Botany* in place of *Bessey's Botany* (see Brooks, 1888*). Penhallow used *Well's Chemistry* as a textbook, with which was associated *Fowne's Chemistry* as a book of reference in 1877 (see Penhallow, 1878*). Haraguchi, Kon, Kishi, and Sato (1998**) reported that the second class used in a class a text on

civil engineering by C. H. Peabody, *J. B. Wheeler's Elementary Course of Civil Engineering. Rankine's Manual of Civil Engineering* also seems to have been used in some classes on civil engineering (Haraguchi, Kon, & Sato, 1999**). Peabody also used *Ganot's Physics* in 1881 (see Peabody, 1881*).

Teachers

The teachers in SAC were well educated (see Table 6.1) and were sympathetic to the different culture, although there is no evidence that they had any pedagogical knowledge of L2 teaching except Summers, who was hired as a professional teacher of English in the early days of SAC and had already mastered Chinese and basic Japanese. Clark also had the experience of acquiring German as his L2. Although a school founded on the basis of the Natural Method by L. Sauveur was established in Massachusetts in late 1860 (see Richards & Rodgers, 2001)—almost corresponding to the time when Clark took a position of president of MAC in 1867—, there is no record that Clark knew the method. Background information of the teachers in SAC is summarized in Table 6.4.

Ota (1979**) attempted to examine the teachers' impressions of Japan and their students by analyzing their letters, especially those by Clark. The first three foreign teachers, Clark, Wheeler, and Penhallow, seem to have been satisfied with the hospitality and treatment of Japanese officials. Not only that, they heaped praise on not only Japanese educational institutes but also the students. Y. T. Fujii (2004*) reported on Brooks' letters in which he made great effort not only to understand the Japanese culture but also to speak the language. A number of records show that relationships continued between several of the participants and the foreign teachers after the teachers returned to their countries: Clark's letters after his leaving

Table 6.4
Teachers' Careers in the Early Sapporo Agricultural College

Name	Academic Background	Age	Class	Main Subject(s)	Main Occupation
W. S. Clark	PhD (Göttingen), LLD (MAC), President of MAC,	50	I	Botany	President of MAC
W. Wheeler	BS (MAC)	25	I - Ⅲ	Mathematics, Civil Engineering	Professor at MAC
D. P. Penhallow	BS (MAC)	22	I - Ⅲ	Botany, Chemistry	Professor at McGill University
W. P. Brooks	BS (MAC)	26	I - V	Agriculture	Professor at MAC
J. C. Cutter,	BS (MAC), MD (Harvard)	27	I - V	Physiology, Comparative Anatomy, English Literature	Surgeon
C. H. Peabody	BS (MIT)	24	I - Ⅳ	Mathematics, Civil Engineering	Head of the Department and Professor of Naval Architecture
J. Summers	Professor at London University	52	Ⅲ - Ⅳ	English	President of *Obunseikokugakkan*
F. Nagao	?	?	I - Ⅱ	Chinese and Japanese	Died as an instructor of SAC
S. Kato	Military Academy	?	I - V	Military Science and Tactics	Second Lieutenant in Army
H. Ichigo	?	?	Ⅲ - Ⅳ	Mathematics	?
M. Miyasaki	BS (Tokyo)	?	(Ⅲ) - V	Chemistry	Author
S. Kudo	BA (Rutgers)	?	Ⅱ - V	Geology, Chemistry	?
K. Tachibana	BS (Tokyo)	?	Ⅲ - V	Mathematics, Civil Engineering	?
H. Toyohara	?	?	Ⅳ	Chemistry	Died as a professor of SAC
N. Takata	?	?	V	Military Science and Tactics	Captain in the Imperial Regular Army

Note . This table is formed on the basic information from J. Maki (2002**), Powers (1916*), Shigehisa (1968**), Toyama (1992**), and M. Watanabe (1996**). The "Age" column represents the age at which teachers started to work in SAC and the "Class" column the classes of which teachers took charge. The information in the cells with question marks are unknown. MAC stands for Massachusetts Agricultural College; MIT, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

SAC are compiled in a series of works by Onishi (1979*, 1980a*, 1980b*, 1981a*, 1981b*, 1982a*, 1982b*); Cutter sent a letter to his ex-student—probably Joyokoji himself—on the day that the festival of Sapporo took place (Joyokoji, 1895b*); Brooks in his later years sent a letter to Miyabe (Miyabe, 1938b*). Penhallow worked together with S. Sato on a farm in America (S. Sato, 1937*); According to J. Maki's (2002**) research, Wheeler named his dwelling in America, "Round Hill Farm," "after one of the scenic spots in Sapporo, Maruyama, which can be literally translated, 'Round Hill'" (p. 160).

Classmates

The classmates in this period are the participants themselves. As described above, most of them belonged to the ruling class, samurai or quasi-samurai as the first President, Clark wrote in his letter (see J. Maki, 2002**) that the first class students belonged to "the fighting class." It is confirmed in the present study that the participants gathered from all over Japan as Toyama (1992**) pointed out.

The classmates were students who had passed an entrance examination almost common to the participants from the first to fifth class. All of the participants of the second class, however, exceptionally entered SAC without taking the entrance examination because they were, so to speak, students with honors, considered as the highest level of knowledge in Japan at that time. The candidates for admission to SAC were examined orally and in writing on the following subjects: (a) the Japanese and English languages, in which candidates should be able to read, write and speak with correctness and facility, (b) Arithmetic, (c) Geography, (d) Universal History, and (e) the knowledge required being equivalent to that contained in the common higher textbooks for public schools. Candidates had to have reached their 16th year of age at least and be of sound constitution and good character.

They were also required to sign a contract upon admission. The participants in the first three classes were holders of a government scholarship; they had an obligation to work for the Colonial Department after graduation and had to pay back all of the tuition fees if they withdrew from school before completion. On the contrary, the participants in the fourth and fifth classes had their expenses advanced.

L1 Teaching

The participants received L1 teaching in the curriculum of SAC. The Japanese language was the language of instruction in only two classes: Military Drill and Chinese studies. The details of the L1 teaching in the class of Chinese studies cannot be revealed in the present study because there are no records of that teaching except a description in Nitobe's letter (see Matsukuma, 1969*). It said the material in the class in 1877 was *Nihon Gaishi*, a book of Japanese history written in Chinese by Sanyo Rai. As extracurricular activities relating to L1, every month a newspaper about farming was printed by participants from 1878 and officially sold from the following year as the title, *Nogyosodan*. Another literary club, *Shoyusha* was established by members in the fourth class to broaden knowledge by debating on academic issues.

Learning

Cognition

Five cognitive activities are found here as being characteristic in the higher education of the participants: indexing, show-and-tell sessions, literature reading, note-copying, and output activities.

Indexing. The participants attended the classes of a variety of subjects and took part in extracurricular programs with their foreign teachers in the 4 years it took to graduate from SAC. Agriculture was

seen as essentially a unifying subject, so the curriculum required a wide variety of subjects relating to agriculture. In a continuity of lectures, the participants repeatedly encountered the same or similar words in different contexts. They had to index the numerous numbers of academic words, especially names. Names of authors, works, Western implements, and specimens the participants learned led them to read more books relating to their indices in and outside of the classrooms.

Show-and-tell sessions. The participants took more practical instructions in chemistry, astronomical observation, meteorological station, manual labor, practical horticulture, scientific excursions, and so on. They were instructed to manipulate Western tools and materials in Western facilities, in which they listened to foreign teachers speaking while using the tools and materials, and occasionally jotted down the comments in their notebooks, and imitated the teachers' demonstration.

Literature reading. The participants took a class on English literature from Cutter. The manner of his teaching was, so to speak, an ethnographical approach—though Willcock (2000**) called it "historical approach" (p. 990)—in which they learned not only many authors' names and their works but also the history, geography, and folklore relating to the authors and works, or conversely, the influence of works on history, geography, and folklore. They were able to read many books in the library or newspapers and periodicals in the reading room.

Note-copying. The participants were required to take notes in class, neatly copy them afterwards, and submit them as a suitable book. J. Maki (2002**) considered the activity as "a procedure that undoubtedly contributed a great deal to their mastery of written English" (p. 170). A retrospective comment by Oshima (1993*) shows that he and his

friends conducted cooperative learning to complete this task.

Output activities. Out of the total time in which the participants of the first and second classes spent on subjects of English, at least 16% was devoted to output-oriented contents. Recitation was required at the beginning of each class and it was taken into account as oral examinations. In the class of elocution, they were expected to express the intentions as well as their feelings while reciting well known addresses and scenes in plays. In original declamation, they had to recite manuscripts they composed themselves. The reason why the classes of debate and declamation were included in the curriculum of the senior students can be presumed to be that the two activities were the terminal goal in learning English in SAC.[6]

Moreover, output activities were extended to the extracurricular activities. *Kaishikisha* was an almost autonomous society with the clear intention of improving English ability. It might be regarded as a LLS if *Kaishikisha* had been established by the participants on their own. It was, however, a teacher, Clark that urged them to plan the establishment of the society and to keep managing it under the participants' control. J. Maki (2002**) examined the quality of their English in the minutes and stated that "they [the participants] made extremely good use of the opportunity to improve their command of that language" (p. 173). Toyama (1992**) commented in the same way that the activities in *Kaishikisha* should facilitate their English proficiency. There are many records that exemplified the fact that the teachers and the participants interacted with each other even outside of the classrooms. The participants often called on their teachers' apartment building near their dormitory and the teachers also called the students outside to chat together.

Metacognition

The participants' metacognition was activated in this period of higher education. The learning of the participants became more active, almost voluntary, being supported and encouraged by their teachers, who always called the participants "gentlemen." They often planned their extracurricular activities by themselves, and each person selected some suitable subjects and made their own special study in their free time. Such activities need an array of metacognitive processes: planning, monitoring, and evaluating. *Kaishikisha*, *Shoyusha*, and other meetings, like the prayer meeting by some Christians, were clearly managed under their metacognition. An example of self-evaluation can be seen in a diary by Nitobe, in which he cautioned himself against putting too much emphasis on studying English while avoiding learning Chinese studies (see Matsukuma, 1969*).

Decontextualizing strategy, which was introduced in the former chapter, even seems to have been used by some participants in SAC (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3　*Lecture on English Literature* by Kiyoshi Uchida[7]

Besides this, LLSs in reading can be found in retrospective comments made by five participants, who later became English writers or diplomatic officials famous in and outside of Japan. The LLSs are shown in Table 6.5, which can be seen as a LLS cluster called *attentional repeated reading*.

Table 6.5
Language Learning Strategies in Reading

	Nitobe	Sakuma	Takenobu	Uchimura	Zumoto
Searching for Favorites or Models	*		*	*	*
Reading with Attention to Idioms and Syntax	*	*	*		*
Consulting Dictionaries	*				
Reading Aloud	*			*	*
Reading Repeatedly	*		*		*
Underlining	*		*		
Summarizing	*				
Reciting	*		*	*	
Reading Many Books			*		

The five participants selected books whose contents they were eager to learn, read aloud paying attention to unique or unknown words or expressions, made texts comprehensible with dictionaries, and repeatedly read the comprehended texts to the extent that they could recite the texts, especially favorite sentences.

Outcome

L2 Proficiency

As mentioned in chapter 2, L2 proficiency of the participants in this period can be counted as generally advanced, as it can be confirmed in their notebooks, letters, compositions, and the comments by the participants themselves or their teachers (see Appendix, B, C, D, E, and F). It seems that the earliest teachers were satisfied with the L2 proficiency of the first class participants. Clark stated in his letter in 1876.

> The prospect in regard to the new College [SAC] surpasses my expectations. We intend to have a formal opening next week and have examined 49 students, many of whom are well qualified to enter the freshman class. They read and understand English very well and write it better than most of our [MAC's] students. (*Hokudai Hyakunenshi*, 1981a**)

If Nation's (2001) statement—"learning from meaning-focused input can best occur if learners are familiar with at least 95% of the running words in the input they are focusing on (p. 2)—is right, the hard review of note-copying ought to have required the participants to understand and take notes of almost all of what the teachers said. It is also evidenced that they were already GLLs in SAC. C. Maki (1941*), Miyabe (1947a*), Takenobu (1906*), and Zumoto (1935*) stated that it was not inconvenient to implement English in SAC though there were clear differences in English ability among the participants of the present study: Summers (1881*) reported that the fourth class at the time they were freshmen had some deficits in English ability, especially in their pronunciation; Miyabe (1947a*) stated that the younger group had been far superior to the older group.

Beliefs

The participants considered literature to be profound material through which to digest wisdom, and a symbol of English-speaking people's way of living. Nitobe recollected that the contents of the textbook used in the English literature class at SAC were intellectual thoughts, which produced a powerful effect on the cultivation of the spirit of the participants of the present study (Nitobe, 1907*). Likewise, Uchimura (1914*, p. 330) later stated: "I have learned the English language and literature so I can understand you [native-speaking people of English], but how much could I understand if I knew nothing

of Shakespeare and Tennyson and others?" It is assumed that such a belief was derived from their teachers' beliefs and teaching strategies. Under the influence of their teachers, the participants were fond of Chinese literature in their childhood, acquired a close acquaintance with English literature in their secondary education, and heightened their awareness of the value of English literature. As Takeuchi and Wakamoto (2001) pointed out, teacher's beliefs on the use of strategies might have influence on students' beliefs and consequently on their actual use of strategies.

Attitude

The participants were respected as "gentlemen" by their teachers, which possibly enhanced their awareness of responsibility for their thoughts, words, actions, and, by extension, their English learning. Besides, it seems that confidence after success of various activities made the participants learn further. There were many opportunities for the participants to have a sense of accomplishment of their English use such as output activities, scientific excursions, and the rewarding system.

6-3. Discussion 1: Indexing

The main issue of discussion in this section is indexing, which refers to a cognitive activity of adding names or nouns into learners' lexicon. It is natural to think that a wide variety of subjects include a massive amount of names. Names, however, are seemingly concrete but too vague to be self-explanatory: They often need to be complemented by other modifying words if the names are to be conveyed more concretely. In other words, names themselves potentially embrace a great deal of information, and are so schematic that learners need to construct

organized knowledge of them. Given these considerations, nouns could be the most profound part of speech in that they are often attended by other parts of speech. It resembles a tree with the stem being names. The following is an example of a name, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The source is *An Outline of American Literature* written by High (1986).

Stem: H. W. Longfellow

Branch 1. He is a poet.

Branch 2. He was born in 1807 and died in 1882.

Branch 3. He spoke directly to hearts of ordinary Americans.

Branch 4. Part of his popularity came from saying—and saying beautifully—exactly the things most Americans wanted to hear.

Branch 5. His great ballads were *Evangeline* (1847), *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855), and *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858).

Branch 6. His language is always simple and easy to understand.

Branch 7. He turned to more religious themes later in life.

Branch 8. He had mastered several European languages and creatively used material he found in German, Dutch, Finnish, and other national literatures.

Branch 9. He was the most famous member of a group of aristocratic Boston writers called the “Brahmins”.

Branch 4 might lead learners to think about what kind of poems they are, while branch 9 might direct learners to think about what the Brahmins were like. These unknown names can be new stems of other branches. In this process, learning names is a manner of indexing a wide variety of information.

Review of Previous Studies on Indexing

It seems that little research has been hitherto conducted on the influence that indexing has on language learning. Ninio and Bruner

(1978) claimed: "a central element in the achievement of labelling by the child is his mastery of the reciprocal dialogue rules that govern the exchanges between him and his mother into which labelling is inserted" (p. 14). Children are reported to start to learn language by naming people and objects (Leopold, 1949). Taking the subject, literature, Sénéchal et al. (1996) considered the knowledge of storybooks to be a powerful predictor for young children's vocabulary both receptive and expressive, as well as language skills. "Storybook knowledge" there meant various names such as book titles, characters, and relevant information about stories.

Interpretation

Although further research will need to be conducted, it can be concluded that a wide variety of subjects offer a chance for learners to index many names. Indexing enables learners to gradually branch out a great deal of information regarding names and consequently enrich their vocabulary in the breadth-depth dimension. Names are indices, countless slots, to which infinitive information can be inserted. Knowing a name entails acquiring the schema of the name, which might be the easiest schema to form narratives.

6-4. Discussion 2: Show-and-Tell Sessions

The main issue of discussion in this section is the show-and-tell sessions in language learning, which refers to a style of session in which some actions are shown before, while, or after telling and other actions are done before, while, or after watching. In immersion programs, for example, show-and-tell sessions might include demonstrations of drawing, role-playing, or scientific experiments, and so on. In these sessions, learners can also imitate teachers' actions

while listening to them.

Review of Previous Studies on the Show-and-Tell Sessions

The show-and-tell sessions are the combination of two teaching strategies according to Herrell and Jordan (2008): modeled talk, showing while you talk; manipulative strategies, using objects to connect concepts. Because, without any motor-sensory organs, cognition will not take place and develop, learning essentially requires participation of the organs of sense, muscles, and tools as a sort of extension of the bodily organs, as Dewey (1913) stated. The influence of show-and-tell sessions on language learning is regarded as pedagogically effective in a number of studies (e.g., Peregoy & Boyle, 2008). Herrell and Jordan (2008) suggested that manipulation is often supportive to students' understanding and language development, and through modeled talk, learners easily understand the concepts of word meaning and procedures of explanation in a TL, and understand what they should do to succeed in explaining the procedure. E. P. Hughes (1907) stated: "The best way to gain a vocabulary and the power of speaking English, is to learn many sentences perfectly by means of actions, concrete objects, and pictures..." (p. 5). Kopstein and Roshal (1954) undertook a large-scale experiment to find supportive results that "foreign vocabulary may be acquired more rapidly if pictures are used as cues" (p. 408). Learners also take notice of situations when language is used as Bruner (1990) suggested: "With an appreciation of context, the child seems better able to grasp not only the lexicon but the appropriate aspects of the grammar of a language" (p. 71). Asher (1966), moreover, showed that acting while listening was a more significant learning strategy for vocabulary retention than observing somebody's acting and listening irrespective of TLs. Acting while listening was called the total physical response (Asher, 1966, 1969) or

the language-body interaction (Asher, 2000).

Interpretation

The show-and-tell sessions, where lexical items are acquired through the mediation of actions or the supplement of actions, make input more comprehensible and help connect objects and situations with language. As discussed before, learners can acquire a word meaning by connecting it to each situation where the word is given (Goodman, 1973; Hakuta, 1976; Tomasello, 1999), and situations present various usage (Tomasello, 1999), different intonation (Halliday, 1978; Pike, 1945), and ad hoc meaning of words (Ogden & Richards, 1952). "(T)he sentence's structure is stable and straightforward, its communicative function is variable and depends on specific situational and social factors" as Littlewood (1981, p. 2) claimed. As a result, there is a great likelihood that show-and-tell sessions can help learners to understand what speakers say; that is, by watching what speakers are doing learners can infer what they cannot understand and comprehend, or reaffirm what they can comprehend.

6-5. Discussion 3: Literature Reading

The main issue of discussion in this section is literature reading. Strategic reading in language learning can be categorized in terms of what to read and how to read. This section deals with the former, what to read. In order to approach the role of literature reading in language learning, two main issues have to be separately examined: what literature is and what the literature reading process is.

Review of Previous Studies on Literature Reading

There are some researchers who reported the significance of literature reading in language learning. For example, Widdowson

(1975) stated that “the study of literature is primarily a study of language use and as such it is not a separate activity from language learning but an aspect of the same activity” (p. 83); R. Ellis (2003) suggested: “Literature offers a variety of rich source texts that serve as the ‘input’ in the design of tasks” (p. 331); Strong (1996) claimed:

> Studying literature from another culture gives students insight into the customs and values of other places. It can become a powerful tool in teaching the relativity of cultural values and the inherent problems in cross-cultural communication. (p. 303)

In comparison with the enormous amount of studies in SLL, however, it can be said that less attention has been given to the study of literature in language learning (Brumfit, 1986; Paran, 2006). Although there have been practical studies about literature use, mainly contributing to classroom activities such as investigation of literary works themselves and their authors, discussions, context questions, paraphrasing, general essays, writing poems, and so on (e.g., Brumfit & Carter, 1986; Kramsch, 1985; Paran, 2006; Simpson, 1997), little speculation, consequently, has taken place on whether literature reading is effective for proficiency of language ability as G. Hall (2005) pointed out:

> Literature is too often viewed by the second language educator as a source of activities, as ‘material’, with too little concern for the wider curricular issues which can help us understand what is going on when a student reads (or fails to read) literature. (p. 47)

Review of Previous Studies on Literariness

The standard approach of defining literature has concluded that definition itself is an impossible task; that is, there is no clear divide between literature and non-literature (Leech, 1969; G. Hall, 2005; Paran, 2006; Simpson, 1997). This indicates that there is more or less some possibility that whatever is written in language can be literature.

It is clear for us, however, at an individual level that there is an ambiguous but undeniable dichotomy, degrees of what makes written items more literary. Jakobson (1921/1973) christened it "literariness" (p. 62).

It can be said that the study of literariness was advanced by those who are called formalists although one of the main elements of literariness was pointed out by P. B. Shelly (1840/1965) in his letter written as early as 1821: "Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar..." (p. 117). A formalist, Shklovsky (1928/1965) later advocated a similar technique of artists "defamiliarization" (see van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for more details).

> (I)t [Art] exists to make one feel things, to make the stone *stony*. The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects "unfamiliar", to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. (p. 12)

Mukařovský also presented a homogeneous aspect more systematically using another term, "foregrounding," first used by Havránek (see Van Peer, 1986, for more details). He stated:

> The function of poetic language consists in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance. Foregrounding is the opposite of automatization, that is, the deautomatization of an act; the more an act is automatized, the less it is consciously excused; the more it is foregrounded, the more completely conscious does it become. Objectively speaking: automatization schematizes an event; foregrounding means the violation of the scheme. (Mukařovský, 1932/1964, p. 19)

The two terms of defamiliarization and foregrounding are treated as interchangeable henceforth here because ultimately both contain deviations[8] with pattern in discourse.

Based on these concepts, Miall and Kuiken (1999) proposed a new interpretation that literariness is a series of interaction of three components: foregrounded stylistic or narrative features, readers' defamiliarizing[9] responses to them, and the consequent modification of proposal meanings. Alexandrov (2007) supported the claim neurolinguistically. This implies the possibility that there is a distinction in cognitive process between literature reading and non-literature reading from a more empirical angle:

> (B)rain is more actively engaged when trying to make sense of an utterance that consists of *familiar* words taken out of their habitual contexts and placed in *unfamiliar* juxtapositions than when it makes sense of everyday words in everyday utterances. (Alexandrov, 2007, p. 108)

It is likely to be more rational to gather as many key features of literature as possible to grasp the essence of literature. G. Hall (2005) summarized the features of literature:

1. affective arguments—pleasurable, motivating, personalizing
2. cultural arguments—cultural knowledge, intercultural experience
3. psycholinguistic arguments—'focus on form', discourse processing skills, inferencing, processing of non-literal language, tolerance of ambiguity. (p. 48)

If there are some correlations with each feature, these would be able to be integrated, and the "cline of literariness" (Paran, 2006, p. 2) would therefore appear as a more concrete figure.

Interpretation

The following are the nine features of literature as a result of

analyzing a variety of the prominent previous studies. Although the features might not be sufficient enough to constitute literariness, each can make sense if they are presented as a whole because they are dependent on each other.

Themes common to our affect. Maley and Moulding (1985, p. 135) stated: "If carefully selected, poems can open up themes which are common to us all whatever our cultural background…" Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. xi) also mentioned: "Great poets can speak to us because they use the modes of thought we all possess." There is no problem if the word "poems" and "poets" in these sentences are changed into "literature" and "writers". The globalization of literature in translation proves the universality of themes common to our affect: love, hatred, courage, and so on. H. Read (1931) remarked: "The real function of art is to express *feeling* and transmit *understanding*" (p. 195). And above all, literature has its roots in everyday use of language (Leech, 1969). Therefore, literature contains a universal phase. It is a bridge between one's mother tongue and another language.

Story grammar. Literature has story grammar. This is the pattern of stories, which has evolved from work of cognitive psychologists and anthropologists who found that, "regardless of age or culture, when individuals relate stories they read or heard, their retellings follow a pattern", including "(a) the main character, (b) his or her problem or conflict, (c) his or her attempts to solve the problem, and (d) the chain of events that lead to a resolution" (Dimino, Taylor, & Gersten, 1995, p. 54). It also includes a set of expectations about the internal structure of stories or *story schema* (Kintsch, 1980; Mandler & Johnson, 1977) and *story-line* (Yorio, 1971) or *basic nodes* (Mandler & Johnson, 1977) like settings, beginnings, reactions, attempts, outcomes, endings, and so on. This is probably because, as Bruner (1990) mentioned, the principal

property of stories is "its inherent sequentiality: a narrative is composed of a unique sequence of events, mental states, happenings involving human beings as characters or actors" (p. 43). According to Yorio's (1971) insights from a questionnaire distributed to adult learners of a foreign language, novels and short stories are reported to be easy to read owing to the story-line serving as guide for predicting future cues and recollecting past ones whereas the cues of journalistic style are much closer to each other as there is no gradation, and magazines are too full of current colloquialisms and jargon which make comprehension even more difficult.

Cultural transmission. "(L)iterature and culture are inseparable" (G. Hall, 2005, p. 83). "Experience in and memory of the social world are powerfully structured..." (Bruner, 1990, p. 57). "Causal relations in the physical world and the goals, plans, and intentions of human actors play a predominant role and have received much attention in the literature" (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, p. 46). Literature contains cultural phases as well as universal ones. These two factors are the most comprehensive and contradictive elements of literature. Language and culture are two sides of the same coin, which have built upon each other for a long time (Hymes, 1972a). If the development of language ability goes along with the development of intelligence from a certain stage,[10] it naturally implies Tomasello's statement: "(T)he amazing suite of cognitive skills and products displayed by modern humans is the result of some sort of species-unique mode or modes of cultural transmission" (Tomasello, 1999, p. 4).

Language can be considered as, so to speak, "invisible garments that drape themselves about our spirit" (Sapir, 1921, p. 236), and at the same time, literature written in a language has represented its culture. These considerations lead us to note the possibility that the concept of

metaphors is different between cultures because "(o)ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3).

Both elements of translatability and untranslatability. The content is easy to translate and the function is difficult to translate. Sapir (1921) considered that there are two distinct kinds or levels of literature: "a generalized, non-linguistic art, which can be transferred without loss into an alien linguistic medium, and a specifically linguistic art that is not transferable" (pp. 237-238). This idea has been presented by those who can read both the original and its translated version. However, it is important in that this feature proves that literature has the two dimensions mentioned above: universality and cultural traits.

Distinction between the sender and the addresser. The addresser/narrator is a product of the sender/writer, but cannot be asserted to be the sender even if the work is a first-person narrative. Hence, the sender can freely express anything they cannot usually express under the name of daily life. That gives the addresser "a unique freedom" (Leech, 1965, p. 5) and "relieves him from any social responsibility" (Widdowson, 1975, p. 53). Rimmon-Kenan (1983) also endorsed this claim. There might be some cases where diary and letter could be considered as literary text if they have a certain distance between the sender and the addresser. This is a remarkable idea because the following features all become possible and connected to this very feature.

Interaction between the addresser and the addressee. "Meaning does not just reside in the text, rather meaning is constructed out of the interaction between a reader's activated background knowledge and what's in the text," Carrell (1983, p. 200) stated. The interaction of all texts generally can be viewed as constituting the following sequence of

events: decoding, information building, and situation-model construction, which is the cognition represented (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983) while the addressee/reader constructs a situation from some key elements: temporality, spatiality, and causality (Zwaan, Magliano, & Graesser, 1995). After that, mental images are visualized (Wittrock, Marks, & Doctorow, 1975). Yet, interaction in literature reading requires more from us. H. Read (1931) suggested that:

> …when we contemplate a work of art, we project ourselves into the form of the work of art, and our feelings are determined by what we find there, by the dimensions we occupy. (p. 30)

"When we read a story, we inhabit it", as Berger (1992/2001, p. 476) also stated. Brumfit later discussed the idea in the context of literary art saying that "…the meaning is always subject to negotiation…" (Brumfit, 1986, p. 185). It insinuates that "(l)iterary works, and poems in particular, are open to widely varying construals" (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 109-110). The relationship between the addresser and the addressee becomes intimate all the more because the addresser is independent of the sender. The addressee interacts with a variety of phenomena narrated by the addresser while reading. That is, "…meaning is created in the interaction between a reader and a text" (Alderson, 2000, p. 6).

A wide range of registers. The term, register, is defined as "a fixed pattern of vocabulary and grammar which regularly co-occurs with and is conventionally associated with a specific context" by Simpson (1997, p. 10). Literature allows the sender to create various characters and their speeches as well as the addresser(s) and their speech(es). Thus literature can contain a wide range of registers (Elliot, 1990). There are occasions that make us feel that there are "mixed addressers" (Short, 1996, p. 42) in a text. The addressers can use different registers even in

such a small form as poetry. That's why the plural forms are added to the following expression "the addresser(s) and their speech(es)". As Sapir (1921) stated, "people need to communicate about many different things in many different communicative circumstances from many different points of view" (p. 119). The concept of register also amalgamates both sociocultural and individual aspects. Tomasello (1999) also claims that "understanding of others as intentional beings like the self is crucial in human cultural learning", and it makes it possible that "they can learn not just *from* the other but *through* the other" (p. 6). Literature can contain the "other(s)" speaking in a wide range of registers, in a variety of situations. It requires the addressee to project his/her experiences and affects onto others, which appeals to his/her mental imaginary which is "essential for the memory system" (J. Arnold, 1999, p. 267). Thus literature has a language world, or "felt life" (Lazar, 1990, p. 205) and "lifelike, mental representations of fictional characters' emotional states" (Gernsbacher, Goldsmith, & Robertson, 1992, p. 89) that lead to successful cognition of cultural resources, and that enable the addressee to learn something "through" others.

Foregrounded/defamiliarized expressions. Widdowson (1975), who led the study of stylistics, claimed:

> The first point to notice is the obvious one that linguistic deviations do not occur randomly in a literary work but pattern in with other linguistic features, both regular and irregular, to form a whole. (p. 27)

Short (1996) holds the same view by labeling the series of deviations as "abnormal paradigm" (p. 7). These kinds of deviations are rich in variety (Levin, 1965; Leech, 1969; Ramsaran, 1983). Short (1996) mainly categorized linguistic deviation into two parts: internal and external deviation as observed by Levin (1965). The former is deviation

against a norm set up by *the text itself*. He further divided the latter into seven deviation points: discoursal, semantic, lexical, grammatical, morphonological, phonological and graphonological deviation. Creative metaphor can be included in semantic deviation.

> New metaphors are capable of creating new understandings and, therefore, new realities. This should be obvious in the case of poetic metaphor, where language is the medium through which new conceptual metaphors are created. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 235)

This clearly shows that literature can contain a variety of creative metaphors that conduct us to see “unexpected connections between different aspects of our experience…” (Rossiter, 1998, p. 51).

The sequence: affect-reinterpretation. “The ‘story’ ended up in memory even more subjunctivized than it had been written; the ‘exposition’ ended up there much as given in the text” (Bruner, 1990, p. 53). As suggested before, the deviated can be the foregrounded (Short, 1996). Foregrounded expression deterred readers from fluent reading (Leech, 1969; Gernsbacher et al., 1992). This is the same effect as “defamiliarization” characterized by Shklovsky (1928/1965).

Miall and Kuiken (1994) obtained clinical evidence of the effect of defamiliarization/foregrounding on readers, which stops reader's automatic reading together with arousing affect and eventually prolonging their processing. They interpreted the outcome of the experiments as follows:

> (W)e propose that the novelty of an unusual linguistic variation is defamiliarizing, defamiliarization evokes feelings, and feelings guide ‘familiarizing’ interpretative efforts. There seems little doubt that foregrounding, by creating complexity of various kinds, requires cognitive work on the part of the reader; but it is our suggestion that this work is initiated and in part directed by feeling. (p. 392)

Affect or "feeling(s)" are often regulated in our everyday lives because human beings are "conscious of the relation between certain objectives and certain emotions" (Damasio, 2003, p. 52). H. Read (1931) remarked,

> The work of art is in some sense liberation of the personality; normally our feelings are inhibited and repressed. We contemplate a work of art, and immediately there is a release; and not only a release —sympathy is a release of feelings—but also a heightening, a tautening, a sublimation. (pp. 30-31)

Literature allows us to release our affect. According to Damasio (2003), in the mechanism of our brain, affect introduces our thought, and this procedure is a homeostatic mechanism, an automated self-preservation system adopted by all creatures as a survival principle. This completely supports the sequence affect-reinterpretation in reading literature as revealed by Miall and Kuiken (1994, 1999). The sequence is complemented by Silvia's (2006) suggestion that interest as an affect comes "primarily from appraising something as new, complex, and uncertain but also as potentially comprehensible" (p. 205).

The following insights of Kintsch (1980) might be comprehensive and might embrace the discussion above.

> We are touching here on traditional notions about the motivational value of novelty on the one side and on Gestalt theoretic interpretations of learning and thinking on the other. Thinking in this view is a response to a conceptual gap or conflict, and the same conditions also set the stage for learning. When a misfit occurs between a reader's expectations — either based upon prior text-related knowledge or upon the text that is being read itself— thinking and learning will occur. Thinking takes the form of inference construction on the basis of general world knowledge as well as the textual information. Learning consists in the modification of the

comprehender's apperceptive mass (pp. 97-98).

With these nine features highlighted, the cognitive model of reading literature can be illustrated in Figure 6.4. The progression of this process is described below.

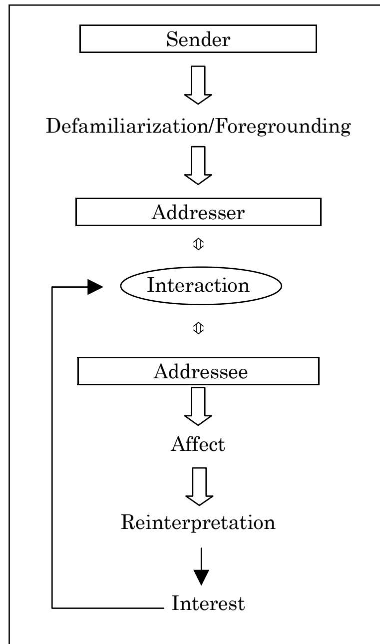


Figure 6.4　The system of literature processing

A sender writes to unspecified others expressing his understanding with his affect. The sender's work already employs certain cultural traits when the sender chooses a language for the work. The work is narrated by addresser(s) in a created world with (regardless whether consciously or unconsciously) defamiliarized/foregrounded expressions and a wide range of registers, which is filtered out of the sender.

Interaction begins as addressees start to read the work. Mental images are constructed by the addressees' schemata. Defamiliarized/ foregrounded expressions deter the addressees from reading fluently. In order to acclimate to the unfamiliar occurrence, the addressees' affect is released. The affect introduces thoughts and makes the addressees move a step towards the reinterpretation of the addressee's conventional ideas about their expressions or beyond their expressions.

To conclude, the common feature of literature reading is that it is processed in "vicarious experience" (Bruner, 1990, p. 54; Kintsch, 1980, p. 88) or "fantasy experiences" (Strong, 1996, p. 183), and the role of literature reading written in a TL can be divided into three dimensions: culture-specific, universal, and both.

1. Literature reading provides learners with the sociocultural aspect of language. If they learn another language with different contexts,[11] learners have to learn the sociocultural characteristics, as well as the linguistic elements of the TL. This indicates that language learning is synchronized with culture learning. If so, there is no doubt that it would be useful for learners to select reading texts that expresses cultural aspects to the maximum extent in both functions and contents within the language. The text is literature, which is, as it were, aesthetic ethnography. It is not totally unrelated to the fact that most ancient myths were written in various forms of literature such as the Bible (see Ryken, 1974).[12]

2. Literature reading evokes learners' affect and provides learners with more deeply vicarious experiences because of its consisting of a theme common to all people and the story schema. The reality of descriptions and conversations in literature help learners connect various actions or thoughts with the corresponding expressions.

3. Reading itself is basically a cognitive process but metacognitive

processes are triggered by literature reading. More precisely, in the process of reading literature, learners are consequently required to focus much more on the language itself along with meaning (e.g., Cook, 2000). Literature is so poetic, affective (e.g. sound pattern including rhythm and rhyme, syntactic role), and defamiliarized/foregrounded that we often stop reading and imagine the meaning focusing on forms that we are liable to overlook in our daily lives. This intriguing manner of literature is essentially universal but expressively culture-specific.

6-6. Discussion 4: Note-Copying

The main issue of discussion in this section is note-copying, which is derived from the term *delayed copying* coined by Hill (1969) as a learning device for overcoming the difficulties of learning to spell English. In the procedure, learners have to copy a word in a whole sentence. If the word can be pictured, learners may well copy the picture with the sentence including the target word. After that, learners copy the word in the sentence with the picture without looking at the original materials.

Note-copying here, however, is not limited to just memorizing spelling. It is, as a result, a compound of LLSs and language teaching strategies, aiming to learn language itself. The procedure of note-copying requires learners to follow the four stages of activities: to take notes, restructure them, neatly copy them, and check feedback from teachers. Teachers have to correct learners' grammatical and occasional content errors by filling in correct words and phrases in submitted notebooks.

This procedure is similar to the one of *dictogloss*. Dictogloss was developed by Wajnryb (1990) and supported by a number of researchers

as an effective aide in language learning (e.g., Herrell & Jordan, 2008; Kowal & Swain, 1997). Wajnryb (1990) used it as a teaching strategy synonymously with grammar dictation. The procedure of dictogloss is as follows.

> In dictogloss, a short text is read at normal speed to a class of learners who jot down familiar words as they listen. At the end of the dictation stage, most learners have only a small number of isolated words (or fragments) which together make up a very incohesive, 'battered text'. In small groups, the students then pool their resources to reconstruct their version of the original text. In the final stage the various versions that the students have produced are subjected to close analysis and comparison. Through both the task of reconstruction and the following error analysis, students refine understanding of the language they have used. (Wajnryb, 1990, p. 5)

Note-copying does not always involve cooperative learning like dictogloss in the restructuring stage because it depends on learners' learning style. Some learners might individually restore their notes by using their dictionaries or other tools; other learners might cooperatively reconstruct their notes by comparing their respective notes. This stage also resembles cloze procedure, or metacognitive learning, rather than cognitive learning in the prior stage of note-taking.

Note-copying, thus, has several phases of activities: dictation, cloze procedure, and, occasionally, collaborative learning. The phases need further inspection before integrating in the interpretations of this section.

Review of Previous Studies on Dictation

According to Stanfield (1985), dictation was used to transmit course content from teachers to pupils in the L1 classrooms and it was also the

usual and only way of publishing books until the end of the Middle Ages. It was in the 16th century when the English began the study of modern foreign languages that dictation was passed into L2 classrooms. At the very end of the 19th century, dictation regained popularity when the direct method was in favor because it included the teaching of phonetics. Oller (1972) considered dictation to be a complex task, in which learners must integrate sequences of sounds into words, phrases, and clauses that make sense while being engaged in active hypothesis testing and analysis-by-synthesis. Oller and Streiff (1975) claimed that dictation activates learner's internalized grammar of expectancy, which may be the central component of his language ability. Nation and Newton (1997) also suggested that "the nature of the dictation activity is that it focuses learners' attention on the collocational relationships within dictated phrases" (pp. 250-251). Dictogloss can be thus seen as a type of dictation. Although it is limited to focusing on grammatical function in a collaborative situation, in Wajnryb (1990), dictogloss is not just a passive transcription, but essentially an active reconstruction of language, which requires learners to stay metacognitive in relation to the language they attempt to restore while being engaged in cloze procedure.

Review of Previous Studies on Cloze Procedure

The term, cloze, was coined by Taylor, which was dubbed a "close" and was derived from "closure" (Taylor, 1953, p. 415). At the outset, cloze procedure was regarded mainly as a "'new and better' way of determining the 'readability' of printed English prose" (Taylor, 1956, p. 42). Cloze procedure was referred to as follows.

> A method of intercepting a message from a "transmitter" (writer or speaker), mutilating its language patterns by deleting parts, and so administering it to "receivers" (readers or listeners) that their

attempts to make the patterns whole again potentially yield a considerable number of cloze units. (Taylor, 1953, p. 416)

A series of studies by Oller (1972, 1973) theoretically and practically exemplified cloze procedure as a reliable integrative measurement, which can test the expectancy in various aspects of language; that is, borrowing a phrase of Soudek and Soudek (1983, p. 337), "a multitude of abilities" constituting learners' grammaticality and appropriateness of language. The cloze test has two methods: (a) the exact word method, in which responses should correspond exactly to the original passage, and (b) the acceptable word method, in which responses are counted only if they fit all of the surrounding contexts. According to Irvine et al. (1974), the intercorrelation among the scores of cloze and dictation, and TOEFL was fairly high, and especially cloze scored by either method was significantly correlated with TOEFL total score and the listening comprehension portion.

Review of Previous Studies on Cooperative Learning

The term, *cooperative learning*, has been interchangeably used with collaborative learning and is also used here synonymously, referring in a broad sense to the learning in which learners cooperate to achieve common learning goals.[13]

Cooperative learning has been theoretically based on the zone of proximal development proposed by Vygotsky (1934/1986) and has been supported by a number of studies (e.g., Dörnyei, 1997; Fitz-Gibbon & Reay, 1982; Herrell & Jordan, 2008; Johnson & Johnson, 1986; Slavin, 1990) in that learning in the zone of proximal development facilitates both learning motivation and language ability for not only input-takers but also input-givers (see Flanigan, 1991; Long & Porter, 1985; Pica & Doughty, 1985; Varonis & Gass, 1985, for discussion of conversation between non-native speakers, or interlanguage talk).

There seem to be some cautions, however, in that the performance of cooperative learning might vary due to many variables such as age, subject matter, gender, personality, social interaction, or group cohesiveness, and so on. Li and Adamson (1992) reported that the cooperative learning style neither was the preferred one nor led to higher performance for intellectually bright/gifted senior high school students. Huber, Sorrentino, Davidson, and Epplier (1992) stated that only uncertainty-oriented students active and adventurous would benefit from cooperative learning and that certainty-oriented passive and unadventurous students might actually suffer from the learning. Social interaction is a crucial element for cooperative learning (Goodrace, 1953; Nyikos & Hashimoto, 1997), which strengthens group cohesiveness (see Evans & Dion, 1991; Kellerman, 1981; Mullen & Copper, 1994 for more details), or “the strength of relationship linking the members to one another and to the group itself” (Forsythe, 1990, p. 10). This cohesiveness, nevertheless, “does not automatically guarantee heightened productivity. It functions well only in cases where the existing group norms are *supportive* of production”, and in groups which are not only very close but also interested in the official purpose of the class (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003, p. 65). Cooperative learning seems to result in positive outcomes in cases where learners themselves hope to cooperatively learn to achieve a goal.

Interpretation

Note-copying is a reciprocal procedure of four stages including several teaching strategies and a LLS cluster. The first stage of taking notes is dictation, which requires learners to pay careful attention to what they see and hear while making use of cognitive cloze procedure. The second stage is restructuring their incomplete notes where learners individually or cooperatively exert themselves to achieve this goal. The

third stage involves metacognitive cloze procedure requiring learners to confirm what they should know or shortage of knowledge, and re-infer unknown words and phrases while making use of their linguistic knowledge including phonological, orthographic, lexicogrammatical, semantic, and pragmatic elements. The last stage is concerned with feedback and learners reaffirm what they know and what they do not know.

It is conceivable that repeated cloze procedures provide learners with efficient opportunities to be engaged in input and output activities and that repeated retrieval of vague or unknown knowledge is occurring through the four stages of activities. Note-copying can not only contribute to learners' memorization but also fosters their ability in a TL over the four skills and five elements.

6-7. Discussion 5: Output Activities

The main issue of discussion in this section is output activities, especially elocution, which is an activity consisting of observation, repetition, memorization, dramatization, and feedback. It can be also thought to be the turning point of the transformation from recitation to original declamation and extempore debate. Recitation is an activity for simply memorizing texts of others, which can be regarded as the terminal phase of input as well as the primary stage of output activities. Original declamation is an activity for effectively expressing learners' original thought, and extempore debate can be seen as the terminal stage of not only output activities but also input, and is the most formal style of the negotiation of meaning, which is crucial for acquiring a language, according to Long (1981, 1983).

In order to discuss the influences of elocution on FL learning, the

output hypothesis has to be understood in comparison to the input hypothesis, following which, the psycholinguistic process of elocution is analyzed, and finally the roles are interpreted.

Review of Previous Studies on Elocution

Elocution, as mentioned above, can be categorized as one of the output activities. The importance of output has been scientifically proposed in a series of studies by Swain (1985, 1993, 1995, 2000) in addition to the significance of input, which has been proposed as the input hypothesis: Learners "acquire (not learn) language by understanding input that is a little beyond our current level of (acquired) competence" (Krashen & Terrell, 1988, p. 32). Swain (1993) claimed four roles of output in L2 learning: Output (a) "provides the opportunity for meaningful practice of one's linguistic resources permitting the development of automaticity in their use (p. 159), (b) "may force the learner to move from semantic processing to syntactic processing" (p. 159), (c) "provides the opportunity to test out hypothesis —to try out means of expression and see if they work" (p. 160), and (d) "may generate responses from speakers of the language which can provide learners with information about the comprehensibility or well-formedness of their utterances" (p. 160). Output, thus, is a crucial mechanism in language learning as well as input. Cook (2000) supported these effects and proposed practical directions for output activities. The effect of drama as a learning activity has been supported by many researchers (e.g., Cook, 2000; Littlewood, 1981).

Interpretation

The process of elocution is outlined in Figure 6.5.

Primarily, learners only imitate a writer's passages passively as receivers while reading a text aloud under the guidance of teachers. Secondly, they begin to memorize the text by thorough repetition.

Thirdly, they come to repeat it while adding gestures and adding affect after memorizing it. Lastly, they assimilate the text and express it actively as if they were the senders.

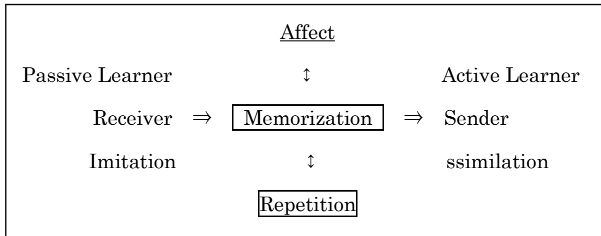


Figure 6.5 "Transformation of learners" representation in elocution (Akaishi, 2006, p. 45)

Three benefits of elocution can be taken into consideration.

First, elocution facilitates assimilation, and automatic word recognition (Day & Bamford, 1998, p. 12), which allows fluent lexical access. It goes without saying that learners can internalize various lexical items with rhythm, stress, and intonation in the process. More important in elocution activity is that proper affect is needed to dramatize addresses by making use of the "emotive function" of language, which is named as one of the six language functions proposed by Jakobson (1960). Affect brings out fluency: Affect can be poured into addresses after fluency, which is gained by repeating and memorizing, catches up with the speed of representing affect; conversely, the activity of elocution requires learners to address texts as quickly as they would naturally to represent their affect. In sum, elocution itself embraces the process of transformation from passive to active learners, from imitation to assimilation, and from receivers to senders of texts. Elocution is a kind of role-play in that demonstrators should assimilate the address made by others, and elocution can be designed to "elicit

language that performs the emotive function" (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 329).

Second, it is highly probable that the success of elocution gives confidence to learners and raises their confidence in their ability to express themselves beyond their timidity and inhibition even in real communication. As Bloom (1978) summarized, "repeated evidence of success in learning is likely to lead to a greater interest in the learning and improvements in the student's self-concept as a learner" ('p. 568).

Third, elocution solves the problem found in the activity of merely reading aloud. Curtain and Pesola (1988) pointed out that learners were liable to pay attention to only pronunciation in reading aloud.

> Reading aloud tends to encourage students to respond to the surface features of the language and not to the message. Many students master the "trick" of sound-symbol association without developing skill in comprehension or communication. (p. 127)

Yet, it doesn't necessarily seem like a crucial problem. Childs (2005) stated: "there are degrees of meaningfulness".

> What do we mean by "mindless" when we speak of mindless repetition? In fact, no use of language is completely mindless. Every use arouses meaning or a search for meaning, intended or not, correct or not. (p. 16)

The activity of elocution, if properly implemented, would not allow learners to master such a trick.

6-8. Discussion 6: Attentional Repeated Reading

The main issue of discussion in this section is how to read for language learning, a LLS cluster in reading, or attentional repeated reading (ARR), in which learners select texts whose contents they are eager to learn; read aloud while paying attention to unique expressions

or impressive literary style and look up unknown lexical items in dictionaries to comprehend; and read repeatedly to the extent that learners can recite texts, especially favorite sentences.

Review of Previous Studies on LLSs in Reading

Although a lot of research on reading processing has been conducted, there seems to be little research on LLSs in reading. There have been, however, two LLS clusters in reading — although these can be considered to be teaching strategies—often discussed so far: *intensive reading* and *extensive reading*. "Intensive reading involves the close deliberate study of short texts" (Nation, 2001, p.149), while extensive reading is reading interesting, authentic and appropriately simple books within the linguistic ability as much and as fast as possible (Day & Bamford, 1998). The former inclines towards rather analytical reading, whose purpose is to mainly the knowledge of linguistic elements broader and deeper in the bottom-up processing; the latter rather content-based reading, whose purpose is to mainly make the knowledge of linguistic elements more accurate and fluent in the top-down processing. The concept of extensive reading can be seen as almost the same as *free voluntary reading* (FVR), which Krashen (1989, p. 454) recommended.[14] It refers to "reading because you want to: no book reports, no questions at the end of the chapter" and "(i)n FVR, you don't have to finish the book if you don't like it" (Krashen, 2004, p. 1). Krashen (1993) claimed that "reading for meaning, reading about things that matter to us, is the cause of literate language development" (p.150).

Just and Carpenter (1987) stated: "The more times a text is studied, the better it is learned" (p. 405). Learners thereby could shift the focus from structures of language to meanings because humans are "limited-capacity information processors" (McLaughlin et al., 1983, p.

137) and learners can concentrate on meanings unless they are pressed with decoding work (Baddeley & Hitch, 1974).

Interpretation

The procedure of ARR is, strictly speaking, neither just intensive nor only extensive reading, but to some extent, can be said to be both. ARR extends intensive reading: Learners intensively read a lot of texts. The process is as follows.

Stage 1. Learners select texts whose contents they are eager to learn even if the texts are beyond their reading abilities. As Bruner (1990) claimed, “culture and the quest for meaning within culture are the proper causes of human action” (p. 20). Interest, as a result, seems to accompany attention (F. Arnold, 1910; Dewey, 1913; Renninger, 2000) and high recall of texts is associated with goal-directed activities and human interest factors (Hidi & Baird, 1986).

Stage 2. Read aloud while paying attention to unique expressions or impressive literary style. If learners find unknown lexical items, they should look them up in dictionaries and thereby make texts comprehensible. The procedure in this stage comprises two features: articulation and attention.

It is articulation that deserves greater attention as the superordinate element in language learning in that voice is initial in the development of language. The phonological system is the first system which has to be processed as well as the orthographic system in order to decode language (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). From the viewpoint of working memory, it was revealed that “the construction of phonological representations” was “the critical factor for improving subjects’ memory span, rather than, for example, lexical or semantic factors” (Hulme, Roodenrys, Brown, & Mercer, 1995, p. 534).

The second feature, “attention” is used to obtain a wide variety of

new information both quantitatively and qualitatively, learners have to web the text, deliberately observe, catch, and make vague or unknown information clear. This activity makes texts more appropriately simple or familiar for learners. It is familiarity that breeds automaticity (Day & Bamford, 1998).

This stage, as a result, is seemingly just intensive reading, but, in the process of ARR, it can be seen as the bridge to automaticity, in which "decoding is done automatically and attention remains on comprehension" and "(b)oth tasks get done at the same time" (Samuels, 1994, p. 821).

Stage 3. Read repeatedly to the extent that learners can recite texts, especially favorite sentences. Repeated reading can be involved in *narrow reading* as Krashen (1982) called it, which leads learners to repeated retrieval of the same vocabulary (Nation, 2001), and by extension, through the multiple encounters, to automatize lexical items or lexical sentence stems,[14] which are crucial in both nativelike selection and nativelike fluency (Pawley & Syder, 1983). The memorization of various linguistic elements organizes various levels of schemata and consequently broadens the span of chunks; in other words, "(t)he good reader's chunks should be richer, and more coherent, and contain different information" and "qualitative differences can emerge from quantitative differences" (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980, p. 464). The subsequent comment by van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) is also full of suggestions for repeated reading.

> A reader or listener cannot construct a textbase only after all the evidence is available at the end of a paragraph (chapter, book), but must do so in real time and with a limited short-term memory capacity…. At that point, a coherent structure is built on the basis of the pattern of argument repetition among the semantic units in the

text. (p. 44)

To conclude, the process of ARR is outlined in Figure 6.6.

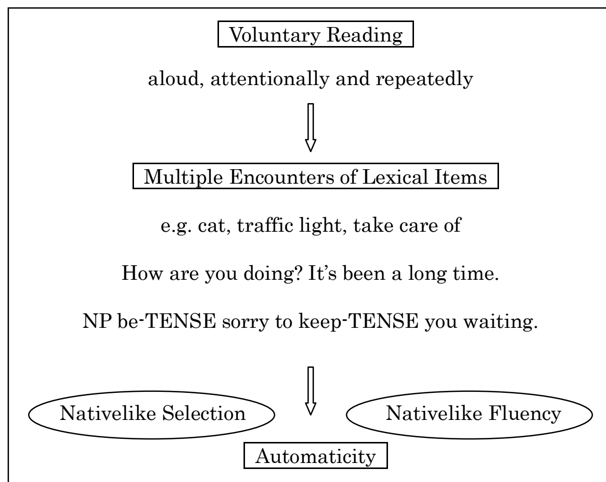


Figure 6.6　Attentional repeated reading process

Samuels (1994) stated that "(o)nly by spending a great deal of time reading will students develop beyond the level of mere accuracy" (p. 834). ARR also can require learners to load heavier reading burden than intensive and extensive reading. To bear the burden, the target text will need to be worth reading for learners and learners have to be strongly motivated. The role of ARR can be said to cause learners to appreciate the contents by gaining as many lexical items as possible, understanding them as deeply as possible, and automatizing them in as many contexts as possible. In other words, the ideal is that learners should be able to automatically draw out not only the lexical items but also the contents of a text.

6-9. Summary

The participants of the present study entered SAC to receive their higher education at around 17 years of age on average. SAC was established in 1876 at Sapporo in Hokkaido. It was managed under the supervision of the Colonial Department and, after the abolishment in 1882, it was transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. The two departments were independent from the Ministry of Education so that the educational system was almost uninfluenced by the Ministry.

Under the general system for strengthening the centralism and Westernizing the nation, the participants were still living under the general standards of *Bushido*, as well as a social enthusiasm for English studies, the American way of living, and the pioneering spirit. This is because the participants and the government officers in Hokkaido used to be samurai or quasi-samurai and moved there to become pioneers under the guidance of the experts invited from America.

SAC was an immersion school, which was modeled on the facilities and curriculum of MAC and was actually managed mainly by a professor and graduates from MAC. The participants were holders of a government scholarship or a loan scholarship, and they were also boarding students which allowed them close access and close relationships with each other and the teachers.

Five cognitive activities and one LLS cluster were found in this chapter as characteristic of the higher education of the participants: indexing, show-and-tell sessions, literature reading, note-copying, output activities, and attentional repeated reading.

In indexing, the participants could or had to index a large number of

academic names in their classes and extracurricular programs consisting of various subjects. In other words, it seems that a wide variety of subjects facilitated the participants to index various names and, by extension, to organize their lexicon.

In show-and-tell sessions, the participants took more practical instruction with Western instruments in Western facilities, in which they listened to the foreign teachers speaking while acting, took notes, and, in some cases, imitated what the teachers were doing. There is a strong probability that show-and-tell sessions connected objects, actions, and situations with words and phrases so that they could infer what they failed to comprehend, or could reaffirm what they were able to comprehend.

In literature reading, the participants were encouraged and preferred to read literature to digest the knowledge of English culture. Literature is both culture-specific and universal, and it is defamiliarized/foregrounded so that the participants might have often stopped reading and imagined meanings while focusing on forms that they were liable to overlook in every day communication. In addition, it is assumed that literature made it easy for them to vicariously experience the world written in English, and accordingly to extend their opportunities to connect words with the situations in which the words were used, because literature comprises story schema, various themes, and affect common to all people.

In note-copying, the participants were engaged in taking notes in classes, neatly copying afterwards, submitting them as suitable books, and receiving teachers' feedback. Listening and taking notes was a process of dictation, which required the participants to pay careful attention to what they saw and heard while making use of a cognitive cloze procedure. Restructuring their incomplete notes was a

metacognitive cloze procedure requiring the participants to re-infer unknown words and phrases and to confirm what they should have known. The teachers' feedback to the work finally provided the participants with opportunities to reaffirm what they really understood and what they did not.

In output activities, the participants practiced composition, recitation, elocution, original declamation, and extempore debate. They could gradually internalize various lexical items with their rhythm, stress, and intonation by receiving teacher's feedback, and could transform their output from passive to active, from imitation to assimilation, and therefore change from receivers to senders. Elocution played a great role as a bridge in the transformation sequence.

In attentional repeated reading, the participants selected books whose contents they were eager to learn, read aloud while paying attention to unique expressions or impressive literary style, and read repeatedly the comprehended texts to the extent that they could recite the texts, especially favorite sentences. This LLS cluster was extremely time consuming and burdensome. One of the participants, Uchimura (1899*), later cited both "tolerance" and "persistence" as elements for FL learning; another, Nitobe (1936/1969b*), pointed out that there was not an easy way to read and that reading in a FL requires one to experience difficulty at the beginning. It is conceivable that this LLS cluster in reading was built on the basis of the teaching strategies of sodoku they had learned in their childhood.

J. Maki (2002**) reported the fact that E. Dun, an officer of the Colonial Department, later had written in his unpublished memoirs as follows:

> Professor Clark was an able man, a good organizer and leader of men. He came to establish a facscimile [*sic*] of the Amherst institution of

learning, at Sapporo and did it. Perhaps improved on the original.... The Sapporo Agricultural College, as an educational institution, was a success from the start. It was well conducted by very competent men. Its carefully selected students from southern schools were intellectually and morally of a very high class.... It has become a most admirable institution of learning.... (p. 184)

Toyama (1992**) and Ota (1995**) remarked that the cause of the success of the graduates' English proficiency was derived from the fact that they were immersed in English and gained numerous opportunities for input. It was confirmed in the present study, too. The input was both quantitatively and qualitatively numerous, and above all, practical. The participants were exposed to various input used in various contexts both in and out of the classroom at SAC.

The participants, however, were not just immersed, but also practiced, note-copying, recitation, composition, elocution, original declamation, and extempore debate; made scientific excursions; arranged their extracurricular activities; and selected some suitable subjects to which they made their own special study in their free time. As Wesche (1979) reported, for L2 learners, voluntary out-of-class exposure to a target language characterized the highly successful students. Yet, just speaking and writing are not enough (Swain, 1993). Observing some French immersion classes in Canada, Swain (2000) also pointed out as follows.

...the written and spoken French of these students included numerous grammatical and syntactic deviations from native-speaker usage. Furthermore, our observations in grade 3 and 6 immersion classes suggested that although students used French in class, little of it included extended discourse, and, generally speaking, teachers did not 'push' their students beyond their current level of

interlanguage as the teachers interacted with them. (p. 99)

Borrowing Swain's terms, there is a high probability that the participants might have been "pushed" by teachers to "extend their discourse" "beyond their current level."

In SAC, the learning of the participants was getting more active and in some cases, voluntary, being supported by their teachers and embraced in inevitable learning situations and resources, nature. The second president of SAC, Wheeler (1878*) regarded the scientific excursion as "an excellent method of uniting thorough recreation with instruction from the best of books—Nature, under the best of teachers—Experience" (p. 8). Uchimura (1974*) recalled his SAC days and said that nature was the best teacher for the participants.

The teaching method in SAC was full of clues, or autonomy-supportive chances to give the participants their own ways to study. The teaching and learning in SAC were reciprocal so that the participants might be able to successfully graft Western thoughts of freedom on the Japanese spirit of *Bushido* and overcome the deficits posed by traditional Chinese studies, or lack of creativity.

Notes

1 Joyokoji is thought to be Nitobe by Matsuzawa (2005**) and Saeki (1982**).

2 This figure is from *Lectures on Book-Keeping*, by S. Ibuki, kept in the Northern Studies Center at Hokkaido University. Adapted with permission.

3 The subject, "History" includes "Modern History," "Mental Philosophy and History of Civilization." History can be categorized in the subject

matter relating to English because there were some records in the annual report of SAC that exemplified the fact that history books were often adopted as textbooks in the class of "English."

4 The field book of Uchida is existent and can be seen in the Historical Museum of Hokkaido, in which the records of the journey were all written in English.

5 A series of output activities in SAC seems to have been common in America, which is exemplified by the comments of Kaneko (see Takase, 2003**), who studied abroad at the same time.

6 This figure is from *A Hand-Book of English Literature: Intended for the Use of High Schools, as well as a Companion and Guide for Private Students, and for General Readers (British Authors)*, by F. H. Underwood, 1879, Boston: Lee & Shepard. Adapted with permission of the Northern Studies Center at Hokkaido University.

7 This figure is from *Lecture on English Literature*, by K. Uchida, Adapted with permission of the Historical Museum of Hokkaido.

8 Leech (1965) and Short (1996) seem to think that foregrounding consists of "parallelism" and "deviation." However, in this paper, parallelism is looked on as a kind of deviation in that both are equally abnormal in discourse. It should be called, as it were, "parallel deviation."

9 Shklovsky (1928/1965) did not explicitly mention that the readers' cognitive process in reading defamiliarized expressions was "defamiliarization." In a strict sense, defamiliarization is not a transformation of readers but just a technique and device of writers to transform readers. However, this term seems to be often used as both due to its ambiguity (Van Peer, 1986): "technique of art" and "transformation of readers" such as a series of theses by Miall and kuiken (1994, 1999), and G. Hall (2005), Alexandrov (2007).

10 The origin of language in cognitive development is still controversial (see Sapir, 1921; Piaget, 1970; Vygotsky, 1934/1986).

11 E. T. Hall (1976) divided the type of culture into two: "high-context" and "low-context." The former is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. The latter is just the opposite; that is, the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code.

12 In that text, Ryken (1974) considers the contents of the Bible as "biblical literature."

13 According to the differentiation by Oxford (1997), "(c)ooperative learning refers primarily to an array of highly structured goals and techniques for learning"; "(c)ollaborative learning is more philosophically oriented, with the goal of acculturating students into the immediate community of learners and the wider world of the target language and culture" (p. 452).

14 FVR itself cannot necessarily be seen as a LLS cluster unless it sets an intentional goal of language learning.

15 There have been some terms referring to a combination of words which can be generally understood to convey a single meaning: A phrasal lexical item is called a *phrase schema* (e.g., *for—'s sake*) and a lexical sentence stem is called a *sentence schema* (e.g., *What's the use of—ing…?*) in Lyons (1968), while phrasal lexical items and lexical sentence stems are included in the term, *lexical phrases*, in Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992).

7. DATA ANALYSIS 5: POST GRADUATION

7-1. Excerpts from the Participants

The following are some representative excerpts related to the LLVs of the participants of the present study after graduating from SAC.

> I want to know very much whether you got better or not. I was appointed committee for the Foreign Exhibition held in this City, and have come here 16th ult. I believe and am very glad that we Japanese are getting a good name for our exhibits. I have one thing which I must tell you and for which I wish your Congratulation. Sato as well as myself have lately received a good report from home that our Government would help us to some extent in accomplishing our project. Mr. Sato will therefore enter Johns Hopkins University the latter part of this month I suppose, while I intend to finish my study of Veterinary Science in Ontario Veterinary College, Toronto, Canada, which will open the latter part of the next month. I will quit my present official position in this month or the first part of the next at the latest and go to Toronto. I would not say "Sayonara" to America until I could receive the degree V. S.
>
> Arakawa's letter to Clark in 1883, cited from Onishi (1980b*, p. 141)

> I graduated from SAC in 1884 and consulted Mr. Nitobe about whether I should go to Tokyo University. He warned me not to do so, saying that it was boring and would decline my academic abilities. I tried reading an English book together with some students of Tokyo

University, former classmates in Tokyo School of the English Language. I was very surprised at their poor ability of reading English and was convinced that we, the students of SAC were intellectually more advanced than those of Tokyo University. I abandoned the plan to enter Tokyo University because I thought that it would be a waste of time.

Hayakawa (1936/1987*, pp. 51-52. trans. by the present author)

Because Professor Yatabe [of Tokyo University] was very good at English, he gave his lecture in English. It was natural at that time that lectures were given in English in higher education. I mainly attended his lectures but his lectures were almost all about the categorization of plants....I did not take notes and just listened to him.

Miyabe's comment cited from
Miyabe Kingo (1996*, pp. 98-99. trans. by the present author)

I am getting disgustful of instructions in the University [of Tokyo]. I thought I can learn very much in it; but no! there are plenty of books, but not plenty of good teachers. Toyama[1] can't teach English very well. We are studying Hamlet: he jumps over many places as too difficult. Cox is simply an old fashioned true-to-rules-of syntax grammarian. I don't think very highly of his corrections of our essays. He is a man of not much idea. Toyama's history is also very poor. He knows scarcely anything besides what is contained in the textbook itself: he may know better of Philosophy but that is not my subject of study. I like well Mr. Tajiri's Economy; but hours for Economy are too little and self-study alone can supply what class-room lectures lack. On the whole, I have become (not tired) but disgusted with the study

in the University. I would improve better by self-study, I think.

Nitobe's letter to Miyabe in 1884, cited from
Torii (1976*, pp. 11-12)

At the day-break of Nov. 24, 1884, my enraptured eyes first caught the faint views of Christedom [*sic*]. Once more I descended to my steerage-cabin, and there I was upon my knees;—the moment was too serious for me to join with the popular excitement of the hour. As the low Coast range [*sic*] came clearer to my views, the sense of my dreams being now realized overwhelmed me with gratitude, and tears trickled rapidly down my cheeks.

(Uchimura, 1895*, p. 92)

7-2. Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

Age

The participants in this period are postgraduates above 22 years of age on average. They graduated from SAC at 18 at the youngest while 26 at the eldest.

Social Background

General System and Standards

Nation. The participants after their graduation from SAC encountered the establishment of imperialism, or the completion of centralism, which had continued for about 20 years from the time the new era began. In 1889, the Imperial Japanese Constitution (*Dainihon Teikoku Kenpo* in Japanese) was promulgated, which modeled the Prussian monarchy and legally fixed the emperor's position as the father of the nation. The Imperial Diet (*Teikoku Gikai* in Japanese) was

first convened in the following year.

The participants also experienced the changes of general standards because of the rise of nationalism against immoderate Westernization. *Bushido* almost vanished, the enthusiasm for Western knowledge decayed slowly, and instead the worship for the emperor became a general standard throughout the nation. Concurrently with the completion of centralism, the movement to unify the written and spoken styles of language (*Genbun Icchi* in Japanese) started to accelerate the pace of progress although it had not been until the late Meiji era that all novels were written in a colloquial style, and it was in the Taisho era (1912-1926) following Meiji that the style pervaded all newspapers (Yumoto, 1998**). The "Chinese poetry column" disappeared from all the newspapers in the mid-Taisho era (K. Kato, 2006**).

Sapporo, Hokkaido. In 1866, the following year when the fifth class of the participants of the present study graduated from SAC, the Hokkaido Government Office (*Hokkaidocho* in Japanese) was established. The population in Hokkaido exceeded 300,000 and almost reached 15,000 in Sapporo (*Sapporoshishi Gaikyo Nenpyo*, 1955**).

Educational System and Standards

Nation. The participants graduated from SAC before a chain of three ordinances were announced in 1886: the Primary School Ordinance, the Secondary School Ordinance, and the Imperial University Ordinance (*Shogakko Rei*, *Chugakko Rei*, and *Teikoku Daigaku Rei* in Japanese), which shifted educational standards from "liberal" to "a more state-centered, moralistic curriculum" (Gordon, 2003**, p. 105) based on traditional thought, Confucianism. It indicated that lectures would be given in the Japanese language, and foreign language learning would be just a subject in school, not a means of instilling knowledge

peculiar to language. The first two ordinances claimed that guardians had a “duty” to send their children to school, that English was an elective subject in secondary education from their 10th year of age, and that every school under the supervision of the Ministry of Education should use textbooks authorized by the Ministry. The Imperial University Ordinance declared that the Imperial Universities[2] should foster capable persons in accordance with the needs of the nation. It consequently completed a main unitary route to higher education in the Imperial Universities as the Ministry of Education absorbed the direction of educational competence which had previously been allocated to other government offices. Tokyo University was reorganized as the Imperial University after merging Tokyo College of Law and the College of Engineering. The Preparatory Department of Tokyo University was accordingly abolished and became the First Higher Middle School (*Daiich Koto Chugakko* in Japanese).

Immersion programs consequently vanished and the word *Eigaku*, English studies,—actually a word symbolizing the immersion programs in the early Meiji era in Japan—fell into disuse and instead came to be called *Eigo*, meaning just the English language, a name of subjects. Chinese studies followed the same way as English studies. Chinese studies were completely out of the academic spotlight after the rise of the Meiji era and also turned into merely a subject at school.[3] It was in the 1880s that the Japanese version of Western textbooks began increasing (Takanashi, 1993**). Standard Japanese started to pervade at the same time (Miura, 1998**; Sugimoto, 1998a**), which was being formed in a process by which a great number of academic foreign books were translated into Japanese by professional interpreters (Sugimoto, 1998b**).

The Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyoiku Chokugo* in Japanese)

was announced in the same year, 1890, when the Imperial Diet first convened, and it was decided that the educational mainstream should focus on the cultivation of morality, patriotism, and restraining Westernization.

Sapporo, Hokkaido. SAC — though it had almost independently developed in a different department from the Ministry of Education— was gradually affected by the educational shift of the government after the Colonial Department was abolished, was accordingly forced to reform its curriculum, which aimed to provide a more technical education, and was divided into two departments: agriculture and engineering. Many subjects of liberal arts were removed from the curriculum. SAC opened registration for the sixth class in 1882 but merely 3 candidates out of 40 passed, causing SAC to shelve the registration that year because it would not allow the applicants to enter unless their academic level was as high as that of the upper grade in the Preparatory Department of Tokyo University, which was publicly considered the superior institution as a preparatory school for college training at that time.

In 1887, S. Sato, one of the participants who graduated from SAC as a member of the first class, succeeded Brooks as the first Japanese acting president of SAC. He made a great effort at reorganizing the curriculum to maintain SAC against a rising tide of nationalism and some criticisms that SAC was not beneficial for the colonization of Hokkaido. Foreign teachers completely disappeared by 1893, and immersion instruction was gradually halted. SAC, however, still remains as Hokkaido University, one of the highly regarded universities in Japan.

Outcome

The English proficiency of the participants directly after graduating

from SAC can be considered to have obtained the highest level in Japan at that time, compared with that of the students of Tokyo University, which was regarded to be the highest educational institution. Several participants went abroad for further study: Arakawa studied at the University of Michigan and the University of the Cumberland; Miyabe, Harvard University; Nitobe, S. Sato, and S. Watase, Johns Hopkins University; S. Ono and Uchimura, Amherst College; and Hiroi worked for several companies in America. Most of the participants later played significant roles in various stages of the internationalization of Japan by making use of their English abilities (see Ota, 1995**; Toyama, 1992**). They became leaders in the various societies where they lived, although their liberal spirit, words, and deeds, were often exposed to criticism from the public, especially the rightists and the military. It is true that there were only a few participants who became pioneers in agriculture, but, many, instead, became pioneers in other fields such as biology, botany, Christianity, civil engineering, education, English, geography, journalism, stock farming, and so on. Several were well known for their books, which were published in Japan and in other countries.

7-3. Summary

It was the three ordinances of education in 1886 that eventually led to the end of immersion and the diversity of schools for learners to select. Roughly speaking, between the early and middle Meiji era, the educational system changed its framework from Western worship to Japanese nationalism as Kawasumi (1978**) stated. Although the government initially thought that immersion programs during the outset of the Meiji era should be transitional and that education should

be gradually changed into Japanese, the shift became much more rapid due to a series of civil wars, which drastically exhausted the government's finances and triggered off a large-scale dismissal of foreign teachers, who had received as much salary as senior government officials. Through this movement, the idea took hold that all education in Japan should be conducted in Japanese and that English should be thought as one of the subjects at school. This turned out to call forth discussion of why the students' ability of foreign languages decreased in the late Meiji era, which especially became a topic at the Imperial University of Tokyo.

It is impressive that the twin master novelists of modern Japan, S. Natsume and O. Mori,[4] analyzed the reason. Natsume had the experience of learning English, and Mori,[5] German, in immersion schools. They admitted the decline and attributed the reasons to the disposal of immersion programs (Natsume, 1911/1978**; Mori, 1978**).

Notes

1 As for Toyama's English proficiency, his colleague, Morse wrote in his diary that "Toyama speaks and writes English perfectly" (Morse, 1917a**, p. 214).

2 When the Imperial University Ordinance was proclaimed, there was only one Imperial University in Japan; in other words, the ordinance was substantially adopted in the Imperial University located in Tokyo at that time.

3 At present, Chinese studies slightly remains in a subject called *Kokugo* or the Japanese language of just junior high schools and high schools.

4 Natsume (1911/1978**) subsequently claimed that the Japanese educational system and standards developed in a natural order, and Mori (1978**) warned against a one-sided confidence that Japanese had acquired enough knowledge from Western countries.

5 One of the teachers of Mori, Bälz (1931/1979**), wrote in his diary that the students in Tokyo University understood German well in 1876, but that 24 years later in 1900, the students were getting poor at German.

8. CONCLUSION

The final chapter consists of three sections. The first outlines the LLVs of the participants of the present study to clarify the sequences and features of the LLVs that have been discussed. The second, based on all of the discussions of the LLVs, presents general findings, or what could be suggestions for becoming GFLLs. The third section consists of closing remarks and directions for further research.

8-1. Outlines of Language Learning Variables

Personal Background

A characteristic feature of the personal background of the participants is that they were promising youths by nature. The participants were sons of samurai or quasi-samurai, who were the ruling class throughout the Edo era (1603-1867), before the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The participants were born during the 10 year span from 1856 to 1866 and raised in Japan, and their mother tongue was thus Japanese. They had not been abroad until they graduated from SAC. On average, they started to go to school at about 7 years of age, began to learn English as a foreign language from about 12 years of age, and entered SAC at about 18 years of age. The mean span of English learning to the graduation from SAC was about 10 years.

Social Background

A main feature of the social background of the participants is that they lived under the two social standards of the late Edo era and the early Meiji era: The education system and social standards where they spent their youth required them to acquire both the long-established

knowledge of Chinese studies and the new knowledge of English studies. The participants can be said to be the last generation who grew up with samurai social standards called *Bushido*, in which children were highly respected as future leaders, and were disciplined and motivated to think, speak, and act to become ideal men in society.

After the Meiji era started, the new government chose a policy of Westernizing the nation to keep it independent economically and militarily. Gifted youths were expected to achieve an equivalent level to Western countries in academic and technical fields. Foreign languages, especially English, were seen as an indispensable part of education for the quick acquisition of Western knowledge. The participants thus became involved in a social enthusiasm for English studies at a period when there was little material translated into Japanese.

The common system of education over the two periods was a meritocracy with a no-classroom system in temple schools and a tracking system in other schools. As a result the participants spent their youth in the transition period over about 20 years before the Meiji government established the new Japanese educational system under the influence of Tennoism. *Bushido* and Western thinking coexisted in the participants' minds.

L1/L2 Teaching

The characteristic feature of the L1, or Japanese teaching the participants received is that it was conducted to achieve the following goals: to become familiar with Chinese classics and consequently to become cultivated men, as the ancient sages appeared in the classics. Language was deeply concerned with thoughts and actions. The teachers thoroughly taught *sodoku*, the primary stage of Chinese studies.

The most outstanding feature of the L2, or English teaching the

participants received, is that they ultimately attended immersion schools. The participants began to learn English from Japanese teachers, or both Japanese and foreign teachers at the beginning, initially using spelling books. In the immersion schools they attended, the curricula were organized around a balance of the four skills, and gradually shifted practice from input-centered to output-centered. In SAC, which modeled the facilities and curriculum of MAC and was actually managed mainly by a professor and graduates from MAC, the input was extended to various subjects through practical instruction. The participants, however, were not only immersed, but also encouraged and willing to practice a series of output activities, such as composition, recitation, elocution, original declamation and extempore debate in and outside the classrooms.

Learning

Characteristic cognitive activities and metacognitive activities, or LLS clusters, of the participants of the present study are listed below.

Sodoku. In preschool and primary education, the participants practiced reading aloud Chinese classics in noble and academic Japanese to the extent that they could memorize them. The activity required them to read texts without any punctuation marks while imitating their teacher's reading as a model. It is postulated that, through *sodoku*, the participants could notice a different kind of linguistic system from Japanese, gain prosodic schema and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) in Japanese, and thereby develop common underlying proficiency (CUP).

Indexing. The participants could or had to index the myriad academic words, especially names because they repeatedly encountered words in the same, similar, or different contexts in their classes and extracurricular programs in pursuing a diversity of subjects. It seems

that a wide variety of subjects facilitated the participants' indexing various words, and accordingly organizing their lexicon.

Show-and-tell sessions. The participants took more practical instruction with Western tools and materials in Western facilities, in which they listened to foreign teachers speaking while using the tools and materials, jotted down comments in their notebooks, and imitated what the teachers were doing. There is a strong probability that show-and-tell sessions connected what teachers were saying with what teachers were doing so that they could infer what they failed to comprehend, or could reaffirm what they were able to comprehend.

Literature reading. The participants were encouraged and preferred to read literature to digest the knowledge of English culture. Literature is defamiliarized/foregrounded so that the participants might have often stopped reading and imagined the meanings, while focusing on forms that are liable to be overlooked in every day communication. In addition, it is inferred that literature made it easy for them to vicariously experience the world written in English, and accordingly to extend with interest learner opportunities to join words with the situations in which the words were used because literature comprises elements universal for human beings such as story schema, themes, and affect.

Note-copying. The participants were engaged in taking notes in classes, neatly copying afterwards, and submitting them as suitable books. Listening and taking notes constituted a type of dictation, which required the participants to pay careful attention to what they saw and heard while making use of cognitive cloze procedure. Restructuring their incomplete notebooks led them to metacognitive cloze procedure requiring the participants to re-infer unknown words and phrases and to confirm what they should have known. The teachers' feedback to the

work finally provided the participants with opportunities to reaffirm what they really understood and what they did not.

Output activities. The participants practiced composition, recitation, elocution, original declamation, and extempore debate. They could gradually internalize various lexical items with rhythm, stress, and intonation by receiving the teacher's feedback, and could transform their learning from passive to active, from imitation to assimilation, and from the receivers to senders. Elocution played a great role as a bridge in the transformation sequence.

Arrangements of learning situations. The participants changed their schools from one to another in accordance with their needs, proficiency, and financial conditions. The participants eventually elected to participate in immersion programs. It is conceivable that the arrangements constantly provided them with comprehensible input, renewed their interest, and thus facilitated the acquisition of knowledge slightly beyond their current level.

Decontextualizing. The participants intentionally memorized words by repeatedly articulating them and by examining the linguistic elements out of contexts, and they contextualized the words again in the original or their own sentences. Clarifying the components of target words helped to reinforce their understanding. Fluent articulation was requisite to easily memorize the words and repeating aloud was needed to store them.

Attentional repeated reading. The participants selected books whose contents they were eager to learn, read aloud paying attention to unique or unknown words and expressions, made texts comprehensible by looking up words in dictionaries, and repeatedly read the comprehended texts to the extent that they could recite the texts, especially favorite sentences. It seems that the ultimate aim was to

digest the contents by automatizing as many lexical items as possible.

Outcome

The participants' English proficiency can be seen as being eligible for GFLLs because it is conceivable that they at least reached the advanced level of proficiency as bilinguals of Japanese and English in about 10 years, compared with other learners at that time and the present time. Another characteristic feature of their outcomes is that the beliefs directly affected the participants' attitude. They believed that English was great knowledge worthy enough to pursue to be cultivated men as leaders in their societies. They adopted a respectful but dignified attitude toward their English teachers and endeavored to learn English as a door to new knowledge, or a tool of significant communication for understanding Western wisdom, thoughts, and souls. Literature was preferred to internalize them. Confidence after success of various activities can be considered to have formed positive attitudes, which led the participants to learn further.

8-2. Findings

The following are the general findings of the present study, or what could be valuable suggestions for becoming GFLLs. Great caution, of course, is needed because, although the suggestions are found under a standardized method, these are a thread of findings and interpretations about the case of the participants of the present study, or "only one group" of GFLLs; that is, the findings cannot be completely generalized as a universal solution for all GFLLs, and there is a strong probability that all of the findings should be orchestrated as a large-scale cluster, if they were to be adopted. The findings are proposed, however, as an outcome of a study on one group of GFLLs in order to provide a ground

for approaching more universal solutions.

Finding 1. GFLLs are educated in an autonomy-supportive society for a TL learning, in which they are respected; are disciplined to think, speak, and act as ideal people; and are motivated to become interested in TL learning as being indispensable for becoming ideal people. Autonomy has a threshold level to productively operate. The level is probably at the emergence of metacognition, which can be reached by the development of cognition, language learning, and socialization. Unless autonomy matures and learners are motivated to apply it, it would be hard for them to learn on their own.

Finding 2. GFLLs develop their L1 ability before and along with a TL. In the case of the Japanese, they can develop the L1 by becoming familiar with as many combinations of Chinese characters as possible. The Japanese language developed and expanded through borrowing of Chinese orthography and lexicon, which brought many academic words into the Japanese language. In other words, the vocabulary size of Chinese characters corresponds to cognitive/academic language proficiency, CALP, and is accordingly common underlying proficiency, CUP, a common resource available for the development of other languages. *Sodoku*, reading Chinese in noble and academic Japanese, hence can be seen as an effective activity in that it also leads learners to notice and organize different linguistic schemata.

Finding 3. GFLLs arrange their learning situations or receive instruction that is suitable for their needs and proficiency. The conditions constantly provide them with comprehensible input as well as responsibility, interest, confidence, and motivation, and thus facilitate the acquisition of knowledge slightly beyond their current level.

Finding 4. GFLLs are actively immersed in both comprehensible

input and output of a TL. In immersion programs, they receive modified input of, feedback from, and are encouraged to express their thoughts by native-speaking teachers in activities in and outside of the classrooms. These provide comprehensible input, make them notice unknown or forgotten input, and enhance motivation to learn more.

Finding 5. GFLLs learn lexical items by repeatedly encountering them in the same, similar, and different contexts, by decontextualizing various linguistic components (pronunciation, parts of speech, and affix, etcetera), and by utilizing them in their own sentences. Easy access to lexical items is one of the essential factors to language ability. Attention to learning lexical items in breadth-depth and accuracy-fluency dimensions is indispensable for language learning.

Finding 6. GFLLs consider a TL to be worthy enough to learn as knowledge, or a symbol of the native-speaking people's way of living, and think that literature is profound material to digest. Literature is ethnographical on the one hand, whose intriguing manner makes learners pay attention to both the meanings and forms of language. On the other hand, literature consists of universal features for human beings such as story schema, themes, and affect, which make it easy for learners to vicariously experience the world written in the TL. Reading literature extends learners' opportunities to join words with situations, images, and affect in which the words are used.

Finding 7. GFLLs are engaged in linguistic activities stimulating affect, such as listening motivating stories, imitating ideal adults or heroes/heroines, literature reading, and elocution, where they are encouraged and willing to experience other people's affect vicariously. The experiences urge them to make the ideal self real, the incomprehensible comprehensible, and the influent fluent. For the success of these activities, affective knowledge has to be accumulated

by having various experiences interesting for learners.

8-3. Closing Remarks

The present study adopted an experimental method, a retrospective documentary case study, which has been scarcely conducted in the study of GLLs. Although the method is suitable for delineating the LLVs of the participants to the extent possible with this type of research approach, the findings themselves in one study are not capable of revealing, if any, the LLVs common to GLLs. The accumulation of data on a lot of case examples is needed hereafter. For example, further research can be conducted to compare various LLVs of other groups of GLLs or, in some cases, PLLs in different situations with the same method as the present study. The present author believes, however, that insights into the LLVs of the participants of the present study can be applied to the production of meaningful suggestions to not only the study of GLLs, but also English learning in present-day Japan.

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Appendix A

Participants' Names and Classes

	Ⅰ	Ⅱ	Ⅲ	Ⅳ	Ⅴ
1	Arakawa, Shigehide	Adachi, Mototaro	Akakabe, Jiro	Fukuhara, Tetsunosuke	Hasegawa, Toyotaro
2	Ideta, Seitaro	Fujita, Kusaburo	Harada, Shigesada	Hayakawa, Tetsuya	Hondo, Genjiro
3	Ito, Kazutaka	Hiroi, Isami	Hisajima, Shigeyoshi	Hosokawa, Bungoro	Kodera, Kashiji
4	Kuroiwa, Yomonoshin	Minami, Takajiro	Hori, Soichi	Kawamura, Chikasuke	Kon, Sotosaburo
5	Nakashima, Shinshi	Iwasaki, Yukichika	Ibuki, Sozo	Kikuchi, Kumataro	Maki, Chuichiro
6	Ono, Kanemoto	Machimura, Kinya	Kojima, Kisaku	Matsunaga, Takeo	Nozawa, Shunjiro
7	Oshima, Masatake	Miyabe, Kingo	Muto, Isaburo	Mimashi, Kumekichi	Omachi, Makoto
8	Sato, Isami	Nitobe, Inazo	Nakane, Toru	Nakane, Hisashi	Ono, Saburo
9	Sato, Shosuke	Takagi, Tamataro	Oizumi, Ryotaro	Oka, Bunji	Shimojima, Kokichi
10	Tanouchi, Suteroku	Uchimura, Kanzo	Otsu, Watari	Sase, Tatsusaburo	Yamaguchi, Sozo
11	Uchida, Kiyoshi		Saito, Shozaburo	Shiga, Shigetaka	Yasuda, Eikichi
12	Watase, Torajiro		Sakuma, Nobuyasu	Takenobu, Yoshitaro	Yasuoka, Shunjiro
13	Yanagimoto, Michiyoshi		Sugiyama, Kiyotoshi	Teshima, Juro	
14			Suwa, Shikazo	Watase, Shozaburo	
15			Takaoka, Naokichi	Yamashita, Keitaro	
16			Togano, Shiokichi	Yuki, Shogo	
17			Tsurusaki, Kumeichi	Zumoto, Motosada	
18			Zusho, Tsunenori		

Note . Numbers in the uppermost row show the classes to which each participant belonged. Numbers in the leftmost column are placed to help count the sum of the participants of each class. Names are disposed in alphabetical order in each class.

Appendix B

Excerpts from Material that the Participants Read in Sapporo Agricultural College

I PURPOSE to write the history of England from the accession of King James the Second down to a time which is within the memory of men still living. I shall recount the errors which, in a few months, alienated a loyal gentry and priesthood from the House of Stuart. I shall trace the course of that revolution which terminated the long struggle between our sovereigns and their parliaments, and bound up together the rights of the people and the title of the reigning dynasty....

The History of England by L. Macaulay

CONSIDERING our present advanced state of culture, and how the Torch of Science has now been brandished and borne about, with more or less effect, for five thousand years and upwards; how, in these times especially, not only the Torch still burns, and perhaps more fiercely than ever, but innumerable Rush-lights and Sulphur-matches, kindled thereat, are also glancing in every direction, so that not the smallest cranny or doghole in Nature or Art can remain unilluminated, —it might strike the reflective mind with some surprise that hitherto little or nothing of a fundamental character, whether in the way of Philosophy or History, has been written on the subject of Clothes....

Sartor Resartus by T. Carlyle

Appendix C

An Excerpt from Compositions that the Participants Made in Sapporo Agricultural College

Sword! What a train of brilliant deeds, of historic fame and of chivalrous valor, is associated with this single monosyllable! If it carries our reflections far back into those by-gone days, when Joshua drew his Sword for the cause of the Lord; through those warlike ages of Greece and Rome down to the latest event, wherein the sword was the chief instrument. It brings fresh to our minds the mighty deeds of Gideon and David, of Alexander and Cæsar, of Peter and Napoleon. In legends and traditions the sword is the deliverer of princesses and virgins, and in real history, too, the stories of magnanimity, of self-sacrifice, of justice, of patriotism are often the story of the Sword. Often as it is the emblem of authority, oftener still, alas! does it tell doleful tales of sorrow and dreadful tales of brutality. Just picture to your mind tens of thousands of the suffering poor—of those that are slain in the prime of man hood, of those that are bereaved of their brothers, husbands, fathers and sons, of those that are left naked and penniless! Yea when we, even in imagination, dwell upon the horrible scenes of bloodshed and its more horrible consequences, we are not at all surprised to see brave Wellington Wiping from the corner of his eyes the tender drops of sympathy, as he, one evening during one of his campaigns, surveyed the battle-field and thought of the dead, the widows and orphans. Carnage and famine attend the footsteps of a misused sword….

(Nitobe, 1892*, p. 64)

Appendix D

An Excerpt from Letters that the Participants Wrote in Sapporo Agricultural College

Sapporo, April 16, 1877

Pres. W. S. Clark

My dear Sir;

Now I can not help giving you a few notes on your departure from Sapporo.

There is a well known saying in Japan "Times flies like an arrow". It is now about a year, since you came here as the President of Sapporo Agricultural College; and we have improved our time in the study of various branches of science.

I am very grateful that you came here not merely as a teacher as many do, to instruct only in the school lessons; but that you have devoted your time chiefly to the things pertaining to our future welfare.

We, all the members of Sapporo Agricultural College, without one exception, signed a pledge to abstain entirely from the use in any form, except as medicines, of opium, tobacco, alcoholic liquor, and also from gambling, and profane swearing, so long as we are connected with the institution; and also promised to establish an association under the name "Believers in Jesus", and to attend one or more meetings each week while living together, for the reading of the Bible or other religious books, for conference, and for social prayer....

I am, as ever,

Your obedient pupil

S. Tanouchi

(Onishi, 1980a*, p. 153)

Appendix E

An Excerpt from Books of Minutes that the Participants Recorded in Sapporo Agricultural College

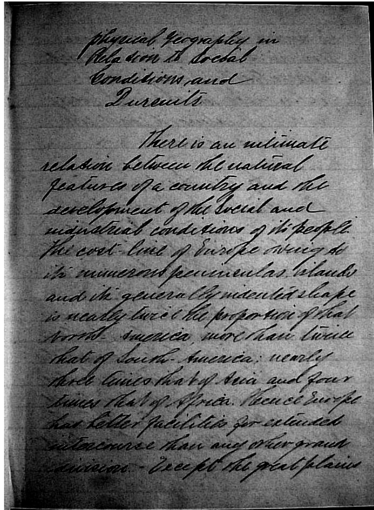
The next meeting was held on the 16th of the month. The regular speakers were Nakashima, Watase and Oshima. The extemporary speakers were Yasuda, Arakawa, Ideta and Kuroiwa.

Nakashima for Japanese Composition, Watase, for English Declamation, which may be briefly stated; One of the most important consideration of the improvements of Hokkaido is to increase the products. It is products of a country that makes the people happy and comfortable. But why is it that Hokkaido with all its riches both in the soil and mines, is so poor and unimproved? his is from because [*sic*], the people do not know how to make us out [*sic*] of its soil and mines and some others. Therefore to increase the products we must first know the esteem of the products. Hence it is very much desirable for us to know the value of, and then I am sure that the products may be increased without any trouble; and as the fruits of the products, the country will become wealthy and prosperious [*sic*]....

(*Hokudai Hyakunenshi*, 1981b**, pp. 632-633)

Appendix F

An Excerpt from Notebooks the Participants Took in Sapporo Agricultural College[1]



Physical Geography in
Relation to Social
Conditions, and
Pursuits

There is an intimate
relation between the natural
features of a country and the
development of the social and
industrial conditions of its people.
The cost-line of Europe owing to
its numerous peninsulas, islands
and its generally indented shape
is nearly twice the proportion of that
North America, more than twice
that of South America; nearly
three times that of Asia and four
times that of Africa. Hence Europe
has better facilities for extended
intercourse than any other grand
division - Except the great plains

Physical Geography in Relation to Social Conditions and Pursuits. There is an intimate relation between the material features of a country and the development of the social and industrial conditions of its people. The cost [*sic*] line of Europe owing to its numerous peninsulas, islands and its generally indented shape is nearly twice the proportion of that [of] North America, more than twice that of South America, nearly three times that of Asia and four times that of Africa. Hence Europe has better facilities for extended intercourse than any other grand division....

[1] From *Choice Extraction from English Literature*, by S. Ibuki. Adapted with permission of the Northern Studies Center at Hokkaido University.

Appendix G

An Examination of English in Sapporo Agricultural College

English.

1.—Propriety in Composition,—Its Importance.

Give an Example of a Sentence Containing Words Improperly Used.

2.—Periodic Sentences,—Their Merits and Demerits.

3.—Importance of Observing a Certain Order of Words in English Sentences.

4.—The Proper Position of Adverbs, and Adverbial Clauses and Adjuncts.

5.—Correct the following sentences, and state the reasons for the Corrections

made:—Me ascended up the hill bearing the dead body of the deceased, while a band of martial military music which were playing a tuneful melodious tune, composed of a file, drums and trumpets, followed behind him.

Composition on either of the two following subjects:—

(a).—The Changes Wrought During[*sic*] the Last Twelve years in Japan.

(b).—Fishes and Fishing in Japan.

Time allowed, two hours.

W. P. Brooks

(*Third Annual Report*, 1879*, p. 104)

Appendix H

An Examination of English Literature in Sapporo Agricultural College

English Literature.

1.—Lord Bacon: sketch of his life—his principle[*sic*] works.

2.—What is the Drama-Miracle play—Morality Interlude?

3. — The Shakespearean dramatists: their characteristics-their historic plays.

4.—What is poetry? Name three kinds of-[*sic*] name four celebrated poets and two poems under each.

5.—The history of the English Novel: the early novelists and their works.

6.—Sir Walter Scott; sketch of his life—his poems.

7.—Names of four celebrated historians: their works.

8.—Sketch of the rise of Review Literature.

9.—Name five novelists of the 19th century and two novels under each.

10.—The name of five celebrated American writers: give titles of some productions of each.

J. C. Cutter

(*Fourth Annual Report*, 1880*, p. 83)

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Good Foreign Language Learners:

A Case Study on the Graduates of Sapporo Agricultural College 1880-1885

Keiichi AKAISHI