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**Language Maintenance Efforts of  
Japanese School Children in Melbourne**

**A dissertation submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by**

**Kuniko Yoshimitsu**  
*BA Notre Dame, MA Monash*

**School of Asian Languages and Studies**

**Monash University**

**Melbourne, Australia**

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## ABSTRACT

Language maintenance research centres on different types of language contact situation and different forms of bilingualism. This study was concerned with a minority group's efforts to retain the use of its language, as well as maintaining age-appropriate levels of language proficiency in a two-language environment. The study investigated the language maintenance efforts of 10 Japanese children (aged 10 to 11) in Melbourne, whose parents were of Japanese background. The aim was not only to provide a descriptive account of the children's degree and direction of Japanese language maintenance, but also to engage in a more critical evaluation of 'who maintained the Japanese language, how and why', a most relevant question in the study of language maintenance raised by Li Wei (1997b). The findings presented in this study are the outcome of a small-scale case study which will contribute to gaining deeper insights into the process through which individuals undergo language maintenance.

Focusing on the micro-level language planning for maintenance, this study examined children's maintenance levels in terms of Japanese language proficiency, and analysed the correlation between the maintenance levels achieved and the factors and the strategies adopted by both parents and children. It also examined the effects of parental attitudes towards maintenance planning on their child's maintenance outcome.

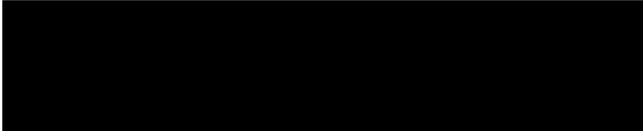
The study selected the samples from two sub-groups in the Japanese community of Melbourne: the children of business sojourners, the largest sub-group in the community, and the children of permanent residents, the second largest sub-group. They were all enrolled at a Japanese supplementary school run on Saturdays.

The data was collected from naturally occurring spoken discourse. Two types of instruments were developed for the maintenance assessment. The first consisted of four language tasks in an oral interview format, while the second involved analysing the children's spoken discourse in the interviews and their family conversations. Based on the maintenance assessment results, analysis of variance and correlation analysis were carried out in order to explain the relationship between the maintenance outcomes and factors.

Three maintenance patterns emerged from the study. There were the successful cases with a good maintenance level, the moderately successful cases with a fair maintenance level, and the unsuccessful cases with a poor maintenance level. A maintenance pattern related to residential status, which indicates a difference in social positioning in Australia, emerged as anticipated. The implications of the findings were: (1) language maintenance of a child is a result of the combined efforts of the parents and the child; (2) the child's maintenance outcome is largely affected by the maintenance programs (strategies) which the parents and the child implements; and (3) the quality and the effectiveness of maintenance programs are largely affected by the parents' attitudes towards maintenance, the child's motivation as well as the family's financial capability to employ the maintenance aids.

## STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been submitted for examination in any other course, or which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgment or reference is made in the text of this thesis.



Kuniko Yoshimitsu ✓  
27 August, 1999

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## CHAPTER 1

### LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE STUDIES

#### 1.1 Introduction

In current research on language contact, language maintenance studies have been concerned mainly with the maintenance of the important minority languages spoken by large communities of immigrants. Few researchers have focused attention on languages represented by only a few native speakers, or on the situation of sojourners who are living abroad as temporary residents in a transitional community with constantly changing membership. Such groups do not have the political power of the more established ethnic communities. Fishman (1989, 1991) suggests that a political dimension is evident in such situations because language maintenance is largely about language policy (i.e., political decisions) at the level where only a major configuration of powers can bind or shape whole communities.

While the early stages of globalisation or inter-cultural contact may have led to the economically motivated migration of unprecedentedly large groups of people and ethnic mixing in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, subsequent world wars and various regional conflicts have underlined other economic interests and political ideologies which come to the support of one language policy over another. Today, additional forces are also at work. Cohen (1987) has written about the growing strata of denizens who work for the growing number of multinational enterprises and who tend to use English as an international language to administer a massive array of international organisations, from the various agencies of the United Nations and its regional organisations to the myriad of NGOs (non-governmental organisations). These denizens and their families contribute to a growing number of

sojourners living in transitional communities around the world. In this regard, the experience of Japanese people provides an interesting context in which to study the processes of language maintenance.

## **1.2 Language Maintenance and the Japanese Community Abroad**

The Japanese language is a developed modern language used as the sole national language in a country with a population of approximately 126 million people (Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, Japan 1998). At the same time, however, the Japanese have not established themselves as a major ethnic subgroup in many societies abroad. Brazil and Peru may provide the main examples where such Japanese ethnic communities exist. Moreover, as Fukuoka (1995) argues, Japanese permanently residing abroad have not for the most part been regarded as 'Japanese' by Japanese people living in Japan. While there are large numbers of people of Japanese origin in the United States in absolute terms, they have remained a small percentage of the overall population and have been largely assimilated even in the few States where they are concentrated. However, in the case of Australia, the country in which this study was conducted, Japanese residents number only about 26,600 (see Table 1.1). Most of these residents are sojourners.

Japan's growing international business activities since the late 1970s have led to an increasing number of Japanese business people and their families living outside Japan, either temporarily or permanently, and concomitantly, there has been a considerable increase in bilingualism among the Japanese. Table 1.2 shows the number of Japanese living abroad over the period 1986 to 1997. The increase in the number of those in the 'permanent residence' category was relatively small, however the number of 'long-stay' (i.e., sojourners) has doubled in ten years.

While the Japanese government has been aware of the existence of Japanese adult business sojourners abroad and especially cognisant of their contributions as businessmen to Japan's economic growth, it has played a rather passive role in looking after the needs of the wives and children who accompany them abroad. Accordingly, the language maintenance of Japanese children has depended largely on the *ad hoc* initiatives of those involved through their business organisations and of individual families living in comparative isolation.

However, since the early 1980s, a growing literature has emerged on the plight of Japanese children abroad and of the returnee children i.e., those who returned to Japan after living abroad for a number of years (e.g., Iwasaki 1982; Nakanishi *et al.* 1982; Minoura 1984; Okamura-Bichard 1985; Nakajima 1988, 1991, 1998; Koyama 1989; Cummins and Nakajima 1990; Mabuchi 1996a, 1996b; Yoshimitsu 1996; Noro 1990; Goodman 1990; Yashiro 1995; Kondo 1998; Richards and Yamada-Yamamoto 1998; Yamada-Yamamoto and Richards 1998). Accordingly, there is now some collective wisdom or consensus about the language behaviour of these children. The writings which are relevant to this study will be examined in detail in Chapter Two.

Table 1.1: Number of Japanese living abroad

Rank order	Country	Number of Japanese as of 1997
1	USA	284,006
2	Brazil	80,906
3	UK	54,649
4	China	46,821
5	Canada	27,601
6	Singapore	26,684
7	Australia	26,631
8	Thailand	23,014
9	Germany	22,318
10	France	20,167

Source: Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1998

**Table 1.2: Number of Japanese living abroad (1986 – 1997)**

Year	Number of Japanese Living abroad	Long-stay (sojourners)	Permanent Residence
1986	497,981	251,545	246,436
1987	518,318	270,391	247,927
1988	548,404	302,510	245,894
1989	586,972	340,929	246,043
1990	620,174	374,044	246,130
1991	663,074	412,207	250,842
1992	679,379	425,131	254,248
1993	687,579	432,703	254,876
1994	689,895	428,342	261,553
1995	728,268	460,522	267,746
1996	763,977	492,942	271,035
1997	782,568	507,749	274,819

Source: Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1998

### **1.3 Language Maintenance in An Environment with Two or More Languages**

As globalisation occurs and an increasing number of children are raised away from the geo-political entity where the first language of their parents is spoken, more of them are able to enjoy the benefits of becoming bilingual. An extensive literature on bilingualism has emerged and considerable advances have occurred in our understanding of the subject. While some research has focused on linguistic phenomena such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, transference and interference as major features in the language of such bilinguals (e.g., Haugen 1953, 1972; Clyne 1967, 1982, 1991; Weinreich 1968; Poplack 1980; Grosjean 1982; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1992), other research has focused more on determinants of extra-linguistic factors such as psychological, socio-cultural and socio-economic settings in which language contact occurs (e.g., Lambert and Tucker 1972; Gal 1979; Haga 1979; Appel and Muysken 1987; Romaine 1989; Hamers and Blanc 1989; Bialystok *et al.* 1991; Hoffmann 1991).

Bilingual individuals usually experience uneven exposure to and use of their two languages. In many bilingual environments, it is common for one of the languages to be used less often, as well as having less contact with one language. This lesser-used language can be referred to as the minority language. The environment, such as changes in schooling and the home situation, will affect the need for particular language competence. The person's perception of, and feelings for, the dominant language often influence the way in which an individual speaks the minority language. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually different, bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in their languages. The extent to which large numbers speaking a minority language associate with the dominant language in their society influences the way in which the minority language changes (Clyne 1982, 1991).

As speakers shift towards the majority language, the range of functions of the minority language are reduced, and speakers of the minority language will generally become less proficient in it. However, studies show that proficiency in the minority language can be retained by speakers who find themselves in an environment where they are encouraged or required to interact with others through the minority language (e.g., Saunders 1982, 1988; Harding and Riley 1986; Döpke 1992). The strategies which create such an environment and enhance the opportunities for the minority language to be used can be called 'language policies'.

While language policies may be designed and implemented by governments, as often occurs when a community is officially bilingual (e.g., Canada and Switzerland), other small ethnic communities are often left to design and implement their own policies in order to promote bilingualism. Furthermore, where there is an insufficient number of speakers to form a permanent community, it is often at the

individual level that such policies are developed, in a rather *ad hoc* manner. The difficulties faced by isolated speakers were discussed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) in their 'language management' theory, where they distinguished between 'simple' language correction and 'organised' language correction. Kaplan (1989) wrote about 'bottom-up' language planning, in reference to a grass-roots policy, in contrast to a 'top-down' policy, which applied to the Australian national policy on languages. In another study, Kuo and Jernudd (1993) provided a 'micro sociolinguistic perspective' as opposed to a 'macro sociolinguistic perspective' in their discussion of language management in Singapore.

#### **1.4 Language Maintenance and Language Shift**

The term 'language maintenance' can be used when discussing the degree to which an individual, group or community continues to use its (minority) language in certain domains. 'Language shift' refers to an individual, group or community giving up a language, usually a minority language, in favour of another more dominant language. These terms are firmly established in the literature on language contact (Clyne 1982, 1991). They will be used in this study to refer to the behaviour of a whole community, a sub-group within it, or an individual. Language maintenance and the other side of the coin, language shift, are really the long-term outcomes which result from language choice (Fasold 1984).

Language maintenance particularly occurs in bilingual or multilingual areas, or among immigrant groups (Fishman 1966). Many factors affect language maintenance as well as language shift (e.g., Kloss 1966; Giles *et al.* 1977; Smolicz 1979, 1981; Clyne 1982, 1991; Pauwels 1983, 1986, 1988; Fishman *et al.* 1995; Fishman 1989, 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1996, 1997). Demographic factors such as

the geographical distribution of a language minority group and the number of speakers of a certain language are important. So too are status factors, such as whether a language is an officially-adopted one, or whether the language has prestige value or economic status. Finally, various institutional support factors require consideration; for example, whether the language is used in the media or as the medium of education or religious practice.

This study is concerned with language maintenance in the bilingual environment with specific reference to the Japanese school children within two sub-groups of the Japanese community in Melbourne: the children of business sojourners and the children of permanent residents. This dissertation develops a coherent account of the language maintenance efforts of the children and their parents and the effect of those efforts on the children's maintenance outcomes. It examines the factors and the strategies which are promoting language maintenance within the framework of 'language planning'. At the lower level, language planning is concerned with a speaker's behaviour towards the language. In particular, attention will be focused on problem-identification and on the formulation and evaluation of strategies for solving problems. When considering future directions, several models for language maintenance need to be discussed.

### **1.5 Models for Investigating Language Maintenance and Language Shift**

Scholars have developed theoretically-based and empirically-based models to explain why and how language maintenance and language shift occur (e.g., Kloss 1966; Haugen 1950, 1972; Giles *et al.* 1977; Clyne 1982, 1991; Smolicz 1981; Fishman 1966, 1989; 1991; Fishman *et al.* 1985). To facilitate the description and analysis of the processes of language maintenance and language shift, Fishman (1966),

Haugen (1950, 1972) and Kloss (1966) have developed a number of key notions and concepts. These include 'domain' (Fishman), 'clear-cut and ambivalent language maintenance factors' (Kloss), and 'language ecology' (Haugen). Insights from social psychology, especially in relation to the role of language in inter-group and ethnic relations (Giles *et al.* 1977), have stimulated interdisciplinary research on attitudes towards ethnic languages as crucial components in the language maintenance and the language shift processes. Most models take account of the relationship of the relevant ethnic group to the dominant group(s) in society.

In the eight sub-sections below (Sections 1.5.1 to 1.5.8), several of the key concepts appearing in the literature on language maintenance will be discussed. The remaining sections will then introduce a specific group of people concerned with language maintenance in the Australian context: the Japanese living in Melbourne. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how some aspects of the models might be utilised to evaluate the processes by which Japanese children in Melbourne go about maintaining their Japanese.

### **1.5.1 Factor Analysis: Ambivalent Factors vs. Clear-Cut Factors**

De-ethnisation and assimilation with successive waves of immigrants are seen as phenomena characterising the American experience with minority groups (Fishman 1966, 1989, 1991; Glazer 1966; Fishman *et al.* 1985). Thirty years ago, Kloss (1966) examined the factors influencing language maintenance outcomes in the German-American context. Based on his data which was drawn from German-American language maintenance efforts, he found a number of factors which frequently had an ambivalent effect on language use.

Kloss' research showed that language maintenance or language shift outcomes were not affected in a consistent manner by (1) educational level, by (2) size of the speaker group, by (3) cultural and/or linguistic similarity between majority and minority languages, or by (4) the attitudes of those speaking the majority language towards the bilingual minority group (Kloss 1966: 210-212). Kloss argued that a clear-cut case could be made that religio-societal isolation, the time of immigration, pre-immigration experience with language maintenance and membership in a religious denomination with parochial schools all served to enhance language maintenance. According to Kloss, the presence or absence of these factors contributed to the success with which certain languages were maintained. However, no single combination of factors was seen as guaranteeing the success of every member in his or her efforts to maintain, when the minority language was attached to a large nationality group such as the German-American population in the United States (Kloss 1966: 212).

### **1.5.2 Prediction of the Future Survival of Languages**

Fishman *et al.* (1985: 158-172), observing what came to be called the 'ethnic revival' in the United States from the 1960s through to the early 1980s, sought to develop a means of predicting the survival of languages. Based on the American Census data, Fishman first posited that certain ethnic languages had been revived in America during that period. Fishman *et al.* then argued that the future survival of America's minority languages would depend upon three sets of variables.

The first set concerned the demography of the language's 'adjusted claimants' (Fishman *et al.* 1985: 158-160). For example, the younger the average users of a language were, the better the chance that the language would survive. Therefore the

number of younger claimants provided a better indication of a language's well-being than did the number of older speakers.

The second set included access to a variety of 'institutional' resources such as periodicals, radio and TV stations, schools, local religious units and language communities which were all seen as critical supports in language maintenance. The ratio of the number of institutions to the number of claimants was also used to predict the future survival of a language. Other things being equal, languages with access to such resources were viewed as being healthier than language with low levels of access, even if the latter had twice as many institutions *per se* as the language with access.

The third set centred on the balance or compromise between the forces supporting use of the minority language and those reinforcing use of the majority language. An index was developed by Fishman *et al.* (1985) which reflected both the 'push' factors (number of claimants) and the 'pull' factors (the ratio of institutions to claimants) factors. To operationalise these concepts, Fishman *et al.* (1985) suggested fifteen predictors. The predictors included indicators such as the number of mother-tongue claimants, an index of dispersion, the number of radio or TV stations, the number of ethnic mother-tongue schools and the median age of the claimants.

### **1.5.3 Reversing Language Shift**

Another concern of Fishman's research was to study ways in which ethnic communities reversed language shift. Fishman's more recent work (1991) dealt with the sequencing and the priorities in reversing language shift, given specific initiatives in place to implement this. Fishman (1991: 87-109, 393-405) developed

the Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (GIDS) through which he sought to identify eight stages a minority ethnic community could move through in its attempts to reverse language shift. As shown in Figure 1.1, Fishman's scale can be used inversely as a guide to how far a minority language was threatened and disrupted. The lower the number on the scale, the greater the threat to the language's survival. The most advanced stage of Fishman's scale was Stage 8, where the likelihood of the language surviving was the greatest. The initial four stages (Stages 1 through 4) had to be achieved in order to attain diglossia (two languages or language varieties exist side by side in a community and each one is used for different purposes). If Stages 5b through 8 could be achieved, the language could be revitalised in the local community and would no longer be endangered. According to this formulation, the school is an important bridge between the foundation stage and the enhancement stage of language maintenance.

The scale can be adapted for the evaluation of language maintenance programs. The survival of a language might be predicted by the extent to which its users have opportunities to utilise the language at highly functional and aesthetic levels. According to Fishman (1991: 113-114), Stages 3 through 5a focused on language maintenance, whereas Stages 5b to 8 focused on intergenerational language transmission. In other words, Stages 5b to 8 focused on the broader societal environment in which the transmitted language could prosper and have a growing pool of speakers for intergenerational transmission.

While Fishman recognised that intergenerational L1 transmission and language maintenance were not the same thing, both were seen as being important to the reversal of language shift. Fishman maintained that without language maintenance, which was a post-transmission process, the pool from which

successive intergenerational transmission efforts could draw would become smaller. By developing the GIDS scale, Fishman attempted to represent a highly complex interaction of a variety of phenomena in outline form. Fishman's graded scales are helpful in organising our thinking. As such they provide a useful guide for future research.

Figure 1.1: Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale

Implications for Language Maintenance	Stages in the Development of Continuity in the Use of a Minority Language	Likelihood of the Language Surviving
The foundation stages (L1 transmission efforts)	1. Reconstruction of the minority language and adult acquisition of the language as a second language.	Low
	2. Cultural interaction in the language primarily involving the community-based older generation.	
	3. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood activities (oracy is the basic medium and this stage is crucial for maintenance).	
	4. Schools for literacy acquisition in the language, for the old and the young, but not in lieu of compulsory education.	
The enhancement stages (L1 maintenance efforts): beginning stages in providing an environment conducive to language maintenance	5a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under the language's curricular and staffing control, and	Medium
	5b. Public schools for children, offering some instruction via the language, but substantially under another language's curricular and staffing control.	
	6. Use of the language in the local/regional (non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among the language's native speakers and non-native speakers.	
	7. Use of the language in the local/regional mass media and governmental services.	
	8. Some use of the language in education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.	High

Adapted from Fishman (1991), pp. 87-109, and 395

#### 1.5.4 Language Ecology

Haugen's (1972) concern for the 'ecology of language' led to the development of a comprehensive framework for the study of language maintenance. He defined the 'ecology of language' as 'the study of the interaction between a given language and its environment' (Haugen 1972: 325). He argued that psychological and social elements shaped the environment. The former shaped the language as it existed in the mind of the speaker and helped to determine whether the speaker could make sense of self and the world through interaction with other languages. These elements encompassed attitudes about the ability of the language to represent the values of the community and the wider society. The social elements, on the other hand, were concerned with the language as it existed within the collective. These elements determine when and where a language is used or is avoided, and the language's place in the patterning of social behaviour among the people who used it.

Haugen suggested that an understanding of the ecology of any given language would be enhanced by examining the following questions:

1. What is the language's status in relation to other languages?
2. Who uses the language?
3. In which domains is the language used?
4. What concurrent languages are employed by users of the language?
5. What internal variation or dialect does the language exhibit?
6. What is the nature of the language's written traditions?
7. To what degree has the language's written form been standardised?
8. What kind of institutional base does the language have? (How important is it economically?)

9. What are the attitudes of users of other languages towards the language in question?

Haugen (1972: 336-337) argued that these kinds of questions would allow researchers to develop a typology of ecological classification which would define where the language stood and was going in comparison to other languages.

#### **1.5.5 Integration of Demographic Data, Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Findings**

Demographic, linguistic and sociolinguistic data were brought together in Clyne's description (1982, 1991) of community languages in Australia. Drawing on Australian Census data for 1976 and 1986 and on other survey data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, he identified the speakers of various languages and argued that various factors correlated with language maintenance and language shift.

In the 1982 study, Clyne provided a rank ordering of the factors determining language maintenance or shift for each ethnic group in Australia. The most important factors recorded were 'cultural core-values', proposed by Smolicz (1979, 1981), the degree of cultural similarity to the dominant group, and the extent of intermarriage. More recent data on the Australian situation (Clyne 1991) indicated that the relative population distribution, gender, and marriage patterns also determined language maintenance and language shift outcomes. In addition, Clyne (1982, 1991) studied the structural and typological aspects of community languages, discussing how the limited use of community languages and extensive exposure to English as the dominant language had led to changes in the way speakers of community languages in Australia used their minority language in the Australian context.

### **1.5.6 Core-Value Theory**

Based on his research in Australia, Smolicz (1979, 1981) proposed a 'core-value' theory to explain ethnic differences in language maintenance and language shift. According to Smolicz's model, each ethnic group has a set of specific cultural values which are seen as fundamental to its existence and identity. The rejection of those values carries with it the threat that individuals would be excluded from their ethnic group. This in turn will affect the opportunities for language maintenance and transmission.

For example, for Italians the Italian language constitutes a core cultural value; however, among rural southern Italians, the importance of the family as a cultural value may transcend that of language. Poles also provide an example where the native language has the core value. In contrast to language-centred cultures, the core value system of Jewish culture is centred around the integration of religion, peoplehood and historicity (Smolicz 1981: 76-77). Smolicz argued that for some ethnic groups and cultures (e.g., the Greeks, Poles and Ukrainians), language was considered central to the value system, whereas the role of language might be more peripheral to the value system of other groups (e.g., the Irish and the Jewish). In the former, the language is more than the medium of communication and self-expression; it is the symbol of ethnic identity and the defining value which one must possess to be an 'authentic' group member. This, he argued, would explain differences in the extent to which different ethnic groups promoted the maintenance of their language.

### **1.5.7 Language Maintenance and Mother-Tongue Variety: Standard vs. Dialect**

The influence of variation in the use of the minority language on its language maintenance has attracted the attention of some researchers (Bettoni 1981; Pauwels

1983, 1986). Pauwels (1983) examined how language maintenance was affected by how the use of the minority language varied between the standard language and dialects spoken by German and Dutch immigrants in Australia. She analysed the minority language use in five domains: (1) the family, (2) friendship, (3) the church as the context for organised religions, (4) organised secular contexts such as ethnic clubs, and (5) the transactional domain, including doctors and shops. Each domain was defined in terms of interlocutors, topic and location. Pauwels defined language maintenance as the retention of minority language in one or more of these domains, either together with a dominant language or instead of it. A personal language use questionnaire was the basis for her analysis of the language maintenance rate. She referred to the domains in which the minority language was used more than 50 percent of the time as a 'minority language domain', a domain where the minority language had been maintained (Pauwels 1983: 24). Pauwels found that language variety had very little impact on language maintenance in the first generation, however age was clearly the strongest socio-demographic factor predicting the extent to which a language was maintained within that language's community (Pauwels 1983:215).

### **1.5.8 Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

Giles *et al.* (1977) coined the term 'ethnolinguistic vitality' in constructing an integrated model which brought together many of the factors discussed above. In their model, the overall 'ethnolinguistic vitality' was gauged against the status, demographic and institutional support associated with a language. It was proposed that ethnolinguistic communities could be meaningfully assessed according to this three-dimensional schema and ranked as having low, medium or high vitality.

According to Giles *et al.* (1977), the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group ensured that it could survive as a distinctive, active and collective entity in inter-group situations. Status variables included economic, social, sociohistorical and language status. Demographic variables were the size of a linguistic minority group, its geographical distribution and the prevalence of mixed or inter-language marriages. In mixed marriages, the higher status language would be seen as having the best chance of survival as the home language. Institutional support factors involved the extent to which the language of a minority group was represented in various organised bodies or institutions of a nation, region or community. Such institutions included religious and cultural organisations, mass media, commerce and industry, and the education system. The three-factor model of Giles *et al.* (1977) provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how language vitality is achieved.

### **1.6 Models Presented and Their Relevance to the Current Study**

The models presented above for investigating language maintenance and language shift have several implications for this study. Some of the socio-demographic factors common to several of the above models may also explain the language behaviour of Japanese residents in Australia. Institutional support and attitudinal factors are most relevant when considering Japanese school children. The analysis of domains is appropriate when describing the characteristics of the language maintenance of Japanese school children. One might hypothesise that the family, educational and friendship domains will be the most relevant for this investigation. The ecological questions direct the researcher to determine where the Japanese language stands in the Australian environment and in the mindset of its speakers. However, in considering the environment in which the speaker of a minority language expresses himself or

herself, none of the studies introduced above have dealt directly with the individual and his or her decisions about language use on an everyday basis.

### **1.7 Studying the Language Maintenance Practices of Japanese Children in Melbourne**

Most of the models presented above in Section 1.5 were derived from large-scale investigations in which the language behaviour of a larger population or a large ethnic group was studied. Quantitative data obtained from census or census-like questionnaires were commonly used as a basis for developing such theories (e.g., Clyne 1982, 1991; Fishman *et al.* 1985; Fishman 1991). This study of the language maintenance of Japanese school children in Melbourne is based on qualitative data which can only be derived from in-depth case studies. The unit of analysis is the family, where discourse data is collected from both the children and their parents. In the context under investigation, namely, Japanese children in an English environment, the development of first language proficiency by young speakers also represents language maintenance, in this case, of the minority language, as noted above. Although the individual child is the principal focus of my study, maintenance strategies involve not only the child's but also the parents' choices which considerably shape the environment in which the child makes his or her choices. The data upon which the following analysis is based were collected by means of an extensive survey, personal interviews, the execution of language tasks, recording of naturally occurring family conversations, and a form of participant observation.

Large-scale studies of language maintenance and language shift have mostly been longitudinal investigations, as the study of language shift requires searching for gradual changes in the language behaviour of a group or nation. This study, however, focuses on language maintenance at the micro-level in terms of what is and

is not maintained in each child's Japanese, and the causes of any variation occurring in this regard. This approach is latitudinal or cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. Furthermore, one fundamental difference between this study and the studies mentioned above deserves attention. Whereas the majority of investigations on language maintenance and language shift involved observations on reported behaviour, the emphasis in this study is on actual behaviour. The data was collected from oral discourse in actual situations. The scaling and the method of recording and coding the data for analysis will be discussed fully in Chapter Three. While the models of language maintenance and language shift presented in Sections 1.5.2 to 1.5.7 above are more focused on reported language maintenance outcomes, this study assesses actual maintenance outcomes and seeks to consider the maintenance factors and strategies which influence maintenance outcomes.

### **1.8 A Theoretical Framework for Studying Language Maintenance**

The above section has introduced a variety of studies of language maintenance and language shift which have shaped current thinking about language maintenance. One of the first scholars to treat language maintenance and language shift as distinct fields of study was Fishman (1966). He claimed that the study of language maintenance and language shift was, on the one hand, concerned with what happened when populations differing in language were in contact with each other, and, on the other hand, concerned with on-going psychological, social or cultural processes (Fishman 1966: 424, Fishman 1971: 301). He further argued that the study of language maintenance and language shift first required a suitable understanding of how language behaviour varied. Without a solid grasp of such variation, language maintenance and language shift could not be accurately and appropriately described.

In this regard, Fishman (1966) divided the study of language maintenance into three areas. The first focused on assessing the individual's use of two or more languages in contact situations, which resulted in a measurement of the degree of bilingualism (Fishman 1966: 425-427). For Fishman the question was, simply, 'Who speaks what language to whom and when and to what end?' (Fishman 1972: 46). Fishman's concept of 'domain' (Fishman 1968) was crucial to such assessments. Through the development of this concept, Fishman argued that there were certain institutional contexts, or domains, in which bilingual speakers found it more appropriate to use one language rather than another language. Location (time and space), topics, and particulars of the participants were seen as major factors defining the domains. Family, friendship, religion, education and employment were identified as domains or settings in which language usage might be studied. He argued that language usage varied from one domain to another. For instance, language usage in the family domain, in which adolescents might talk to their parents about their school work, would be different from the locker room domain at school in which the same adolescent might talk to schoolmates about very different matters with very different language practices.

The second major area of concern to Fishman dealt with the psychological, social and cultural processes which served to reinforce or to change habitual language use under conditions of intergroup contact (Fishman 1966: 439-441). Fishman argued that under certain circumstances the relative incidence and configuration of bilingualism would stabilise and remain fairly constant over time within each interacting group. However, under other circumstances, one of the languages (i.e., the majority language) would gradually become the predominant language of the older generation and the first language of the young. This concern brought in various extra-linguistic factors into the

equation. These included various social or demographic phenomena including the distinction between urban and rural dwellers, the role of industrialisation, the social prestige of the language, language loyalty of the group, the state of competing nationalisms, the relative population distribution, religious revitalisation, and the extent of intermarriage or marriage patterns. This comparative method, which involved cross-cultural and diachronic analysis, was seen as being central to language planning.

Fishman's third area of the study of language maintenance and language shift was concerned with behaviour towards language (Fishman 1966: 449-452). This included, but was not limited to, behaviours consciously focused on either maintenance or shift. Three major sub-topics within this area were recognised: (1) attitudinal-affective behaviours which resulted from loyalty or antipathy to one or another languages; (2) the control or regulation of habitual language usage through reinforcement, planning, and/or prohibition; and (3) overall language consciousness, language knowledge, and various language-related collective perceptions with the society as a whole.

As for the systematic inquiry into language maintenance and language shift, Fishman (1966: 453-454) urged that the basic instruments had to be devised for the measurement of the degree of language maintenance and language shift. Once such instruments became available, he argued, it would be of great importance to undertake the cross-cultural and comparative study of language maintenance and language shift. As indicated in Section 1.5 above, language maintenance and language shift have been recognised as crucial topics within the fields of sociolinguistics, and various aspects of language maintenance and language shift phenomena have been studied by many scholars. Fishman's three major sub-areas for the study of language maintenance and language shift presented above provide researchers a useful framework for systematic inquiry.

Following Fishman's recommendations, this study of the language maintenance of Japanese school children in Melbourne focuses on the following:

- (1) an assessment of the degree and the direction of language maintenance, which requires the development of instruments for assessment;
- (2) the identification of factors and strategies which have an impact on language maintenance (e.g., the study of the correlation between the maintenance achieved, the background factors, and the strategies adopted); and
- (3) an evaluation of the language planning, which reflected parental attitudes towards their child's Japanese language maintenance.

### **1.9 Language Planning for Language Maintenance**

The concept of language planning has evolved over time. Fishman (1966: 450, 454) initially defined 'language planning' as an attempt to interfere with habitual language use, that is, an effort to control or to regulate the habitual use of language. The decision to interfere, he argued, emerged from a person's attitudes towards the language in question. In this study, 'language planning' is seen as being necessary for the maintenance of a language by any given society, group or individual. Some theoretical or conceptual concerns relevant to language planning are considered below.

Since the development of a fairly narrow linguistic framework out of Fishman's work (e.g., Haugen 1966, Weinreich 1968), the need for a much more comprehensive framework has been acknowledged. As a result, the linguistic, sociolinguistic, economic and political factors related to the life of a language in any society were taken into account (e.g., by Rubin and Jernudd 1971). Thus, language planning came to be understood as a macro-societal language problem and required firm decisions about alternative goals, means and outcomes.

The components of language planning have, over time, been further deliberated in taxonomies resulting from the systematic identification and analysis of the different

stages of the process. Whereas language planning in the past was principally concerned with macro-planning, that is, the development of national plans, the new approach also attaches importance to the tracing of language problems in the particular discourse situations in which individuals find themselves (Neustupný 1978, 1985, 1988; Rubin 1978-9; Jernudd 1982, 1983; Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). This broader concept of language planning incorporates both the rather *ad hoc* language behaviour of individuals on their own discourse level and the organised language planning which occurs through more formal processes at the governmental level and in the educational system. In the education system, organised language planning involves a large number of processes which collectively impinge upon language teaching itself.

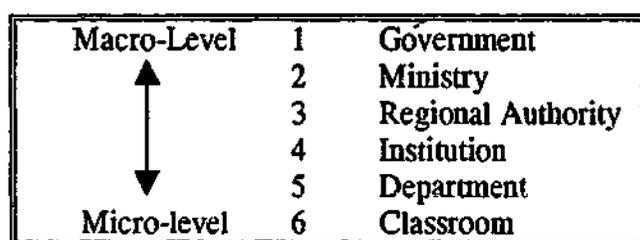
Language planning in the 1990s has continued to move towards the identification of language problems arising from social interaction and social change (Cooper 1989) as advocated at an earlier stage by Neustupný (1970) and Rubin (1971). In the following section, the mechanisms of language planning as outlined by Bamgbose (1989) are examined. Here the focus shifts to the level of planning and steps in the planning process.

### **1.9.1 Levels of Language Planning: Macro- vs. Micro-Level Planning**

The notion of 'level' assists in analysing the planning process as a chain of events. It enables the researcher to identify the precise nature of problems and to locate the reasons for success or failure in maintaining particular aspects of a language. Cooper (1989) attempted to define language planning levels by relating them to levels in other fields, and allowed for generalisations to be made about how language planning occurs as a diffuse process having multiple outcomes. Cooper focused on a variation of Fishman's question (introduced in Section 1.8 above), 'Who plans what for whom and

how?' In relation to 'who plans', most scholars have generally regarded language planning as a government activity conducted at the national level (e.g., Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971; Bamgbose 1989) with lower-level organisations either implementing the policy or being affected in some way by language planning. From that perspective, lower level bodies did not actually undertake language planning themselves. Kennedy (1985: 23), however, suggested a scheme where language planning occurs on six different levels, as shown in Figure 1.2.

**Figure 1.2: Levels of Language Planning**



Source: Kennedy (1985), p. 23.

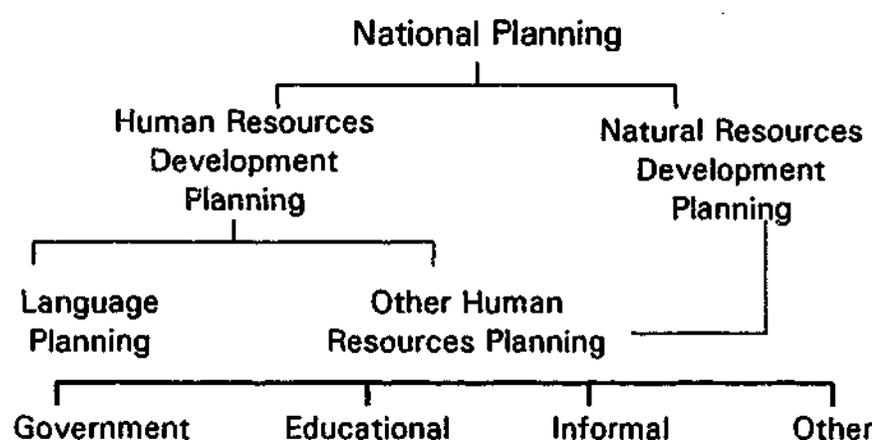
According to Kennedy's scheme, some form of language planning takes place at all levels, from the macro-level to the micro-level. At each level, planning involves different processes, participants and circumstances. He argued that the planners at each level need to be involved in both the planning itself and in the implementation of the planning, thereby maintaining links between the different levels. The current study of Japanese language maintenance of Japanese children in Melbourne will focus on the link between the macro-level (organisational level) and the micro-level (group or individual level), as part of the process of assessing the effectiveness of language maintenance efforts.

### **1.9.2 Top-down vs. Bottom-up Language Planning**

Kaplan (1989) presented a taxonomy of planning which distinguished between 'bottom-up' planning and 'top-down' planning activities as they related to language planning as

part of an overall scheme for human resource development within society. This is shown in Figure 1.3. In this taxonomy, government planning and other formal planning occurred in statutory bodies like ministries or departments which had broad powers in relation to language activities necessary for trading, receiving tourists, comprehending technical manuals for imported equipment, establishing official agreements, and so forth. Educational planning referred to planning in the education sector. This normally involved decisions concerning which languages would be taught in the formal education system; the focus was on who made which decisions, the order in which decisions were made, the materials, the extent to which financial backing was given, and the overall goals of the exercise.

Figure 1.3: Taxonomy of Language Planning



Source: Kaplan (1989), p. 193.

In this regard, Kloss (1977: 52) distinguished between 'corpus planning' (concerned with what would be taught with which materials and how) and 'status planning' (the choice of the languages to be taught).

According to Kaplan, 'informal planning' concerned the activities of non-statutory bodies such as national language academies, religious bodies and non-governmental language organisations such as the Goethe Institute. The last category in Kaplan's planning taxonomy was the 'other' category. It included those areas in which language policy evolved as an unintended consequence of some other policy or of some other activity. Kaplan argued that all official and non-official agencies which interacted with the public were engaged in language-policy formulation. For example, even though the involvement might be unconscious, unintentional and informal, many policy decisions about the supply of public services defined specific languages in which particular services could be delivered. Governmental welfare bodies, insurance companies, the police, legal services and the like were in this sense all involved in language planning.

In Kaplan's (1989) taxonomy, planning at the more formal levels such as government and education was done largely at the higher levels. However, Kaplan questioned whether such planning and policy development should occur from the 'top-down', defined and prescribed by the upper levels of the bureaucracy and the government and then implemented by those at the lower levels, or from the 'bottom-up', originating at the 'grass-roots' level, and then resulting in government developing and implementing policy for the needs of 'the people' (Kaplan 1989: 195). Kaplan maintained that policies developed through top-down planning often failed to recognise the real needs of minorities. In bottom-up planning, representatives of the minorities were consulted early in the planning process and their needs were respected in the early stages of policy formulation.

Kaplan pointed out, however, that a bottom-up approach to policy development was more difficult, more time-consuming, and more costly to design. It was not easy

to solicit representative views from minorities, and it was much more costly to implement policy which involved the more complex issues of empowerment for specific minorities (Kaplan 1989: 197). Kaplan's notion of bottom-up planning emphasised the importance of initiatives and involvement by lower level (micro-level) organisations, minority groups, and individuals.

### **1.9.3 Levels of Language Planning for This Study**

Different writers focus on different levels of language planning and emphasise the relationship between the levels in different ways. Cooper (1989) argued that writings on language policy considered the target population for language planning at the national or societal level. Some writers, however, focused their discussion on the need for language planning for minority groups, defined in terms of ethnicity, religion, occupation and so forth.

Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) formulated a language planning model called 'language management' which sought to link the micro- and macro-levels of planning in a particular language. They argued that language planning also needed to be directed towards small groups such as schools, classrooms, neighbourhoods, families and individuals. A view of language planning as a sequence of decisions at the family level is important because it points to some of the factors at the lower level which constrain language planning at the higher levels. This, in turn, means that the language planners need to think in terms of the bridge which links macro-level decisions and top-down policy making activities to micro-level decisions and bottom-up policy making activities. It is the contention of this study that policy cannot be effectively implemented and that its success and failure cannot be properly understood without considering these bridges.

#### **1.9.4 Steps in the Language Planning Process: How Language is Planned**

In order to explain 'how' language is planned, scholars have argued about the varying importance that should be paid to factors such as information gathering, implementation of planning, feedback and evaluation of outcomes. Rubin (1971) identified several steps in the language planning process and discussed the function of each step. According to Rubin, at the fact-finding stage, the planner needs to have a certain amount of information about the situation for which the plan is to be developed. The implementation of any plan requires that language users are aware of the reasoning behind the plan and the desired outcomes. The final step in the planning process is to obtain feedback based on a general monitoring system. The planner needs to know whether the plan has in fact worked, and also to assess whether the actual outcomes match the planned or desired outcomes. Following an evaluation, it is important that the planner modify the strategies so as to better achieve the original goals.

With regard to the role of information and feedback throughout the planning process, Neustupný (1978: 259) claimed that information gathering was invaluable because it determines (1) the degree to which a language problem is systematically considered, (2) the degree to which consideration is given to linguistic and sociological theory, (3) the 'depth' of treatment given to the problems and the extent to which they are dealt with on the surface or as being related to 'deeper' more complex issues, and (4) the rationality with which a language problem is treated, the extent to which goals are set, the thoroughness with which strategies are planned and solutions evaluated.

Whereas Rubin's (1971) model did not pay particular attention to the individual speaker's discourse level, Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) made their concern with this

level explicit. Their model focused on language management both at the micro-level of the individual's discourse, and at the macro- or organisational level. Jernudd-Neustupný's model was based on Neustupný's correction theory of language problems (1976, 1978, 1985), in which the speaker's correction behaviour in the problematic contact situations becomes the central concern.

Language management in discourse was viewed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987: 75-76) as a process in which language was monitored by the speaker or writer and by the hearer or reader, who relied on the norms they possessed as a means of noting deviations. It was important to these researchers that deviations from the norms were negatively evaluated so that inadequacies could be established. Corrective strategies then need to be designed, and the appropriate adjustments made. The process was completed when correction had been implemented. Thus, the correction of inadequacies in an individual's speech became the main concern in Jernudd-Neustupný's language management model. The Jernudd-Neustupný model raised questions about the conditions or environment which best facilitated individual corrections of inadequacies in speaking or writing (Jernudd 1983: 352).

As stated at the beginning of this section, language planning is a necessary process for language maintenance (Fishman 1966). The mechanism by which language planning occurs may be highlighted by Cooper's (1989) question, 'Who plans what for whom and how?' This study of language maintenance is informed by the notion of levels. Attention is given to identifying the person's needs to the ideas about the steps involved in the planning and to the ways in which planning is implemented.

### **1.10 Objectives of This Study**

This study was designed to examine the success in language maintenance of Japanese school children residing in Melbourne. The study provides an account of how families and individuals seek to maintain their proficiency in Japanese. It considers the effects of those attempts on the children's Japanese proficiency in several given contexts. More specifically, this study aims to:

- (1) measure the success of language maintenance in terms of Japanese language proficiency;
- (2) identify the causation of the difference in maintenance outcomes among the children;
- (3) highlight factors and strategies related to maintenance in order to understand the maintenance process;
- (4) evaluate the effects of parental attitudes towards language planning on the maintenance outcomes; and
- (5) consider the implications which emerge from the study for further assisting families and local schools, which wish to engage in planning for language maintenance.

To realise these aims, the next chapter will be concerned with the language issues relating to Japanese children living outside Japan. Chapter Three will then describe the methodology used for this study. Chapters Four and Five will be devoted to the assessment of maintenance levels. The assessment results obtained in Chapters Four and Five will be combined in Chapter Six, which will then be used for the factor analysis in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight examines the parental attitudes towards their child's Japanese language maintenance. The concluding chapter will relate the findings back to the broader context in which language maintenance and planning occurs for minority languages.

### **1.11 Closing Remarks**

This chapter introduced the present study into the general context of language maintenance studies. The field of language maintenance research has been firmly established and has been supplied with its theoretical and methodological insights by a large number of language contact and language choice studies. Maintenance is a characteristic of bilingual or multilingual communities. At the micro-level (i.e., individual and family levels), maintenance outcomes are largely affected by or controlled by the speakers' behaviour towards the language. This chapter considered the language maintenance of Japanese school children within a framework of language planning at the micro-level and presented the objectives of this study.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**LANGUAGE ISSUES RELATING TO**  
**JAPANESE CHILDREN LIVING OUTSIDE JAPAN**

**2.1 Introduction**

The preceding discussion of language maintenance introduces a body of literature which provides useful guidelines for considering how Japanese children abroad maintain their proficiency in the Japanese language. The discussion suggested that it may be useful to consider the children's efforts at language maintenance using the framework of 'language planning' with a focus on the micro-level. Language planning at the family level plays an important role in creating an environment conducive to the children maintaining their proficiency in Japanese. This chapter introduces some of the published findings about the success of Japanese children overseas in maintaining their Japanese language proficiency. First, some studies on the language behaviour of Japanese children living outside Japan will be outlined. The discussion will then proceed to a consideration of Japanese children living in Melbourne.

**2.2 Studies of Language Contact of Japanese Children Living Outside Japan**

Studies of the *kikokushijo* (Japanese children who go overseas with their parents and return home after a few years abroad) (Goodman 1990) have focused primarily on the problems such children encounter when they return to Japan. Although there are a large number of studies carried out on the *kikokushijo*, few have dealt with the actual language behaviour of Japanese children currently residing outside Japan. However, the studies in the United States (Iwasaki 1982; Minoura 1984; Okamura-Bichard 1985; Hakuta 1986; Kondo 1998), Canada (Nakajima 1988, 1991; Cummins and Nakajima

1990; Noro 1990), and Brazil (Kanazawa and Loveday 1988) provide some insight into such behaviour. In Australia, very little research has been conducted, and it has focused mainly on the behaviour of the children of business sojourners. Mabuchi (1996a, 1996b) investigated friendships between these children and Australian children in the same local community (Morwell, Victoria). Yoshimitsu (1996), also conducted research on Japanese children living in Morwell, investigating around 70 Japanese families in terms of their Japanese language maintenance while temporarily residing in Australia.

Most of the studies on language maintenance mentioned above have concentrated on the children of temporary residents living overseas owing to business or professional requirements, permanent residents and immigrants. Some have been concerned with second language learning, cultural adaptation, and friendship with local children. Others have considered the correlation between L1 and L2 linguistic skills (e.g., with L1 maintenance and its development in relation to learning a second language such as English). There are also studies which have dealt with language contact and language shift among different generations of Japanese migrants. The literature on the language behaviour of Japanese language speakers outside Japan is introduced in the following section.

### **2.2.1 Learning Two Languages: Language Maintenance and Second Language Learning**

Over a decade ago Okamura-Bichard (1985) studied Japanese children temporarily residing in the United States. She focused on the degree to which they maintained their first language (Japanese) and the way in which their second language (English) was learned. Her study considered a large number of factors affecting the individuals' success or failure in learning the two languages. The results revealed that there was no

relationship between: (1) the length of schooling in Japan and the level of Japanese language skills, (2) the level of intelligence of the children and their ability in either of the two languages, or (3) a student's ability in Japanese and their ability in English.

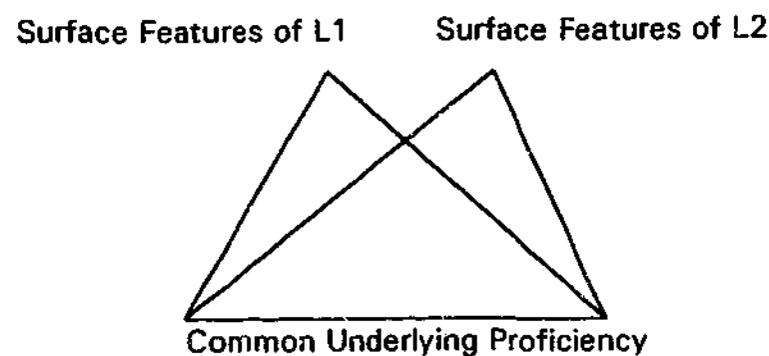
She concluded that similarly positioned students could be very different in their patterns of language development. Some children learned the two languages relatively well; others did poorly in both. Some learned the second language but neglected their first language, while others retained their first language well but acquired the second language rather slowly. The research confirmed that these differences were not attributable to uncontrollable factors such as the level of intelligence or the years of schooling in the first or second language environment. Rather, it pointed to the importance of personal views and attitudes. Parents were in a position to provide important support and often determined children's language behaviour, particularly in terms of maintaining their first language. However, in terms of relative importance, the children's interests, attitudes and the extent to which they used the language contributed most significantly to the level achieved in each language.

### **2.2.2 L1 and L2 Interdependence Hypothesis**

In bilingual program evaluations in Canada nearly two decades ago, Cummins (1980, 1981) hypothesised that the learning of L1 and the learning of L2 were interdependent processes in bilingual children. Since then, a number of empirical studies have been conducted in different language settings and with different languages. This hypothesis suggested that a child's second language competence was partly dependent on the level of competence already achieved in the first language. The more developed the first language, the easier it would be to develop competence in the second language. Conversely, when the first language was at a low stage of development, it would be

difficult to achieve bilingual competence. Cummins' model of bilingual proficiency, dubbed the 'Dual Iceberg' model, is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: The 'Dual Iceberg' representation of bilingual proficiency



Source: Cummins (1980), p. 42.

Further research by Cummins (1984) on his hypothesis led to a distinction between surface fluency (i.e., basic interpersonal communication skills [BICS]), and the more evolved language skills required to benefit from the education process (i.e., cognitive academic language proficiency [CALP]). In a test of the 'interdependence hypothesis', Cummins (1984) and Cummins and Nakajima (1990) found a moderately strong correlation between the reading skills in L1 and the corresponding set of skills in L2 among Japanese students residing in Canada, even though the orthographies of the two languages were dissimilar. Their findings suggest that certain cognitive and personality attributes of the students, particularly their literacy competence in L1, contributed significantly to the acquisition of certain aspects of L2 despite the dissimilarity of the languages and their writing systems.

Nakajima (1988) reported findings from a survey of Japanese immigrant children in Canada who had studied Japanese for more than 10 years at a Japanese school in Toronto. This survey focused on features of their Japanese language, on the relationship between competence in English and in Japanese, and on their maintenance

of Japanese. With regard to the Japanese language competence of these children, Nakajima found a very large discrepancy between their conversational and literacy skills. Nakajima estimated that their literacy skills were approximately six years behind their conversational skills in both languages.

Nakajima's (1988) findings were consistent with the 'interdependence hypothesis' of Cummins (1980, 1981) concerning the development of proficiency in both L1 and L2. She concluded by noting the need to identify (1) the real first language and (2) the language teaching method best for each student. Simply using L1 teaching methods or teaching Japanese as a foreign language were not seen as solutions by Nakajima. She argued for a new Japanese language teaching method, which would meet the needs of these children. Such an approach was seen as being more balanced and as being necessary if the students were to bring both their conversational skills and their literacy skills to age-appropriate levels.

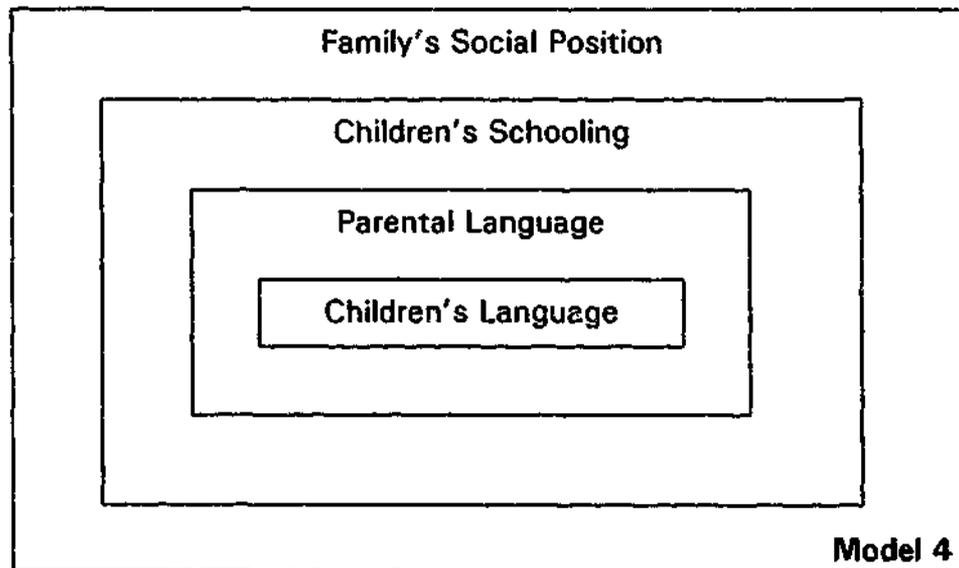
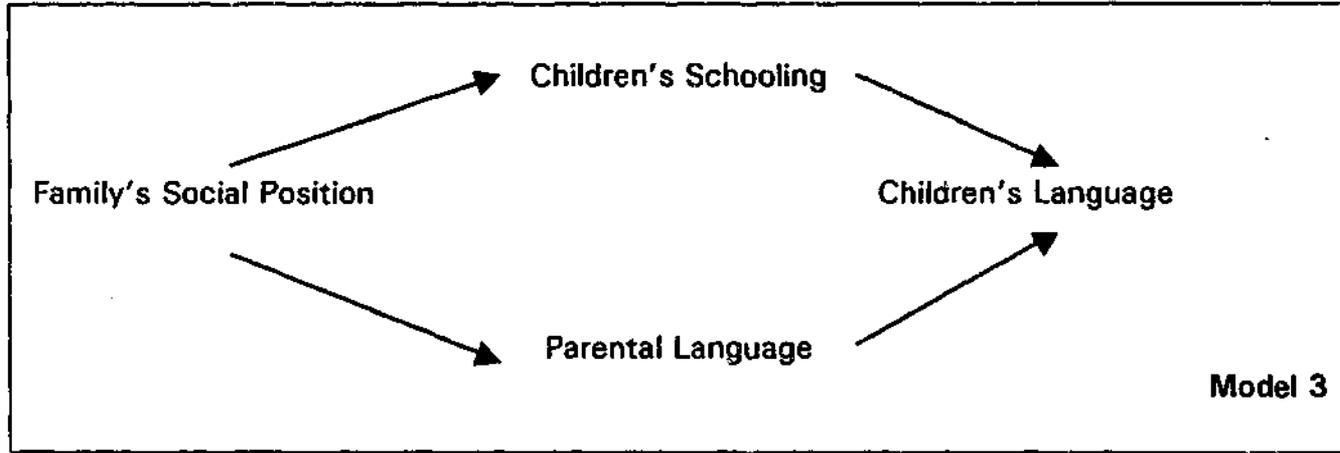
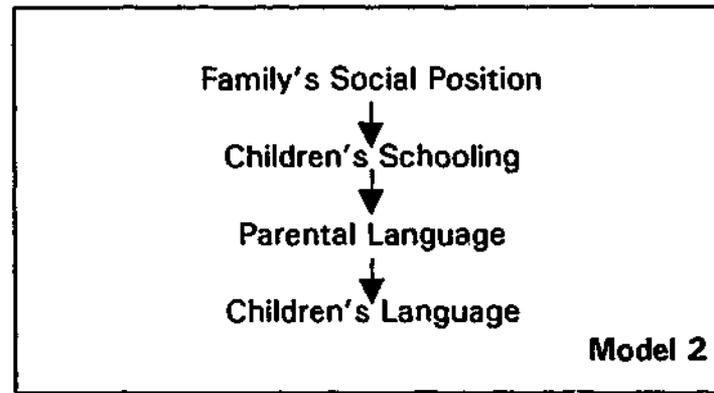
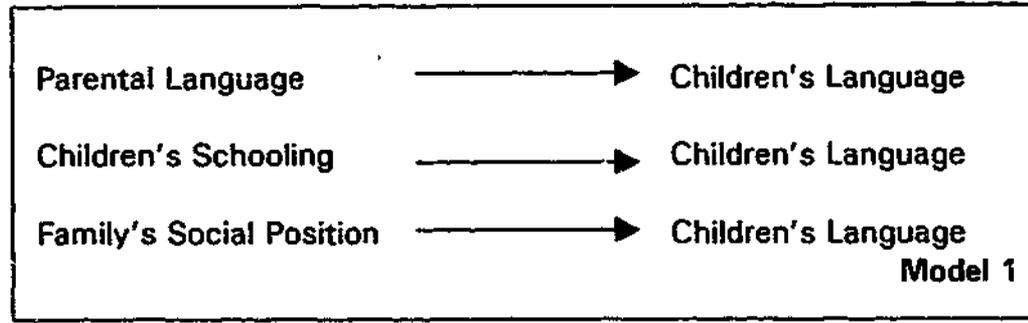
### **2.2.3 Language Maintenance and the Family Environment**

Noro (1990) investigated the relationship between language maintenance and family environment among Japanese children from two different Japanese language schools in Toronto. One school was designed to cater for the children of employees of Japanese business firms in Ontario. The other was founded by postwar Japanese immigrants for their children. Although it is not clear from her description whether the first school was similar to the Japanese Saturday School in Melbourne (which is to be the focus of this study) or whether the majority of the students attending that school were the children of Japanese businessmen sojourners in Canada, she nevertheless investigated two kinds of Saturday school. The study found a link between the family's socio-economic background and the children's language development. The children's

schooling and parental language were seen as intervening variables. The study produced data on four variables: (1) parental attitudes and behaviour towards their child's language development; (2) the child's schooling experience; (3) the family's social position as defined by the father's occupational status in Canada; and (4) the child's language dominance and proficiency.

Noro presented four theoretical models (presented in Figure 2.2 below) of how the children maintained their levels of Japanese language proficiency. Model 1 proposed that there were one-to-one relationships between the children's language development and the other variables such as parental language choice, children's schooling and the family's social position. That is, children's language development could vary according to each variable. Model 2 posited that each variable had different degrees of importance on the children's language development: the family's social position was the most important followed by the children's schooling, and finally the parent's language choice. Model 3 also provided another variation of ranked ordering of the differing importance of each variable. Noro's Model 4 was derived from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) environmental theory in which the environment for human development was seen as a nested structure consisting of several layers. This model also involved four independent variables. The diagram should be interpreted as a set of nested structures, each component inside the next, with the outer variables influencing the inner ones. Noro concluded that her data lent support to these theoretical models, especially Models 3 and 4. Collectively the data confirmed the existence of a strong linkage between each family's social background and each child's Japanese language maintenance.

Figure 2.2: Noro's (1990) four theoretical models for maintenance study



#### 2.2.4 Language Shift in Relation to Generations

Kanazawa and Loveday's (1988) study described language contact and language shift among different generations of Japanese immigrants in Brazil. Japanese Brazilians constitute the largest overseas Japanese community in the world. At the time of their investigation, the Japanese population in Brazil numbered 491,000 (Loveday 1986: 29-31). Kanazawa and Loveday considered that a number of social factors accounted for the abandonment of the ethnic code, that is, the Japanese language. Their study also dealt with how Japanese Brazilians experienced language shift over three generations. The language shift from their first to second languages often followed a set course, starting with borrowing and pidginisation in the first generation, followed by bilingualism and code-switching in the second generation. Portuguese monolingualism tended to characterise the third generation.

Kanazawa and Loveday found that use of Japanese in the Japanese Brazilian community was rapidly diminishing. This was in spite of the existence of Japanese language media. Three daily newspapers, several commercial radio stations and a television broadcasting service were available in São Paulo, where the largest number of Japanese Brazilians lived. In 1972 the maintenance or revival of Japanese competence was supported by 340 part-time Japanese language schools. However, by the late 1980s the number of schools had dropped sharply. Kanazawa and Loveday argued that a knowledge of Portuguese had an immediate practical value in social and economic terms whereas Japanese served only as a symbol of ethnicity identity for the third generation and had little practical value, as both linguistic and emotional ties with Japan weakened within their communities. Instead, a new linguistic and ethnic identity as Brazilians had developed.

### 2.2.5 Some Unresolved Issues for Further Research

The contrast between the findings of Okamura-Bichard (1985) and Noro (1990) deserves further attention. Does language maintenance occur by chance? Can individuals alter their rates of achievement in developing and maintaining language usage proficiency? On the one hand, Okamura-Bichard (1985) found that similarly positioned students differed markedly in their patterns of language development. Yet she found that the differences were not attributable to uncontrollable factors such as the level of intelligence of the student or the years of schooling in the first and second language environments. Noro (1990), on the other hand, claimed that family's socio-economical background strongly conditioned the family's language policy, and that the language environment in turn shaped the achievements of the children. Kanazawa and Loveday's (1988) study in Brazil, however, revealed that the institutional support through the media and schools, which created a suitable language maintenance environment, failed to motivate the second- and third-generation Japanese in Brazil.

The findings of these studies suggest that the level of Japanese language maintenance achieved by Japanese children living outside Japan may depend on a complex interaction of a range of factors, such as parental language usage, the family's socio-economical background, the choice of schooling, friendship networks, and the length of residence in the host country. The question thus remains: what, then, is best for the children? In what environment, and with what conditions, are children motivated to maintain Japanese? In this regard, Nakajima (1988) makes the pertinent claim that a more balanced approach between the written and the spoken language was necessary, if the needs of Japanese children living outside Japan were to be met. As Li Wei (1997b) argues, the study of language maintenance should not merely be a descriptive account of 'who speaks what language to whom and when', but a more

critical evaluation of 'who maintains/relinquishes which language, how and why' (Li Wei 1997b: 148-149).

### **2.3 The Morwell Study: Towards A Framework for the Study of Maintenance of Japanese Children in Melbourne**

Morwell is a small Australian community located approximately 150 kilometres east of Melbourne. In 1982, a joint venture between four Japanese companies and the State Government of Victoria was established in Morwell to build an experimental plant to gather data on the feasibility of converting brown coal to oil. From 1983 until the closure of the pilot plant in 1991, about 200 to 250 Japanese people (consisting of 70 employees and their families) lived in Morwell. The school-aged children of these Japanese employees all attended the same Australian state school. However, they were educated both in Japanese and in English. Described as a 'school within a school' (Mabuchi 1996a, 1996b), the resultant education system provided Japanese children with opportunities to maintain their Japanese while also acquiring English language skills within the one school.

In short, several classrooms were used by teachers employed directly from Japan to teach the Japanese language and mathematics to the Japanese children for two periods each day, approximately 90 minutes. For the rest of the day, the Japanese children were integrated into the other classes with the Australian children, while selected classes of local children were taught the Japanese language by the teachers from Japan at their 'school within a school'. The parents of Japanese children in general believed that this arrangement would provide an ideal schooling system for their children. The Japanese companies (who were responsible for the family's welfare during their stay in Morwell) also shared the parents' approval of the system.

The relationship between the level of language maintenance and a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors was investigated by the researcher in a previous study (Yoshimitsu 1996). The results confirmed that the language maintenance of the Japanese children at Morwell was generally good. However, the children did have problems in some language areas when compared with children living in Japan who would have developed competence in each of the general areas examined. Nevertheless, such problems were relatively few.

Two methods of investigation were utilised in the Morwell study. One was to conduct informal language maintenance tests during the individual interviews with the children. The other was to analyse their discourse during the interviews. The children's Japanese language performance during the interviews was examined from several perspectives. Particular attention was given to interference from English in their use of loan words, the amount of English which was mixed with their Japanese (mainly on the lexical level), their ability to count large numerals in Japanese, their knowledge of Japanese counting suffixes, weak areas of their vocabulary, and their control of the level of speech, especially politeness.

The main factors operating to promote the use of the Japanese language among the children in Morwell were: (1) Japanese schooling, (2) parental attitude towards language maintenance, (3) children's free time for language-oriented but enjoyable activities such as reading, video viewing and computer games, (4) friendship networks with other Japanese, (5) family's visits to Japan, and (6) the number of visitors coming from Japan. The findings from this study were threefold. First, the environment in which language maintenance occurred depended on the arrival time of each child. Some had arrived in Morwell during the pioneering period when only a few Japanese were there; others had arrived after the Japanese community was firmly established in

Morwell. Parents who came in the early years were more conscious of the need to have a language maintenance strategy in place for their children. Parents who arrived after the Morwell Japanese community had been established seemed to place more emphasis on acquiring English than on Japanese language maintenance. Thus the timing of the family's arrival in Morwell correlated with the attitudes of parents towards their child's language maintenance. Accordingly, it was found that longer residence in Morwell did not result in poorer maintenance as long as suitable maintenance measures were taken. Finally, the Japanese school within the Australian state school played an important role in assisting children to maintain their level of Japanese language proficiency.

These findings from the Morwell case study are relevant to our understanding of the children of Melbourne's sojourners from Japan. However, the current study was designed to investigate whether the language behaviour of the permanent resident children was any different to the sojourner children. If so, the challenge is then to explain the reason for any variation in the language behaviour. A number of factors contributing to this will be considered in the following sections.

#### **2.4 The Japanese Community in Australia**

Before describing the two groups of Japanese children in Melbourne who were chosen for this study, a brief profile of the Japanese community in Australia and in Melbourne will be presented in this section.

Atsumi (1992) used the 1986 Australian Census data to provide an overview of the Japanese born population in Australia. She found that Japanese born residents in Australia constituted a very small segment (0.07 percent) of the Australian population, and that 58.1 percent of the Japanese population resided either in Sydney (40.6 percent).

or in Melbourne (17.5 percent). The 1991 Australian Census figures (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994) recorded 18,441 Japanese residents who had been born outside Australia. Japan ranked 83rd in the top 100 birthplaces of Australian residents. The number of Australian-born residents with Japanese parents was reported to be 4,889. Mizukami (1993) cited Japanese Government data for 1992 showing that the Japanese population in Australia numbered 17,876 Japanese nationals (11,567 temporary residents and 6,309 permanent residents). Even though the Japanese population in Australia grew considerably from 1986 to 1991, the Japanese community in Australia remains very small.

Mizukami found that the Japanese in Australia are not a homogeneous group. They include (1) immigrants, (2) permanent residents, (3) temporary residents, and (4) short-term visitors, namely, tourists (Mizukami 1993: 249-251). The proportion of the Japanese population according to three residential categories, excluding tourists, was roughly 1 immigrant to 2 permanent residents to 4 temporary residents. In 1992, the majority consisted of temporary residents (Mizukami 1993: 250). The strong representation of sojourners in the Japanese community was reflected in the relatively short period of residence (in Australia) recorded for all Japanese in Australia. 60 percent of temporary residents had been in Australia for less than four years (Atsumi 1992: 28).

In regard to their occupational profile, 55.6 percent of temporary residents consisted of expatriate business people and their families (Mizukami 1993: 250), referred to as 'business sojourners' in this study (Mizukami 1993: 250). Nearly 60 percent of the business people were engaged in the private sector, working in trade, finance, insurance, travel and other industries. Not surprisingly, they were concentrated in the managerial, administrative and professional categories in much

higher proportions than was the general population in Australia (Atsumi 1992: 29). Furthermore, the 1986 Australian Census data revealed that the Japanese-born population in Australia had a high proportion of university educated persons; 19.2 percent of Japanese-born males were university educated, compared to 11.1 percent of other Asian-born males, 6.4 percent of other overseas-born males, and the even lower figure of 6.2 percent of all Australian-born males. Similar findings characterised the Japanese-born women (Atsumi 1992: 21).

#### **2.4.1 The Japanese Community in Melbourne**

As in other large cities in Australia, the Japanese in Melbourne have established their own networks and institutions. The Melbourne office of the Japan External Trade Organisation Centre (JETRO) and the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Melbourne serve as focal points for business people in the community. Two main Japanese community organisations exist: the Japanese Society of Melbourne (JSM) and the Japan Club of Victoria (JCV). While both are open to the general Japanese community in Victoria, the former organisation is generally considered to primarily serve business sojourners and their families, while the latter consists largely of immigrants and permanent residents. Two organisations in Melbourne play an important role in promoting the interface between Japanese and Australian communities: the Japan Information Service of the Consulate-General of Japan and the Australia-Japan Society of Victoria. Both Japanese and Australians participate in the numerous activities organised by these two bodies.

Two schools have been established for the Japanese children in Melbourne (Mizukami 1996). One is the Japanese School of Melbourne, a full-time Japanese

school which is known as '*Nihonjin Gakkoo*' (the Japanese School). The other is the Melbourne International School of Japanese, a Saturday supplementary Japanese school which is known as '*Doyoo Koo*' (the Japanese Saturday School). The Japanese School was opened in May 1986 as a result of an initiative of business sojourners. Its formation was supported by the Japanese Government and the State Government of Victoria. The school basically follows the same curriculum that is used in Japan. In 1995, the school had 73 primary-level children and 25 junior high school-level children (Mizukami 1996: 164), with a total number of 16 teachers, most of whom were sent from Japan by the Japanese Government (Source: Guide to the Japanese School of Melbourne 1995).

The Japanese Saturday School was established in April 1986, a month before the full-time Japanese School of Melbourne opened. It was established by a group of parents who wished to have their children study Japanese at a supplementary Japanese school. A previously existing Japanese Saturday school was closed with the opening of the full-time Japanese School. At the time of investigation, the Japanese Saturday School was run by a school committee formed by the parents. The Japanese Saturday School basically taught two subjects; Japanese language (*Kokugo*) and mathematics. In 1995, 255 children were enrolled in the school, more than twice the number at the full-time Japanese School. This consisted of 53 at the preparatory level, 129 at the primary-level, 38 at the junior high school-level, 12 at the high school level, and 23 in the *Kokusai Gakkyuu* (Mizukami 1996: 161). The *Kokusai Gakkyuu* is a class for the children of mixed marriages and for children who had resided outside Japan for a long period of time without Japanese schooling. It also included Australian children. More than two-thirds of the children had fathers who were business sojourners.

## **2.5 The Language Situations of Japanese Children in Melbourne**

Among the Japanese families residing in Australia where the parents are Japanese, it is common practice for Japanese to be used as the language at home. This is especially true with regard to parent-to-child communication. Because English is the dominant language in Australia, most of the Melbourne Japanese children initially acquire their first language (Japanese) at home from their parents and from other members of their immediate family. Their second language (English) is learned from people outside the home. Using Japanese at home and English outside the home, Japanese children lead a bilingual existence. The life of bilingual children was studied by many researchers in detail (e.g., Grosjean 1982; Saunders 1982, 1988; Fantini 1985; Harding and Riley 1986; de Jong 1986; Arnberg 1987; Romaine 1989; Döpke 1992). These studies suggest that the parents' and child's conscious and systematic long-term efforts are required if a child is to bridge the linguistic and socio-cultural differences reflected in the two languages. It might be expected that Japanese children in a two-language environment in Australia would experience a number of language difficulties, in each language and in each situation.

The children in this study were selected from two sub-groups in the Japanese community of Melbourne: the sojourner group, being the majority in the community, and the permanent resident group, the second largest group in the community. Sojourners and permanent residents have fundamentally different experiences of residing in Australia. Sojourners have the clear intention of returning home after achieving some goals in Australia or at the expiration of a given period of time. Permanent residents have various reasons for establishing their lives in a different country, becoming a member of that society, and permanently settling down. It is reasonable to expect that such differences in residency status would affect the attitudes

of parents towards their children's education, and that they would organise the education of their children differently from the parents who are permanent residents.

Japanese children sojourning overseas must eventually return to Japan and enter its education system. This basic fact colours every aspect of their experience abroad. The children of permanent residents are likely to become second-generation permanent residents. Many acquire Japanese as their first language and have first-language proficiency in Japanese until they go to an Australian school. However, their use of Japanese gradually declines, and Japanese gradually drops in status from being their first language to being their second language. In these circumstances, a child needs to be exceptionally motivated to use Japanese and needs to be in an environment conducive to Japanese language maintenance if he or she is to maintain it as the first language.

### **2.5.1 Sojourner Children**

For sojourner children, living in a new culture and learning a new language are part of a dynamic process. The use of English as the medium of instruction at school is a very important element reinforcing their learning of English. However, the sudden exposure to an English-speaking environment may have less salubrious effects on their overall development. Children may seek to withdraw from the bombardment of new stimuli. Some may waver back and forth between periods when English becomes the stronger or the weaker of their two languages, and then gradually formulate a set of rules by which they decide on situations in which each language is used. Rather than becoming fully bilingual, they may learn to switch from one language to the other as the situation changes.

Many sojourning parents maintain Japanese educational norms. While coping with a new language and a new social environment, sojourner children must keep up their study of Japanese in order to be able to re-enter the Japanese education system as smoothly as possible should their family return to Japan. Many researchers have provided accounts of this phenomenon (e.g., Goodman 1990; Nakanishi *et al.* 1993, Yashiro 1995). One can read these largely anecdotal accounts in *Kaigai Shijo Kyooiku Sentaa Kenkyuu Kiyoo* (Bulletin of Centre for the Education of Children Overseas), which has been published since 1982 by the Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University. Many of the basic difficulties these children face in re-entering Japanese society result from an insufficient command of the Japanese language.

### **2.5.2 Permanent Resident Children**

Although their parents may not have a firm plan to return to Japan, the children of permanent residents acquire Japanese as their dominant language largely in the family domain and as the medium of instruction at the Japanese Saturday School. Their motivation in acquiring Japanese differs from that of the sojourner children. Their maintenance of Japanese is similar to the process of language maintenance in many other ethnic communities in Australia. Research conducted on language maintenance among ethnic communities in Australia has shown that the language shift from the minority language to the dominant language has taken place over several generations, although there was variation from one community to another in the rapidity with which this shift occurs (Garner 1985; Clyne 1982, 1991; Pauwels 1988; Romaine 1991, Clyne and Kipp 1997). English normally receives strong and systematic support in the educational domain through compulsory school education, whereas ethnic language

maintenance is often left to the individual efforts of parents and the children. Usually, the children's use of their ethnic language is restricted to a very narrow range of communicative situations. These children acquire what Cummins (1984) calls 'BICS' (basic interpersonal communication skills). They include a range of linguistic skills necessary for functioning in everyday contexts. However, it is more difficult for them to acquire 'CALP' (cognitive academic language proficiency) (Cummins 1984), the broader range of skills required when venturing beyond everyday communication situations.

## **2.6 Closing Remarks**

This chapter has discussed issues relating to the maintenance of Japanese language proficiency among Japanese children living outside Japan. A brief profile of the Japanese community in Australia and more specific profiles of the Japanese community in Melbourne were presented in order to highlight the situation in which Japanese children find themselves in Australia. The discussion has focused on the language situations of the Japanese children in Melbourne and on how the parents of two different residential groups organise the maintenance of their child's Japanese in Australia. The following questions arise: How are permanently or temporarily residing children motivated to acquire or to retain Japanese? How are they positioned to experience a range of settings, including the home situation and the educational situation? Finally, how do motivation and positioning affect the overall level of Japanese maintenance among Japanese children in Melbourne? These are central questions to be examined in this study.

The following chapter will present (1) a means of examining maintenance outcomes in terms of the children's Japanese proficiency in the spoken discourse, (2)

an explanation of the dependent, independent and intervening variables associated with language maintenance, and (3) a method for collecting data. It will also discuss how a sample of children was drawn from each group (the permanent residents and the sojourners). Later chapters will then present the findings for each group of children. Ultimately, the two groups will be compared to identify whether there are any differences or similarities in outcomes and strategies relating to Japanese language maintenance. The findings will then be used as a basis for making recommendations for Japanese children in Melbourne.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

Language maintenance and language shift are most often studied using the methods commonly found in anthropology and sociology. Observation and participant-observation (sometimes supplemented by questionnaire or survey data) is a technique developed by anthropologists and anthropological linguists (e.g., Rubin 1968; Gal 1979; Sankoff 1980; Dorian 1981). Many researchers have tried to observe their subjects in as many normally occurring situations as possible to gain insights from uncontrolled behaviour. When they study language choice, language maintenance and language shift become two sides of the same phenomenon. Based on their observations they claim that shift or maintenance is or is not occurring, and that the members of a particular bilingual or multilingual speech community are making one language choice or another. More problematic is the study of why choices are made. Attitudes and cultural values cannot be observed in any straightforward manner.

Sociologists and sociolinguists are more likely to use census or other survey data than are the anthropologists (e.g., Clyne 1982, 1991; Fishman *et al.* 1985; Fishman 1989, 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1997). They also seem to be more concerned with generalising across societies. Rather than intensively studying a particular community to search through minute processes for specific acts of language maintenance or language shift, these scholars seem to be more interested in survey data which can be gathered from as many communities as possible. Surveys are most useful in providing data on easily measured phenomena. Such information can usually be presented in

numerical form and statistically analysed, with debate often centering on the strength of trends and correlations.

This study is concerned with strategies or programs designed to maintain the minority language (Japanese) at the individual and the family level. The case study approach was adopted with both qualitative and quantitative techniques being utilised. The analysis focused on data collected from 'language interviews' and naturally occurring oral discourse. The data was supported with information obtained from participant observation. This approach was seen as yielding the most realistic language maintenance profile of the children's efforts and outcomes in language maintenance. This was felt to be more reliable than reports on language behaviour, knowledge or attitudes towards language maintenance.

### **3.2 Toward A Definition of Language Maintenance**

In the literature the term 'language maintenance' refers to consistent patterns of language choice (Fasold 1984: 213) between or among codes available in a bilingual or multilingual community, and the degree of fluency a speaker has in each of the codes. Fishman (1966: 424-426) defined language maintenance as a degree of habitual correctness in using a language in a foreign environment. This implies that those maintaining a language are bilingual in some way. Correctness in language choice, Fishman maintained, was affected by, and sensitive to, a range of external and internal factors such as the 'location' or 'place and setting', the 'situation' or 'degree of formality', the 'topic', and the 'participants' or 'interlocutors'. These are the variables which appeared in Rubin's (1968) 'decision tree for language choice', Fishman's (1972) 'domain analysis', and Fasold's (1984) 'community structure'.

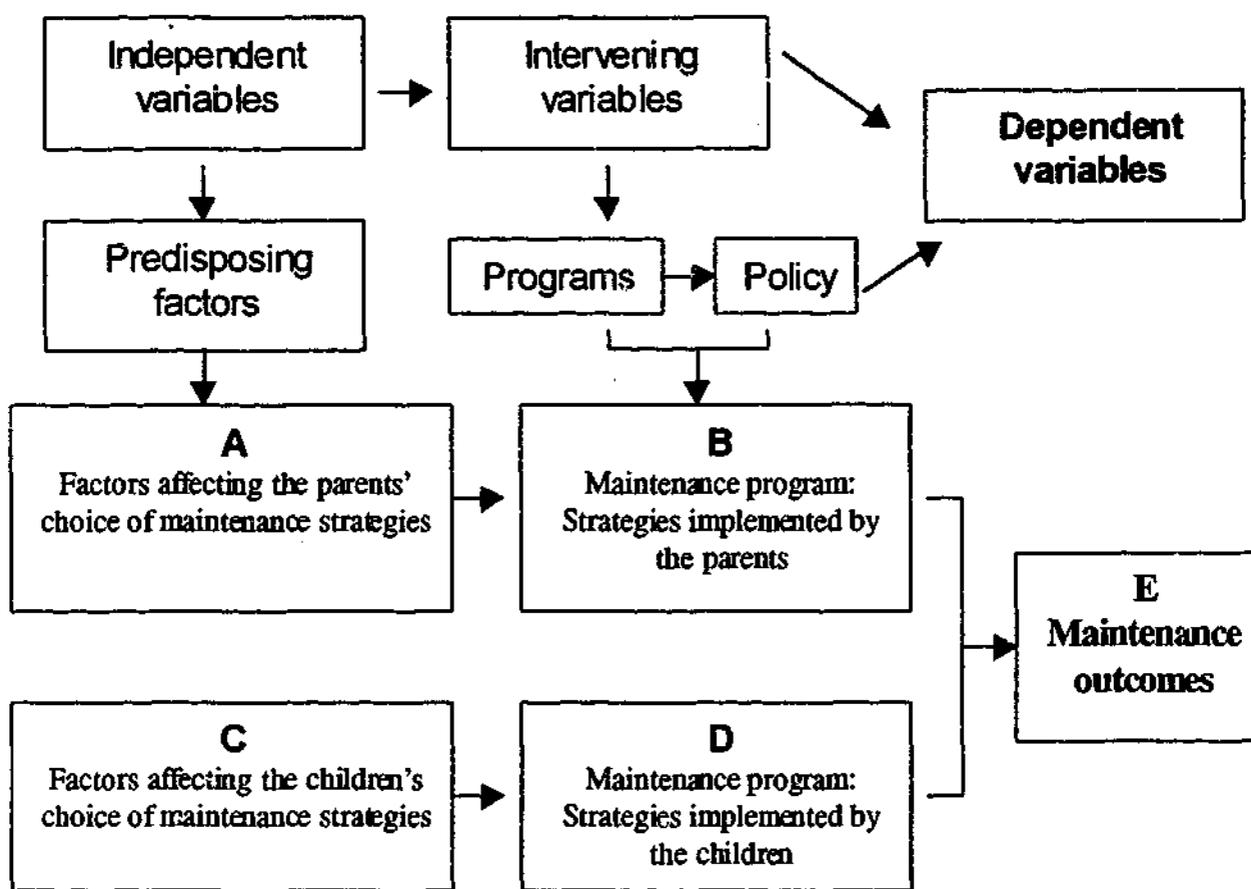
The term 'language maintenance' as it is used in the literature refers both (1) to the maintenance process, namely 'language planning', or the effort to manipulate on independent or intermediate variables and (2) to the outcome of such maintenance, that which is maintained as the dependent variable. In this study, the term 'maintenance program' is used to refer to the process of language maintenance: language planning or strategies for language maintenance. The term 'maintenance outcome' is used to refer to the level of proficiency in Japanese language which the subject (a child in this study) achieves. The 'maintenance outcome' is the dependent variable. As a complex set of interrelated processes, the 'maintenance program' (as described below in Section 3.6) is considered to be an intervening variable. It is the set of actual behaviours or situational arrangements which result from the planning and which directly shape the 'maintenance outcome'.

### **3.3 Operationalisation of Key Variables**

This study is concerned with how maintenance policies result in programs, which then result in maintenance outcomes. An overview of the framework is presented in Figure 3.1. An extensive review of the literature revealed that a variety of factors are likely to influence language maintenance. From among those factors, a number have been chosen for examination in this research. While the choice of variables related to language maintenance for this research was an arbitrary one, the choice was based on the assumption that the child's maintenance outcome was the result of the combined efforts of the parents and the child concerned. However, the efforts of parents in designing strategies or maintenance programs for their child have a different status to those of the child, as parents have access to a range of resources not available to the child. Accordingly, two major groups of independent variables were envisaged for this

study: parental variables affecting their choice of a program for children's maintenance (Box A in Figure 3.1) and the child's variables affecting their own choice of a program for their own language maintenance (Box C). The strategies in the process that links the independent variables (factors) and dependent variables (maintenance outcomes in Box E) are the intervening variables (the maintenance programs). Intervening variables can in a similar fashion be classified into two groups: those in Box B which are the parents' program variables and child's maintenance program variables in Box D. Each set of variables is explained successively in Sections 3.4 to 3.6.

Figure 3.1: The Key Variables and their Interrelationship in this Study



Notes: Items in Boxes A, B, C and D above are shown below.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>A</b> <b>Factors affecting the parents' choice of maintenance strategies</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Residential status</li> <li>2. Length of residence</li> <li>3. Previous overseas experience</li> <li>4. Occupation</li> <li>5. English proficiency (mothers)</li> <li>6. Cultural orientation (father's)</li> <li>7. Cultural orientation (mothers)</li> <li>8. Maintenance consciousness</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>B</b> <b>Maintenance program: Strategies implemented by the parents</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Language use at home</li> <li>2. Arrangement for supplementary study</li> <li>3. Temporary return to Japan (<i>ichiji kikoku</i>)</li> <li>4. Experience of Japanese schooling (<i>taiken nyuugaku</i>)</li> <li>5. Use of maintenance aids</li> <li>6. Japanese networks in Melbourne</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>C</b> <b>Factors affecting the children's choice of maintenance strategies</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gender</li> <li>2. Residential status</li> <li>3. Length of residence</li> <li>4. Schooling in Japan</li> <li>5. Japanese schooling in Australia</li> <li>6. Everyday Japanese proficiency</li> <li>7. Academic Japanese proficiency</li> <li>8. Preferred language</li> <li>9. Language used with siblings</li> <li>10. Age of siblings</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>D</b> <b>Maintenance program: Strategies implemented by the children</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Code selection</li> <li>2. Video viewing</li> <li>3. Reading books</li> <li>4. Participation in peer group activities</li> <li>5. Keeping a group diary with close Japanese Friends</li> <li>6. Initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance</li> </ol>

### **3.4 The Dependent Variable Cluster: A Means of Measuring Maintenance Outcomes**

This research is designed to explain why certain Japanese language maintenance outcomes occur in Japanese children living in Melbourne. An understanding of the set of dependent variables is central to such an assessment. What is the most valid method of evaluating a child's language performance, especially in the expressive channel of communication?

#### **3.4.1 Language Proficiency Assessment**

The definition of proficiency in a language and how it is measured has received considerable attention in research into the development of bilingual proficiency (e.g., Cummins 1980, 1984; Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983, 1984; Bachman 1990). A major early contribution to the field was made by Hymes (1972) whose notion of communicative competence provided a broader view of language. According to Hymes (1972), communicative competence involved knowing not only the language code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation. Thus, it also included the social and cultural knowledge speakers were presumed to have in order to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms.

In the language testing field, there has been a growing trend towards considering the assessment of language proficiency from the perspective of language use and communication. Such an approach expanded the concept beyond the knowledge of discrete grammatical forms to incorporate overall skills in using language for natural purposes in realistic situations. However, attempts to assess language proficiency quantitatively inevitably failed to give the entire picture. As Davies (1990: 51-69) claimed, testing in the field of social science is prone to error, and this proneness is

even greater when the content of the test is language. He argued that this is not so much because of the instruments used for the testing, but because of the uncertainty or vagueness of what is to be tested (i.e., the language in its fullest sense). Bachman (1990) also pointed out that external influences such as the test environment, test rubric, format of the test, nature of the test language and nature of test response were likely to affect the language competence profile of the person tested often in a negative way. These arguments indicate the difficulties in measuring communicative proficiency in an unbiased, comprehensive, valid and reliable way. It is necessary to be aware of the complex nature of communicative competence and the potential consequences of misjudgments when deciding upon procedures and instruments for language assessment.

#### **3.4.2 Communicative Approach for Language Proficiency Assessment**

In order to design the instruments for maintenance assessment, this study adapted two models of language competence assessment: Canale and Swaine's model of language competence (Canale and Swaine 1980; Canale 1983, 1984) and Bachman's (1990) model. The former model focuses on four components in language competence assessment: (1) a linguistic component which involved mastery of the language code either verbally or nonverbally (e.g., features such as lexical items, rules of sentence formation, pronunciation and literal meaning); (2) a sociolinguistic component concerning mastery of the appropriate use of language in different sociolinguistic contexts, with an emphasis on the appropriateness of meanings and forms; (3) a discourse component concerning mastery of how to combine and interpret forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken and written text in different genres by using (a) cohesion devices to relate utterance forms and (b) coherence rules to organise meanings

such as ability to participate in sustained conversation and read sizeable written text; and (4) a strategic component which concerns mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies (a) to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to insufficient competence or to performance limitations and (b) to enhance the effectiveness of communication.

Bachman's model (1990) proposed that communicative competence was composed of two major types of competence: organised competence and pragmatic competence. The organisational component was broken down into two parts: grammatical competence (including the knowledge of vocabulary and syntax), and textual competence (including the knowledge of the conventions for joining utterances together to form a text: both written and oral text cohesion). Pragmatic competence, on the other hand, was also composed of two sub-parts: illocutionary competence (the knowledge of speech strategies and language functions) and sociolinguistic competence (sensitivity to register, dialect, and cultural figures of speech and so forth). In short, Bachman saw communicative language ability as consisting of both knowledge or competence and the capacity for implementing or executing that competence, in appropriate and contextualised communicative language use.

The notions of (1) grammatical competence, (2) sociolinguistic competence, and (3) discourse competence in the two models presented just above were particularly relevant to this study, and were carefully considered when assessing the children's Japanese language proficiency in this study. With the communicative competence approach, the oral interaction components for assessment should be designed to give the subject a chance of using the language in various face-to-face situations. For such purposes, Canale (1984:115) suggested an oral-interview consisting of four parts: (1) discussion of the student's background, current interests, and aspirations; (2) role-

playing in different situations for different purposes; (3) detailed description of an object or process presented visually; and (4) a listing of the names of objects and persons related to a common theme (for example, listing 20 objects presented in a picture of a classroom).

The measurement of language proficiency is inevitably fragmentary or imperfect, as touched upon above. The measurement of communicative competence is ambiguous due to the vagueness of the concept or the trait to be measured. Approaches based on global rating scales attempt to minimise this vagueness. This type of rating method contrasts with the discrete item method which is commonly adopted for testing linguistic competence. In the present study, both global and discrete-point measurements were adopted for assessing the children's language maintenance levels.

#### **3.4.3 Assessment Methods and Scoring Criteria**

The above discussions led to two types of assessment instruments to obtain a measurement of language maintenance outcomes using spoken discourse data. The first type consisted of language tasks in an oral-interview format, while the second type involved analysing the children's spoken discourse in interviews and in their family conversations. The decision to use these instruments arose out of experience in a pilot study of Morwell Japanese children by the researcher (see Section 2.3, Chapter Two). The language tasks consisted of four parts: (1) reading large numerals, (2) counting of objects, (3) naming of objects associated with life in Japan, and (4) describing facial expressions. The children's spoken discourse was analysed from four perspectives: (1) mixing of English into their Japanese discourse; (2) level of speech; (3) flow of discourse; and (4) coherence in discourse. The combination of these two instruments resulted in the establishment of an index with eight scoring

criteria as shown in Table 3.1. Each criterion will be fully explained in Chapters Four and Five where the children's maintenance levels are assessed.

**Table 3.1: Eight criteria used to assess the levels of language maintenance**

Focus of assessment	Specific assessment concerns
Language Tasks	1. Success rate in task 1: Reading large numerals 2. Success rate in task 2: Counting objects 3. Success rate in task 3: Naming objects 4. Success rate in task 4: Describing facial expressions
Discourse Features	5. English mixing 6. Level of speech 7. Flow of discourse 8. Coherence in discourse

In order to operationalise these criteria in actually assessing maintenance levels, a discrete point-measurement scale was used to assess the language task performance. The results of four language tasks (criteria 1 to 4 in Table 3.1) were then added to obtain an overall success rate for each child. A global rating scale was applied for the assessment of child's discourse skills (criteria 5 to 8 in Table 3.1) and the results were conceived in terms of deviation from the 'base norm' (Neustupný 1985: 45). The results and the findings were presented in the form of visual summaries and descriptions with discourse examples. The children were then categorised into the following three levels of maintenance outcomes in each area:

- (1) Maintenance outcomes were GOOD. There were no major problems; the Japanese used by the children did not seem in any important way to differ from the Japanese used by Japanese children of the same age and social class in Japan, who were raised in a monolingual Japanese environment.
- (2) Maintenance outcomes were FAIR. Although some problems were observed, the Japanese used by the children in this category was sufficient to satisfy the vital linguistic needs of similarly aged children in Japan, but deviated in some instances from the 'base norm' as defined by Neustupný (1985: 45).

(3) Maintenance outcomes were POOR. There were major problems, and the Japanese used by the children in this category was regarded as being 'poor' and 'insufficient' to satisfy the linguistic needs of similarly aged children in Japan.

The term 'problem' as it is used here is defined by Neustupný (1985: 45). A problem in this study is taken to mean a noted deviation which is negatively evaluated and, therefore, widely seen and publicly perceived as constituting a significant inadequacy.

Finally, to determine the overall maintenance level of each child, the results of eight maintenance criteria, which were categorised into three levels (GOOD, FAIR or POOR), were also summarised as an overall outcome variable. The average category level of each child was considered to be his or her achieved maintenance level or 'maintenance outcome' (Box E in Figure 3.1). Thus, the overall 'maintenance outcome' of each of the 10 children was recorded as GOOD, FAIR or POOR.

### **3.5 Independent Variables: Factors Affecting the Maintenance Program**

Two clusters of independent variables were considered in this study. Cluster 1 consisted of variables affecting the parents' choice of language maintenance strategies (Box A in Figure 3.1). Cluster 2 consisted of variables affecting the children's choice of language maintenance strategies (Box C).

#### **3.5.1 Variables Affecting the Parents' Choice of Maintenance Strategies**

Cluster 1 included eight mainly dichotomous variables: (1) residential status: permanent resident or sojourner; (2) length of residence: over six years, four to less than six years, two and a half to less than four years, or less than two and a half years; (3) previous overseas experience: with experience or without experience; (4) occupation: upper middle socio-economic status or middle socio-economic status; (5) mother's English proficiency: comfortable in daily conversation or not comfortable in daily

conversation; (6) father's cultural orientation: Japanese cultural orientation or Australian cultural orientation; (7) mother's cultural orientation: Japanese cultural orientation or Australian cultural orientation; and (8) maintenance consciousness of both parents: having high expectations or having low expectations.

It was hypothesised that the residential status would be a key variable, and that parents who were permanent residents would place more importance on maintenance programs than sojourner parents. In other words, it was hypothesised that there was a greater fear among the permanent residents that language shift or loss might result over time. One might argue that there was a fear of being left alone or isolated if one's children could not speak the parents' first language. It was likely that this attitude would be linked to other variables in the cluster. It might, for example, thereby result in the maintenance outcomes of some of the children of permanent residents being better than those achieved by some of the sojourner children.

Parents' length of residence in Australia varied significantly in this study between sojourners and permanent residents. The average stay of a sojourner in Australia was approximately four years. In contrast, permanent residents ranged between six and 19 years of residence; four out of five had been in Australia over 12 years. These differences in length of residence were seen as affecting their attitudes towards their child's Japanese language maintenance, as explained above.

The parents' occupation was closely related to their residential status. There was considerable variation in the occupation of the parents. However, all of the sojourner fathers were career employees in Japanese companies who had been posted to Australia by the head company in Japan. Moreover, none of their wives were engaged in any paid occupation during their stay in Australia. On the other hand, fathers permanently residing in Australia were employees or owners of a variety of locally based small

businesses; one owned his own business, three were in tourism-related businesses, and one was the employee of a local company. Some of the wives in the latter group were engaged in part-time work on a regular or casual basis. Only one such woman believed that her level of English was insufficient for her to find a job. These differences in occupation translated into differences in socio-economic status in Australia. Since Noro (1990) found that a family's socio-economic background strongly conditioned the family's language policy and the language environment, it was hypothesised that the differences in the occupation of parents in this study might also affect their choice of language maintenance programs for their children.

It is also difficult to ignore the parents' level of English proficiency (particularly the mothers) as a possible factor affecting the choice of the dominant language used at home. Cultural orientation comes into play when a parents' cultural preference, for example, results in an emphasis being placed on English-language acquisition. This was the case in Morwell where it was found to have affected the maintenance program of children in that study (Yoshimitsu 1996). Okamura-Bichard (1985) also found that among the parental factors examined, Japanese cultural orientation had the highest predictive power for the level of a child's Japanese language. Parents' concerns for their child's language maintenance problems, as well as any problem-solving measures taken, could be described as their 'maintenance consciousness'.

### **3.5.2 Variables Affecting Children's Choice of Maintenance Strategies**

The second cluster of independent variables concerned factors affecting the children's choice of language maintenance strategies. These were: (1) gender, (2) residential status: permanent resident or sojourner; (3) length of residence in Australia: six to 11 years, four to less than six years, three to less than four years, or less than three years;

(4) schooling in Japan: one and a half to less than two and a half years, one year to less than one and a half years, less than six months, or nil; (5) amount of Japanese schooling in Australia: three and a half to four and a half years, two to less than three and a half years, or less than two years; (6) everyday Japanese language proficiency: high or low; (7) academic language proficiency: high or low; (8) preferred language: Japanese or English; (9) language used with siblings: Japanese dominant or mixing of Japanese and English; and (10) age of siblings: older, younger, or both older and younger.

Residential status is predicted to be a major factor affecting the motivation of children to maintain their Japanese language when living abroad (see Chapter Two, Section 2.5). As sojourners' Japanese children abroad must eventually return to Japan to continue their education, they have good reason to maintain a relatively high level of Japanese proficiency in order to integrate back into the Japanese school system. It is important to note here that most of these sojourner children themselves are well aware of this basic fact. A return to the Japanese education system is less likely for children who have become permanent residents. Most importantly, they have the option of continuing to reside in Australia and to attend Australian schools. The sojourner's sense of urgency to learn and maintain Japanese language is therefore necessarily different to that of the permanent resident children.

The studies conducted in Canada on Japanese children's literacy skills in Japanese and English suggest that the length of residence, Japanese schooling, and the age of arrival were strong predictors in maintaining the first language (Cummins and Nakajima 1990). In the current study, the length of time the children have resided in Australia will be inversely related to their years of schooling in Japan. Although the number of cases is small, the length of time residing outside Japan as well as the

amount of schooling in Japan and Australia is likely to influence their Japanese language proficiency.

To be sure, there may also be a circular flow in the causation chain. The level of Japanese proficiency the children possessed at the time of this Melbourne study might well have affected the way they selected Japanese-related activities in the home domain. Reading, video viewing, games and diary keeping in Japanese are all easier the more fluent the child is in Japanese. It might also have affected the contextual standard of these activities and the preference of one language over the other. Okamura-Bichard's (1985) study revealed that children's psychological predisposition such as their interest, attitude and motivation regarding language maintenance contributed more significantly to their level in Japanese and English than demographic or linguistic factors. This study examines the extent to which a child's preference between English and Japanese affects his or her level of maintenance, regardless of residential status and the period of residence in Australia. Language choice between English and Japanese or code-switching and code-mixing may operate in interactions between children and their siblings. The age and number of siblings are also considered to have some influence on the child's code-selection in this study.

### **3.6 The Intervening Variables: The Maintenance Program Itself**

Language planning is a necessary process for language maintenance (Fishman 1966). In this study, the term 'maintenance planning' is used to express the concept of language planning in the literature. However, the 'maintenance program' refers to the actual strategies implemented to achieve the desired maintenance outcomes. In other words, a maintenance program is put in place to accommodate or, where possible, to shape the predisposing factors associated with the parents and the child and the

maintenance outcomes the child achieves. Maintenance programs focus on problem-solving, and are characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems (Rubin and Jernudd 1971). In this study, maintenance programs are examined from two perspectives. One focus is upon the programs implemented by the parents to achieve their children's level of maintenance. The other is upon the programs implemented by the children themselves. The parents' maintenance programs include (1) language use at home (family language policy), (2) arrangement for supplementary study in Japanese, (3) temporary return to Japan (*ichiji kikoku*), (4) experience of Japanese schooling during temporary return to Japan (*taiken nyuugaku*), (5) use of maintenance aids, and (6) Japanese networks in Melbourne. The child's programs include (1) code selection at home, (2) video viewing, (3) reading books, (4) participation in peer group activities, (5) keeping a group diary with close Japanese friends, and (6) initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance.

Jernudd and Neustupný's language management model in discourse (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987: 75-76) suggested that language planning, referred to as the 'maintenance program' in this study, would progress through four stages. The first stage is problem identification. The second stage is the evaluation of the problems. The third stage is the implementation of strategies to solve the problems, and the fourth stage involves the evaluation of the strategies and a further fine turning of the strategies for future use. In this study, the parental maintenance programs will be evaluated in Chapter Eight in terms of these four stages and in terms of their effectiveness on the children's maintenance outcomes.

### **3.7 The Research Questions**

The research questions were formulated on the basis of a review of the issues and research findings which have been discussed in the previous chapters. They were classified into three major groups. The first set of questions concerned the assessment of maintenance outcomes. The second set related to the factors and strategies affecting maintenance outcomes. The third set focused on the evaluation of the parents' role in terms of language planning for their children's Japanese language maintenance. From those three areas of questioning the following eight questions emerged:

- (1) Are there any differences in maintenance outcomes between the children in terms of degree or direction?
- (2) If there are differences in maintenance outcomes, can they be correlated with any grouping of the children?
- (3) What factors or combination of factors are the best predictors of good maintenance outcomes?
- (4) How does residential status affect maintenance outcomes and why?
- (5) What kind of maintenance programs enhance the goals?
- (6) How do the children achieve the maintenance goals and why?
- (7) What are the parental roles in the maintenance process?
- (8) What are the future implications of the current study?

These questions will be addressed in Chapters Four to Eight.

### **3.8 The Sample**

This study is concerned with the language behaviour of Japanese school children from two residential groups in the Japanese community of Melbourne. Care has been taken to select subjects with similar schooling patterns for this study. As explained above in

Chapter Two (Section 2.4.1), two schools provide Japanese language education for Japanese children in Melbourne. The Japanese School of Melbourne (JSM) provides full time Monday to Friday schooling, essentially teaching the full complement of subjects according to the curriculum in Japan. The Melbourne International School of Japanese (more commonly referred to as the Japanese Saturday School) provides a supplementary curriculum concentrating on two subjects: Japanese language (*kokugo*) and mathematics. Consequently, four types of schooling patterns are found among Japanese children in Melbourne: (1) JSM only; (2) JSM and the Japanese Saturday School; (3) an Australian school only; and (4) an Australian school and the Japanese Saturday School. The informants in this study have been selected from children who go to the Japanese Saturday School. All but one of the subjects in this research were of the fourth type. They attended an Australian school on the weekdays and the Japanese Saturday School on Saturdays. One subject, a sojourner girl, had followed the fourth schooling pattern up to Grade Five, but switched to the second pattern while this research was conducted. She was included in this study because it was reasonable to assume that her maintenance outcomes were the result of her last four and a half years of schooling in both an Australian school and the Japanese Saturday School (the fourth schooling pattern).

The children approached for this study were in Grade Five at the Japanese Saturday School. They were all aged 10 or 11. Grade Five had a variety of children. The selection of this grade was based on the relative class size and the mix of residential status. The class consisted of six permanent resident children, 14 sojourner children and five children from mixed marriages, from which a preliminary sample of 15 was chosen. These 15 Japanese children (consisting of 10 sojourner and five permanent resident children) and their mothers were interviewed individually.

Ultimately, 10 children (five from each residential group) were chosen for closer examination. The breakdown is shown in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2: Profile of Grade 5 children at the Japanese Saturday School**

Group	Boys	Girls	Total	Preliminary sample	Final Sample
Permanent Resident	3	3	6	5	5
Sojourner	8	6	14	10	5
Mixed Marriage	2	3	5	0	0
Total	13	12	25	15	10

A number of considerations led to selecting this particular sample of children. First, it was important to select children who had been in Australia for a minimum of two years to allow adequate time for a clearly discernible maintenance program to have emerged. Second, in order to isolate residential status as a major variable, an attempt was made to obtain a sample of children with a similar schooling pattern, that is, those who attended an Australian school during the week and the Japanese Saturday School on the weekend (with one exception of a sojourner girl, mentioned above). Third, all children were in the same class regardless of their residential status and their period of stay in Australia. Children who had been in Australia for a relatively long period of time with no schooling experience in Japan commonly joined either (1) a special class where learning was rather limited, focusing only on the Japanese language, or (2) a lower year level at school. Fourth, the research required a balance between the proportion of sojourner and permanent resident children. Finally, some children were excluded because they or their parents declined to participate in the study.

The profiles of the five permanent resident children (referred as 'P1' to 'P5') and five sojourner children (referred as 'S1' to 'S5') are shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. These tables provide background information on each child's period of residence in Australia, schooling in Japan, the age at which they first enrolled in the Japanese

Saturday School, their involvement in supplementary studies, the number of siblings, the language used at home, and the parents' occupation. These profiles are based on information obtained through school records, supplemented by additional information supplied by a school committee member and mothers of the subjects (see Appendix 1).

**Table 3.3: Profiles of the Five Permanent Resident Children**

	Sex	Residence in Australia	Schooling in Japan	Start of Saturday School	Supplementary Studies	Siblings	Language used at Home	Parents' occupation
P1	G	11 years; born in Australia	Nil	Prep 6 years old	Own selection	OS (15,13) YS (7)	P: J/E S: J/E	F: Travel company staff M: P/T Teacher
P2	G	"	"	"	Kumon (Math, Language)	OB (13)	P: J S: J/E	F: Company owner M: Book store co-owner
P3	G	"	"	"	Kumon (Math)	YB (4)	P: J S: J	F: Duty free shop Staff M: P/T hairdresser
P4	B	"	"	"	Training papers (Math)	YB (8)	P: J S: J/E	F: Company staff M: P/T restaurant worker
P5	B	5 years; arrival at age of 6	"	Grade 1 7 years old	Nil	YS (8) YB (5)	P: J S: J/E	F: Tour guide, P/T teacher M: not working

**Legend**

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children 1 to 5

G: Girls      B: Boys      P: Parents      S: Siblings

OB/OS: Older brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age)

YB/YS: Younger brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age)

J: Japanese      E: English      F: Father      M: Mother      P/T: Part time

**Table 3.4: Profiles of the Five Sojourner Children**

	Sex	Residence in Australia	Schooling in Japan	Start of Saturday School	Supplementary Studies	Siblings	Language used at home	Parents' Occupation
S1	G	6 years 1 month	Nil	Grade 1	Correspondence	YS (8.5)	P: J S: J/E	F: Company Staff
S2	B	4½ years	1st Term of Grade 1 only	Grade 1	Correspondence	OB (15)	P: J S: J	"
S3	B	3 years 10 months	Grade 1 only	Grade 2	Correspondence Kumon (math/language)	OS (17,15)	P: J S: J	"
S4	B	2½ years	Up to 1st term of Grade 3	Grade 3	Correspondence English home-tutor	OB (14)	P: J S: J	"
S5	G	2 years 5 months	Up to 1st term of Grade 3	Grade 4	Correspondence	YS (10)	P: J S: J	"

**Legend**

S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children 1 to 5

G: Girls      B: Boys      P: Parents      S: Siblings

OB/OS: Older brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age)

YB/YS: Younger brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age)

J: Japanese      E: English      F: Father      M: Mother

Of the five permanent resident children, four were born in Australia where they had resided for 11 years. One came to Australia at the age of six and had resided in Australia for over five years. The sojourner children had resided in Australia from between two and a half years to six years. Table 3.5 shows the informants of this study in terms of their gender and period of residence in Australia.

**Table 3.5: The Informants by Gender and Period of Residence in Australia**

Groups	Residence in Australia	Boys	Girls	Total
Permanent resident	132 months	P4	P1, P2, P3	5
	63 months	P5	-	
Sojourner	73 months	-	S1	5
	54 months	S2	-	
	46 months	S3	-	
	30 months	S4	-	
	29 months	-	S5	
Total Number of Children		5 boys	5 girls	10

Note: The symbols P1 ~ P5 and S1 ~ S5 are used to designate the subjects.

### 3.9 The Data

Two methods were used to sample the language of the children: interviews with the children and tape-recordings of the children in family conversations. Obtaining data from these two situations which differed in degree of formality, allowed for an assessment of the consistency with which each child used Japanese. The two-part interviews were conducted by the researcher and were recorded on tape at each child's home. The first part lasted approximately 20 to 25 minutes. It consisted of semi-structured interviews with the children and was based on open-ended questions which focused on the child's everyday life in Melbourne. The topics covered are listed in Appendix 2. The second part of the interview consisted of language tasks lasting about 30 to 45 minutes. Young children can be reluctant to talk in formal interview situations. The spoken language tasks, therefore, were designed by the researcher to

encourage them to participate actively in the interview. A description of the tasks is given in Chapter Four and the materials used for the tasks can be found in Appendix 3.

Family conversations of around 45 minutes to 1 hour, usually during meals, were tape recorded by the children's mothers during the week following the interview with the child while the interviewer (the researcher) was absent. The recordings were conceived as a means of obtaining discourse data in as natural a situation as possible. Parents were requested not to reveal to their children that a recording was being made. Moreover, parents were not told of the specific purpose for which the recordings would be used.

The general approach to analysing conversational data is to transcribe the conversations and then analyse the transcripts, supplementing the data with notes from one's observations (Stubbs 1983: 218). Transcription of any kind is invariably selective and the selection reflects various underlying theoretical goals and assumptions (Ochs 1979: 44). Following this general approach to conversational data, the language data obtained from the recordings of interviews and family conversations were transcribed, sometimes in detail, but at other times with a certain selectivity. The first part of the interviews with the children was transcribed in detail in order to grasp the profile of each child's spoken discourse. The second part of the interview (spoken language tasks) was transcribed selectively since the objectives of the analysis were straightforward. Similarly, as the theoretical objectives of the discourse analysis were clear, only the relevant parts were transcribed for the assessment. Discourse examples (with the English translations) are presented in the text for analysis.

### **3.10 The Results**

The results are presented in the following five chapters. First, the findings associated with the dependent variable cluster, maintenance outcomes, are discussed in Chapters Four to Six. Second, the correlation between the 'maintenance outcome' and the 30 'independent variables' are discussed in Chapter Seven. Third, the parental role in the children's Japanese language maintenance is discussed in Chapter Eight.

The overall maintenance levels of the 10 children, presented in Chapter Six, will be used for the discussions in Chapters Seven, Eight and in the concluding chapter. In the analysis of findings, reference will be made to the two distinct samples, namely sojourner children and permanent resident children, into which the subjects of this study have been purposely grouped.

### **3.11 Closing Remarks**

This chapter has outlined the methods and approaches used to gather and to analyse data for this study. In order to scale the level of Japanese maintenance achieved, an original method of measurement was developed which combined the results from performing language tasks with discourse analysis. Figure 3.1 gives a visual representation of how the study was conceived. In focusing on the extent to which Japanese school children in two residential groups of the Japanese community in Melbourne had maintained Japanese language proficiency, special attention was given to selecting the factors which might account for differences in achieving language maintenance. A discussion was presented regarding parental maintenance programs, as well as the child's maintenance programs which were seen as important intervening variables. The term 'maintenance program' was used to express the concept of language planning in the literature, and it refers to the strategies implemented towards

successful maintenance achievement. A brief profile of two samples, namely sojourner children and permanent resident children, was provided in this chapter. Finally, the treatment of the results in this study was stated together with the planning of the remaining chapters.

## CHAPTER 4

### PERFORMANCE IN LANGUAGE TASKS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters identified a number of research questions concerning Japanese children in a bilingual environment. This study focuses on the maintenance of their first language (a minority language) and examines the impact of individual and group characteristics on maintenance outcomes. The language behaviour of Japanese children residing outside Japan has not been investigated extensively, as discussed in Chapter Two. Furthermore, there is little agreement on evaluation standards and criteria for investigating the proficiency of Japanese bilingual children residing in English-dominant countries such as the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia. It was thus necessary to develop assessment procedures especially for this study.

The present chapter, Chapter Five and Chapter Six are concerned with the assessment of children's maintenance outcomes (Box E in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three). In order to assess the children's Japanese language proficiency, the study established eight scoring criteria which involved the assessment of four language tasks and the assessment of four spoken discourse traits presented in Table 3.1 in Chapter Three. The assessment process and the results of language task performance are presented in this chapter.

#### 4.2 Assessment Scales for the Language Tasks

To assess maintenance levels in terms of language task performance, four tasks were set: (1) reading large numerals, (2) counting objects, (3) naming objects, and (4) describing facial expressions. The study sought to examine the children's oral interactive competence during their performance of language tasks. Four language

tasks were devised, aimed at allowing the children to demonstrate their language skills in areas where one might expect to find variability among children residing outside Japan. The tasks are described below in Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.4. The materials used for these tasks are presented in Appendix 3.

A percentage score for each child's performance in each of the four tasks was calculated and a language maintenance category was assigned according to this score. Subjects scoring below 59 percent were categorised as POOR; those scoring 60 percent to 79 percent, as FAIR; and those above 80 percent, as GOOD (see Section 3.4.3 for discussion of the rationale for this categorisation). Variation in the performance scores was then examined in terms of children's predisposing factors (Box C in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three). A total of 10 such factors, based on the existing groupings among the children, were considered in the analysis of variance.

### **4.3 Results of Task Performance**

The results of task performance are discussed in the next three sections. First, the results of the task performance of the 10 children are examined individually (Section 4.3). In this analysis, reference will be made to their residential status, being either a permanent resident or sojourner. The results are then analysed in terms of the children's predisposing factors (Section 4.4). In Section 4.5, the overall results are presented in a number of summary forms.

#### **4.3.1 Task 1: Reading Large Numerals**

This task involved the oral presentation of large numerals, an area in which Japanese children residing overseas may show variation in performance compared with children in Japan (Nomoto 1993; Yoshimitsu 1996). The children were asked to read out five large numerals in Japanese. They were told that the numerals were population figures

and were then given a reasonable amount of time to read them out. Scoring was based on the children's correct readings of the numerals against the total number of attempts made. The results of Task 1 are shown in Table 4.1. '✓' is the symbol for correct readings of the numeral and '✗' is for incorrect readings. Each '✓' and '✗' represents an attempt made. Only the self-initiated corrections were counted as attempts. The success rate represents the proportion of correct answers against the total number of attempts made.

An average score of 62 percent was registered for both sojourner and permanent resident groups. It is evident, however, that the mean score was lowered considerably by the poor performance of S5 in the sojourner group and by P3 in the permanent resident group. Among the individuals in each group, there were significant differences in performance: P4 was the most successful with a 100 percent success rate; S5 was the least successful with a success rate of 7 percent. Seven out of 10 children were able to read all the numerals aloud correctly after one or more attempts. These children fit into either the GOOD or the FAIR categories of language maintenance. The remaining three children (P2, P3 and S5) failed to read most of the numerals correctly and fit into the POOR category. The results indicated that these three children had problems in the area of reading large numerals, in particular S5 who had 14 tries with a success rate of 7 percent.

Table 4.1: Results of Task 1: Reading large numerals

Subjects n = 10	(a) 3,485,000	(b) 17,500	(c) 15,370,000	(d) 121,050,000	(e) 4,685,000,000	No of correct Readings	No of Attempts	Success rate (%)	Language maintenance category
P1	* ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	6	83	G
P2	*	✓	*	*	✓	2	5	40	P
P3	***	✓	*	*	*	1	7	14	P
P4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5	5	100	G
P5	✓	✓	*✓	*✓	✓	5	7	71	F
					Mean for children of permanent resident	3.6	6	62	F
S1	✓	✓	✓	*✓✓	*✓	5	8	75	F
S2	✓	✓	*✓	✓	✓	5	6	83	G
S3	✓	✓	✓	✓	*✓	5	6	83	G
S4	✓	✓	✓	*x✓	*✓	5	8	63	F
S5	*****	****✓	*	***	*	1	14	7	P
					Mean for children of sojourners	4.2	8.4	62	F
					Mean for all children together	3.9	7.2	62	F

**Legend:**

'✓' : correct reading

'\*' : incorrect reading

The total number of '✓' and '\*' symbols shows the number of attempts made

Success Rate (percent): percentage of correct answers against the total number of attempts made

G: GOOD F: FAIR P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

S5, a sojourner girl with the shortest stay in Australia of two years and five months, even failed to read the easiest numeral of '17,500' which the other nine children had no problems reading correctly on their first try (see column (b) in Table 4.1). The following dialogue shows how S5 had problems with reading another numeral '3,485,000'. The correct reading of this number in Japanese is '*sanbyaku yonjuuhachiman gosen*'.

(1) Context: S5's counting of 3,485,000

S5: *Eetto, eetto, sanman yonsen happyaku, a, iie chigai masu ne ... (1)*

*A, sanman yonsen happyaku gojuugosen, eee ... (2)*

*San san san san-oku desu ka kore. (3)*

*A, kore san-oku, yon yonhyaku, ha hachijuu, gosen desu ka. (4)*

(Umm, umm... thirty thousand four thousand eight hundred... oh, no that's wrong isn't it? Oh, thirty thousand four thousand eight hundred fifty-five thousand, ummm... Is it three..three..three..three..hundred million? Oh, is this is three hundred million, four .. four hundred and eighty ... eighty five thousand?)

I: *Shita kara kazoete iku. Ue kara iku.*

(Do you count from the bottom or the top of the number?)

S5: *Eetto, ue kara koma ('konma') de iku to, koko wa koma ('konma') de iku to ii desu yo ne. Nan ka Nihon no ikata o yomu to (laugh)... san-oku yonsen hyakuhachijuu, hachijuu gosen. (5)*

(Umm, if we go from the comma from the top, ...ummm... that should be OK. Well, if we read it in the Japanese way..., three thousand million four thousand one hundred and eighty, eighty five thousand.)

Notes: (1) I = Interviewer

(2) The number in brackets at the end of the sentence indicates the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, ... 5<sup>th</sup> attempt respectively.

In the first two attempts, S5 mistakenly read the figure two digits too small, while in the next two attempts, she read the figure two digits too large. S5 did not seem to be sure of the position of the top digit and conferred with the interviewer in her third and fourth attempt. Apparently, S5 was working out the reading through a method which an English-speaking person would use, as underlined in (4). S5 incorrectly read the numeral 485,000 as '*yon-hyaku hachi-juu go-sen*', which is a literal translation from the English of 'four hundred and eighty five thousand'. Problem cases were found in both children's groups; however, S5, who was considered to be the most

problematic case in this task, showed evidence of interference from the English system of reading numerals (in which 1000 becomes the base rather than 10,000 as in Japanese). In the follow-up conversation with the interviewer, S5 explained that she was currently studying the concept of large numerals at her Australian school, therefore the English system had become more dominant in her thinking (although she had learned the Japanese system in an earlier grade) and she found it difficult to switch to the Japanese system instantly. S5's case suggests that children in a bilingual environment may switch between two language systems according to their preference or skills when they are dealing with numerals. Problems seem to become more salient in verbal communication because situations often require instant switches to whichever system dominates the children's cognition at the time.

#### **4.3.2 Task 2: Counting Objects**

For this task, the children were shown pictures of live and static objects, and were asked to count the objects with the appropriate noun quantifiers. This task examined the children's knowledge of quantifiers for twenty three nouns. These nouns and matching quantifiers are shown with the results in Table 4.2.

Quantifiers are words that express quantity, either in a general way (such as '*zenbu*' [all], '*takusan*' [a lot, much] ) or numerically according to the Japanese system of classifying nouns. The Japanese system of counting with its use of quantifiers is complex and requires considerable application for children to master it. Unlike English, where numerals are used as they stand to quantify words (two people, three sheets, etc.), Japanese numerals are not generally used as independent words (Backhouse 1993). Rather, numerical words are composed of two elements, a numeral plus a quantifier. For example '*-mai*' is added to numbers for flat things; '*-ko*', for

small round things; and '-nin', for people. Thus three flat objects such as stamps or pieces of paper would be 'sanmai'. When counting balls or apples for example it is necessary to count 'ikko', 'niko', 'sanko'. With people irregularity occurs with the sequence, beginning as 'hitori' (one person), 'futari' (2 people), then switching to the regular counter from 'sannin' (3 people).

Scoring in this task was based on the proportion of the children's correct usage of quantifiers against the total number of nouns. Table 4.2 presents the overall results in this task. The 'x' symbol represents incorrect usage of noun quantifiers. The success rate represents the proportion of correct usage of quantifiers against the total number of nouns. The mean success rate of the two residential groups differs in this task. The sojourner children, with a success rate of 75.6 percent, had less errors in selecting appropriate noun quantifiers than the permanent resident children who had a success rate of 68 percent. The mean success rate of the two groups was 71.8 percent. In the permanent resident group, P2 had the lowest success rate at 52 percent, followed by P3 and P5, both 57 percent. P4 had the highest success rate at 91 percent. Whereas the success rate among the permanent resident children varied from 52 percent to 91 percent, the sojourner children showed a relatively even success rate ranging from 78 percent to 83 percent, except in the case of S5 who had a success rate of 61 percent.

Table 4.2: Results of Task 2: Counting objects

Nouns (total of 23)	Matching Quantifiers	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Success rate %
1 <i>kitte</i> (stamp)	-mai											100
2 <i>zasshi</i> (magazine)	-satsu		*									90
3 <i>tishuu no hako</i> (a box of tissue paper)	-hako		*	*		*				*		60
4 <i>terebi</i> (television set)	-dai	*	*	*		*				*	*	40
5 <i>kasa</i> (umbrella)	-hon			*		*			*	*		60
6 <i>ie</i> (house)	-ken		*				*		*			70
7 <i>kutsushita</i> (socks)	-soku					*		*			*	70
8 <i>seetaa</i> (sweater)	-mai					*					*	80
9 <i>kutsu</i> (shoes)	-soku		*			*					*	70
10 <i>hikooki</i> (aeroplane)	-ki	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	10
11 <i>jidoosha</i> (motor car)	-dai											100
12 <i>jitensha</i> (bicycle)	-dai											100
13 <i>ushi</i> (cow)	-too		*	*							*	70
14 <i>inu</i> (dog)	-hiki					*						90
15 <i>choocho</i> (butterfly)	-wa		*	*			*			*	*	50
16 <i>tori</i> (bird)	-wa			*								90
17 <i>akana</i> (fish)	-hiki		*									90
18 <i>budoo</i> (grapes)	-fusa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	10
19 <i>fukuro iri mikan</i> (bag of oranges)	-fukuro			*				*	*	*		60
20 <i>kyuuri</i> (cucumber)	-hon										*	90
21 <i>kabocha</i> (pumpkin)	-ko											100
22 <i>biiru bin</i> (beer bottle)	-hon											100
23 <i>sushi no moriawase</i> (one serve of 'sushi')	-ninmae	*	*	*		*	*					50
Number of errors (out of 23)		4	11	10	2	10	5	4	5	5	9	
Success rate (%)		83	52	57	91	57	78	83	78	78	61	
Language maintenance category		G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	F	

Notes (1) Mean success rate for permanent resident children is 68 percent and for sojourner children, 75.6 percent.

(2) Mean success rate for both children is 71.8 percent.

Legend: blank: correct answer      \*: incorrect use of noun quantifiers

G: GOOD    F: FAIR    P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children    S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

P2, P3 and P5, who had low success rates, were categorised as being POOR in maintenance level in this task; S5 was a borderline case of FAIR and POOR with a 61 percent success rate; S1, S3 and S4, all with a success rate of 78 percent, were categorised as being FAIR; P1 with 83 percent, P4 with 91 percent, and S2 with 83 percent were categorised as being GOOD.

Three problem cases (P2, P3, P5) were found in the permanent resident group, and one case (S5) in the sojourner group. Common errors among these children resulted from their over generalisation of: (1) a particular noun quantifier in Japanese, '-ko' as in 'ikko', 'niko', 'sanko' and (2) the general quantifier '-tsu' as in 'hitotsu', 'futatsu', 'mittsu' ... . These are the quantifiers used for counting small objects such as candies, apples and eggs. However, these children extended the use of '-ko' for counting objects in different categories such as electrical appliances, footwear, and clothes. For example, P5 used '-ko' for counting objects such as 'a box of tissues' (correct quantifier is '-hako'), 'a TV set' ('-dai' for machines), 'an umbrella' ('-pon' for long thin things), and 'grapes' ('-fusa' for a cluster of grapes). Similarly, S5 used '-ko' for 'a TV set' and 'grapes' as well as for 'socks' and 'shoes' ('-soku' for footwear), 'a sweater' ('-mai' for thin flat things), and 'a cucumber' ('-pon' for long thin things). In other cases, children made errors when they applied the noun quantifier '-hiki' for both large and small animals (correct noun quantifiers are '-too' and '-hiki' respectively), and '-dai' for both motor vehicles and aeroplanes (correct noun quantifiers are '-dai' and '-ki' respectively).

The results indicated that the use of appropriate Japanese noun quantifiers might be a problem area for some children, and more so for permanent resident children than sojourner children. The limited usage of a variety of Japanese noun quantifiers in everyday life and transferring the knowledge of English quantifiers may have resulted

in the permanent resident children making more errors in this task. However, the over generalisation of particular types of quantifiers (for example, '-ko') and the general quantifier '-tsu' seemed to be a strategy all children applied when they were unsure of which quantifier to use and needed to offset their lack of knowledge in this regard.

#### 4.3.3 Task 3: Naming Objects

The children were shown 20 black and white photographs which depicted a total of 27 events and static objects related to urban and rural life in Japan, including seasonal events. They were asked to name the object(s) or event in each photograph. Given that the children had lived outside Japan for some time, the task aimed to find out whether the possible low priority that these scenes were given in life in Australia affected their knowledge of vocabulary associated with these scenes. Scoring was based on the proportion of the 27 objects and events correctly named. Table 4.3 shows the results of this task. The 'x' indicates that the children showed their lack of knowledge or inability to remember 'on the spot' when asked to name the objects or events in the photographs.

The results showed that the sojourner children received a higher success rating overall (75 percent) than the permanent resident children (56 percent). P2's excessively low success rate of 19 percent was responsible for creating such a difference in the average performance between the sojourner children and the permanent resident children. This might reflect the reality that the permanent resident children were less familiar than the sojourner children with the vocabulary associated with the aspects of life in Japan as shown in the photographs.

Table 4.3: Results of Task 3: Naming objects

Objects/events (total of 27)	Difficulty rating	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Success rate (%)
1 <i>ensoku</i> (excursion)	3		*									90
2 <i>ryukku</i> (backpack)	2		*									90
3 <i>seifuku</i> (school uniform)	3											100
4 <i>futon</i> (futon)	3		*									90
5 <i>tatami</i> (tatami mat)	3											100
6 <i>shooji</i> (sliding door)	2		*	*			*					70
7 <i>genkan</i> (entrance hall)	3		*									90
8 <i>kawara</i> (roof tiles)	1		*	*	*	*	*					50
9 <i>tokoya</i> or <i>sanpatsuya</i> (barber)	2		*	*							*	70
10 <i>kooshuu denwa</i> (pay phone)	2		*		*	*	*					60
11 <i>danchi</i> (apartment block)	1	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	20
12 <i>omawari(san)</i> (policeman)	2		*						*			80
13 <i>daiku (san)</i> (carpenter)	1	*	*	*		*					*	50
14 <i>koto</i> (japanese musical instrument)	2		*	*		*			*			60
15 <i>tanbo</i> (rice paddy)	2					*						90
16 <i>ine</i> (rice plant)	1	*	*	*		*	*	*			*	30
17 <i>shiro</i> (castle)	2		*		*		*					70
18 <i>sakura</i> (cherry blossom)	3											100
19 <i>tera</i> (temple)	3	*							*			80
20 <i>torii</i> (gateway of shrine)	1	*	*	*		*	*	*	*		*	20
21 <i>haka</i> (grave)	2		*						*			80
22 <i>jizoo (san)</i> (stone image of <i>jizo</i> , a guardian deity of children)	1		*	*					*		*	60
23 <i>matsuri</i> (festival)	3	*	*									80
24 <i>happi</i> ( <i>happi</i> coat)	1	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	10
25 <i>yatai</i> or <i>demise</i> (stall at a fair)	1	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	10
26 <i>men</i> (mask)	2		*			*			*			70
27 <i>shiichi-go-san</i> (cremony for girls and boys aged three, five and seven)	2		*	*					*			70
Number of errors (out of 27)		8	22	12	5	12	8	3	12	3	8	
Success rate (%)		70	19	56	81	56	70	89	56	89	70	
Language maintenance category		F	P	P	G	P	F	G	P	G	F	

Notes (1) Mean success rate for permanent resident children is 56.4 percent and for sojourner children, 74.8 percent.

(2) Mean success rate for both children is 65.6 percent.

**Legend:**

\*: error    blank: correct    G: GOOD    F: FAIR    P: POOR  
 P1 - P5: Permanent resident children    S1 - S5: Sojourner children

Difficulty rating: 1 (hardest) - 3 (easiest)

The least successful child in this task, P2, was born in Australia and had hardly lived in Japan (approximately 4 weeks altogether according to her mother). P2 was familiar with the objects and events that appeared in the photographs shown to her; however, she was not successful in naming most of them and could remember only five objects: 'seifuku' (school uniform), 'tatami' (tatami mat), 'tanbo' (rice paddy), 'sakura' (cherry blossom) and 'otera' (temple). P2 reported that she had seen the pictures of some objects either in the Japanese comic books she often read or in the Japanese textbooks used at the Japanese Saturday School. Also, she had seen some of them during her four-week temporary return to Japan (*ichiji kikoku*) with her family. It was noted that P2 tried to recall the names of objects by associating them with her actual experience.

Although the children could recognise the substance of the objects in the photographs, such as 'danchi' (apartment block), 'ine' (rice plant), 'torii' (gateway of shrine), 'happi' (happi coat), and 'yatai' or 'demise' (stall at a fair), some of the sojourner and the permanent resident children commonly exhibited a lack of Japanese vocabulary on these items. Table 4.4 lists the vocabulary items on which the children showed a low success rate. Some of the items listed in Table 4.4 are more closely associated with rural life in Japan, and it is possible that children from urban areas of Japan or those who have lived in Australia most of their lives would have had less exposure to these items. A native Japanese speaker rated the majority of items in the list as being difficult. On many occasions during their performance of this task, the children reported that although they couldn't name the objects or events, they had seen them in books or videos, if not seen first hand in Japan.

Table 4.4: The vocabulary the children were unsuccessful in naming

Difficulty Rating	Objects or events appeared in photographs	No. of children who were unsuccessful (n = 10)
1	<i>happi</i> (happi coat)	9 (5 P and 5 S)
1	<i>yatai</i> or <i>demise</i> (stall at a fair)	9 (5 / 4)
1	<i>torii</i> (gateway of shrine)	8 (4 / 4)
1	<i>danchi</i> (apartment block)	8 (4 / 4)
1	<i>ine</i> (rice plant)	7 (4 / 3)
1	<i>kawara</i> (roof tiles)	5 (4 / 1)
1	<i>daiku</i> (carpenter)	5 (4 / 1)
2	<i>kooshuudenwa</i> (pay phone)	4 (3 / 1)
2	<i>koto</i> (Japanese musical instrument)	4 (3 / 1)
1	<i>jizoo</i> (stone statue of Japanese monk)	4 (2 / 2)

**Legend:**

Difficulty rating: 1 (hardest) ~ 3 (easiest)

P: Permanent resident children

S: Sojourner children

The children who had a relatively low success rate in this task tended to mix English with Japanese on the lexical level. P5, for example, used an English word 'tiles' for *kawara* (roof tiles) [item number 8 in Table 4.3], 'masks' for *(o)men* [item no. 26], 'temple' for *(o)tera* [item no. 19], and 'cemetery' for *(o)haka* (a grave) [item no. 21]. This English mixing seemed to be used as a strategy to supplement the lack of Japanese equivalents. Another device the children often used in similar situations was paraphrasing, that is, explaining an object or an event in their own terms. They used this device frequently rather than simply saying 'I don't know (or don't remember) what to call it'. Some examples are given below.

(2) Context: The children were asked to name an object or an event which appeared in photographs.

[*shooji* (sliding door)]

P3: *Uun... wakannai kedo... kami de dekite atte, yubi de putto yaru to yabuichau no...*  
(Umm... I'm not really sure what to call it, ... umm ... it is made of paper and you can tear it with your finger ...)

[*Shichi-go-san* (Ceremony for girls and boys aged three, five and seven)]

P2: *... yaru toko datta n dakedo ... nanka kinshi ni natte ... dakara yannakatta.*  
(My parents were going to celebrate this for me ... but, somehow it was cancelled ... and I didn't have this ceremony.)

[*tanbo* (rice paddy)]

P5: *Wakatta kedo wasurechatta. Umi, mizu n naka ni, umi mitaina naka ni, kusa mitaina, aa, gohan da.*

(I did know it but I've forgotten it now. It's a sea, I mean, it's in the water like a sea. It's got grasses ... Oh, it's rice.)

S2 and S4 were considered to be most successful with 89 percent followed by P4 with 81 percent, and these three children were categorised as being GOOD at this task. S1, S5 and P1, all with 70 percent success rates, were considered as being FAIR. S3, P3, P5, who obtained 56 percent success rate and P2 with 19 percent were considered POOR in maintenance level.

#### 4.3.4 Task 4: Describing Facial Expressions

This task was designed to identify the children's repertoire of abstract vocabulary which has often been established as an area of weakness in the language of Japanese children residing outside Japan or in returnee children (Koyama 1990; Nakanishi *et al.* 1982). At the interviews the children were shown pictures of 10 faces with various expressions, and asked to describe them by using words such as adjectives, adverbs, and in particular sound symbolic words (mimetics) where possible. Japanese displays quite an extensive range of mimetics, much larger than in English (Tsujimura 1996: 93). There are at least two types of mimetics. One type is onomatopoeia; words that sound like the object they signify, for example, words depicting animal sounds. The other is a more abstract type which is referred to as an ideophone; for example, '*sowa sowa*' expresses the 'restlessness' of a person before an important event and '*gira gira*' describes 'glaring' objects, such as neon signs. Prior to this task, the function of sound symbolic words, that is, mimetics, was explained to the children as words that make their expression more vivid and some examples were given so that the children were familiar with the task.

Scoring in this task was based on the proportion of appropriate descriptive words for 10 facial expressions. The results of this task are presented in Table 4.5 below. '✓' shows where the child used appropriate descriptive words and 'x' shows cases where the expressions used were not appropriate, or where they could not find appropriate words. A blank space indicates that the child somehow managed to describe the facial expressions not by using descriptive words, but by explaining the situations which may cause such facial expressions. The success rate represents the proportion of appropriate descriptive words used against the total number of 10 facial expressions.

As in the previous two tasks (Counting objects and Naming objects), the sojourner children obtained a better average success rate (66 percent) than the permanent resident children (50 percent). Variations in individual performance were also found in both residential groups. S2 had a 100 percent success rate followed by P3 with 80 percent. These two were categorised as being GOOD at this task. P1 and P4, both with a 70 percent success rate, were considered to be FAIR, and S1, S3 and S5, all obtaining 60 percent, as borderline cases were rated FAIR. S4 with 50 percent, P2 with 20 percent and P5 with 10 percent were cases of POOR maintenance level in this task. S2, who did not show any difficulties in obtaining a 100 percent success rate in this task, reported that he frequently encountered the sound symbolic words (onomatopoeia) while reading Japanese comic books, of which he was very fond and read keenly. Similarly P3, with an 80 percent success rate, stated that she noticed that many onomatopoeia were used in Japanese videos for young children which she often watched at home with her younger brother. These comments were particularly valuable in identifying the source from which the children could expand their repertoire of abstract vocabulary such as onomatopoeia.

Table 4.5: Results of Task 4: Describing facial expressions

Facial Expressions: appropriate expressions found in their answers (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1. a smiling face ( <i>niko niko/nikkori/ ureshisoo</i> )	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
2. angry ( <i>pun pun/muka</i> )	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. disappointed ( <i>cheh/shukan/zannen</i> )	✓				*	✓	✓	✓		✓
4. joyful ( <i>wa ha ha/waaai</i> )	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
5. sorrowful ( <i>shiku shiku/een een/ kanashisoo</i> )	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. spiteful/mean ( <i>ihihihhi/yahahaha</i> )	✓		✓	✓			✓		*	✓
7. being in trouble ( <i>shiku shiku/komatta naa</i> )					*	✓	✓			
8. be surprised ( <i>oya/eeh/wah</i> )			✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
9. sulky/get cross ( <i>fun</i> )	✓	*	✓	✓			✓		*	
10. sad/lonely ( <i>shun/shiku/samishisoo</i> )			✓		*		✓		*	✓
Success Rate (%)	70	20	80	70	10	60	100	60	50	60
Language maintenance category	F	P	G	F	P	F	G	F	P	F
Mean success rate (%)	50					66				
Overall mean success rate (%)	58									

**Legend:**

✓: used appropriate descriptive words

\*: used inappropriate expressions

Blank space: subject described expressions by explaining situations which may cause such facial expressions (for example, child describes sad face as belonging to 'someone without a friend')

G: GOOD F: FAIR P: POOR P1~P5: Permanent resident children S1~S5: Sojourner children

The least successful child at this task (P5 with only a 10 percent success rate), could describe just one facial expression, 'a smiling face' (item no. 1), with an appropriate onomatopoeia as in '*nikoniko waratteru*' (laughing with a happy smile on the face). The same was true of P2, who got 'a smiling face' right and she could manage another one, 'a crying face' (item no. 5), by describing it as '*gusugusu naiteru*' (weeping). Paraphrasing was the common device adopted among the children, particularly by P2, P5, S1 and S3. Some of these examples are shown below:

(3) Context: Children were describing facial expressions.

[being in trouble]

P2: *kuchi o magete wakaranai shirushi*  
(bending the corners of your mouth and when you don't know something)

S3: *henna tensuu tocchatta, mata okorareru ...*  
(Oh, I've got a bad mark again....mum's going to be cross...)

S1: *hanashiteru imi ga yoku wakaranai tte iu hyoojoo*  
(expression you use when you can't follow what they're talking about)

[a smiling face]

S5: *taiyoo mitaini waratteru*  
(beaming like the sun)

P5: *nanika ii koto ga atta yoona kao*  
(a face which looks as though something great has happened)

Interestingly, English mixing did not occur during this task even when the children could not think of appropriate descriptive words in Japanese. Instead, they used a paraphrasing device to offset insufficient knowledge of the mimetics.

#### 4.4 Analysis of Variance in Task Performance

In order to examine whether or not the task performance differed between children's groups, an analysis of variance was carried out. Ten variables (Box C in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three) were used in the analysis. These were related to the attributes and the home situations of the children: (1) residential group, (2) gender, (3) length of residence in Australia, (4) schooling in Japan, (5) Japanese schooling in Australia, (6) everyday Japanese language proficiency, (7) academic Japanese language proficiency, (8) preferred language, (9) language used with siblings, and (10) age of siblings. The rationale for the selection of the 10 groups and categorisation within the group was given in Chapter Three (Section 3.5.2). Table 4.6 provides the results of this analysis.

There was a significant difference in the task performance between the two groups, which were formed according to their levels of 'everyday Japanese proficiency' and to the 'academic Japanese language proficiency' ( $F = 14.18, p < 0.01$ ). The children who developed balanced proficiency in both everyday and academic language (i.e., equally high levels in both) achieved better outcomes in task performance. The results also showed that 'gender' was an influential variable which made a difference in task performance ( $F = 2.10, p = 0.18$ ). The boys performed better than the girls in this study. The 'language used with siblings' ( $F = 1.17, p = 0.31$ ), 'residential status' ( $F = 1.04, p = 0.33$ ), and 'preferred language' ( $F = 1.04, p = 0.33$ ) were also

important variables. The children communicating in Japanese with their siblings at home performed better in the tasks than the children who communicated in both Japanese and English. The sojourner children exhibited better performance than the permanent resident children, and the children who prefer Japanese language over English also did well. However, no significant differences in performance were found between the groups formed by the 'length of residence in Australia', 'schooling in Japan', 'Japanese schooling in Australia' and the 'age of siblings'.

Table 4.6: Results of the analysis of variance in task performance

Variables	Groups	No. of children (n = 10)	Mean	SD	Min	Max	F <sub>ratio</sub>	F <sub>probability</sub>
1. Residential status	1. Sojourner	5	69.95	13.90	49.50	88.75	1.047*	0.336
	2. Permanent resident	5	57.60	22.36	32.75	85.50		
2. Gender	1. Boys	5	71.0	17.34	45.00	88.75	2.101*	0.185
	2. Girls	5	55.55	17.89	32.75	76.50		
3. Length of residence	1. Short	3	62.92	11.63	49.50	70.00	0.111	0.896
	2. Average	3	68.17	21.99	45.00	88.75		
	3. Long	4	60.75	24.50	32.75	85.50		
4. Schooling in Japan	1. Short	7	63.93	21.84	32.75	88.75	0.071	0.932
	2. Average	1	69.25	-	-	-		
	3. Long	2	59.75	14.50	49.50	70.00		
5. Japanese schooling in Australia	1. Short	2	59.75	14.50	49.50	70.00	0.071	0.932
	2. Average	1	69.25	-	-	-		
	3. Long	7	63.93	21.84	32.75	88.75		
6. Everyday Japanese proficiency	1. Low	2	38.87	8.66	32.75	45.00	14.183*	0.005**
	2. High	8	69.81	14.77	48.25	88.75		
7. Academic Japanese proficiency	1. Low	3	42.00	8.17	32.75	48.25	14.183*	0.005**
	2. High	7	72.89	12.89	49.50	88.75		
8. Preferred language	1. English	3	54.42	27.60	32.75	85.50	1.049*	0.335
	2. Japanese	7	67.57	14.41	48.25	88.75		
9. Language used with siblings	1. Mix of English and Japanese	4	55.88	20.47	32.75	76.50	1.171*	0.310
	2. Japanese	6	68.79	17.19	48.25	88.75		
10. Age of siblings	1. Older and younger	1	76.50	-	-	-	0.301	0.748
	2. Younger	5	59.80	17.60	45.00	85.50		
	3. Older	4	65.19	23.43	32.75	88.75		

\* = F ratio > 1, \*\* = p < 0.01

#### 4.5 Overall Results of Task Performance

This section presents the overall results of task performance. First, Table 4.7 provides an overall summary of scores in the tasks in terms of their central tendency and dispersion. It can be seen that: (1) the children generally did well in Task 2; (2) the range of scores is large in Tasks 1, 3 and 4 compared to Task 2; (3) Task 1 had the widest spread scores followed by Task 4; and (4) the distribution of G, F and P maintenance levels shows a similar pattern in the four tasks, that is, about 30 percent of the children were unsuccessful in each task but the remaining 70 percent of children demonstrated FAIR to GOOD performance.

Table 4.7: Overall summary of scores in tasks

Tasks	Mean	Median	Mode	Min. score percent	Max. score percent	Range	SD	No. of children per maintenance category (n = 10)		
								G	F	P
Task 1	61.9	73.0	83.0	7	100	92	31.3	4	3	3
Task 2	71.8	78.0	78.0	57	91	33	17.7	3	4	3
Task 3	65.6	70.0	56.0	19	89	69	20.6	3	3	4
Task 4	58.0	60.0	60.0	10	100	89	26.5	2	5	3

**Legend:**

Task 1: Reading large numerals

Task 2: Counting objects

Task 3: Naming objects

Task 4: Describing facial expressions

G: GOOD (score achieved above 80 percent)

F: FAIR (score achieved between 60~79 percent)

P: POOR (score achieved below 59 percent)

Second, the correlations between the performance of the four tasks (Table 4.8) show that there is a significant positive correlation between Task 1 and Task 2 ( $r = 0.78, p < 0.01$ ), and Tasks 2 and 3 ( $r = 0.74, p < 0.05$ ). Task 4 shows a moderate correlation with Task 2 ( $r = 0.58, p = 0.07$ ) and Task 3 ( $r = 0.61, p = 0.05$ ), but a relatively weak relationship with Task 1 performance ( $r = 0.11, p = 0.74$ ). The positive correlations in the four sets of assessment suggest that these skills (used in

carrying out the tasks) are interrelated. The results will be further discussed in Chapter Six in terms of their inter measure reliability.

**Table 4.8: Correlation between task performance**

		Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 4
Task 1:	<i>r</i>	1.000	0.785**	0.379	0.118
Reading large numerals	<i>p</i>		0.007	0.280	0.744
Task 2:	<i>r</i>	0.785**	1.000	0.740*	0.589
Counting objects	<i>p</i>	0.007		0.014	0.073
Task 3:	<i>r</i>	0.379	0.740*	1.000	0.618
Naming objects	<i>p</i>	0.280	0.014		0.057
Task 4:	<i>r</i>	0.118	0.589	0.618	1.000
Describing facial expressions	<i>p</i>	0.744	0.073	0.057	

Notes: \*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

*r* = Pearson's *r* coefficient      *p* = level of significance

Finally, Table 4.9 provides a summary of scores in tasks and the children's maintenance category, GOOD, FAIR or POOR. This table is supplemented by Figure 4.1. The results suggest that whereas two children (P4, S2) consistently achieved successful results, three children (P2, P3, P5) were not successful in the majority of tasks. One child (P2) in particular exhibited notable problems in all four tasks. It was also noted that three children (S5, P3, P5) showed rather inconsistent performance between tasks. As can be seen in Figure 4.1, the sojourner children exhibited more even performance than the permanent resident children did, with the exception of S5. Two children (P4, S2), who obtained mean success rates of 89 percent and 86 percent respectively, were considered to be GOOD in maintenance achievement. Four children (P1, S1, S3, S4), whose mean success rates were between 69 percent and 77 percent, were categorised as being FAIR. The remaining four children (P2, P3, P5, S5), whose mean success rates were between 33 to 52 percent, were rated as being POOR. No border line cases were found in categorising the children into the three maintenance levels.

**Table 4.9: Individual children's results in tasks and maintenance category**

Language Tasks	Children (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Mean Success Rate %
Task 1: Reading large numerals												
Success rate (percent)		83	40	14	10	71	75	83	83	63	7	62
Maintenance category		G	P	P	G	F	F	G	G	F	P	F
Task 2: Counting objects												
Success rate (percent)		83	52	57	91	57	78	83	78	78	61	72
Maintenance category		G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	F	F
Task 3: Naming objects												
Success rate (percent)		70	19	56	81	56	70	89	56	89	70	66
Maintenance category		F	P	P	G	P	F	G	P	G	F	F
Task 4: Describing facial Expressions												
Success rate (percent)		F 70	P 20	G 80	F 70	P 10	F 60	G 10	F 60	P 50	F 60	58
Maintenance category												P
Mean												
Success rate (percent)		77	33	52	86	49	71	89	69	70	50	65
Maintenance category		F	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	P	F

Notes (1) Mean success rate for permanent resident children is 59.4 percent and for sojourner children, 69.8 percent.

(2) Mean success rate for both children is 64.6 percent.

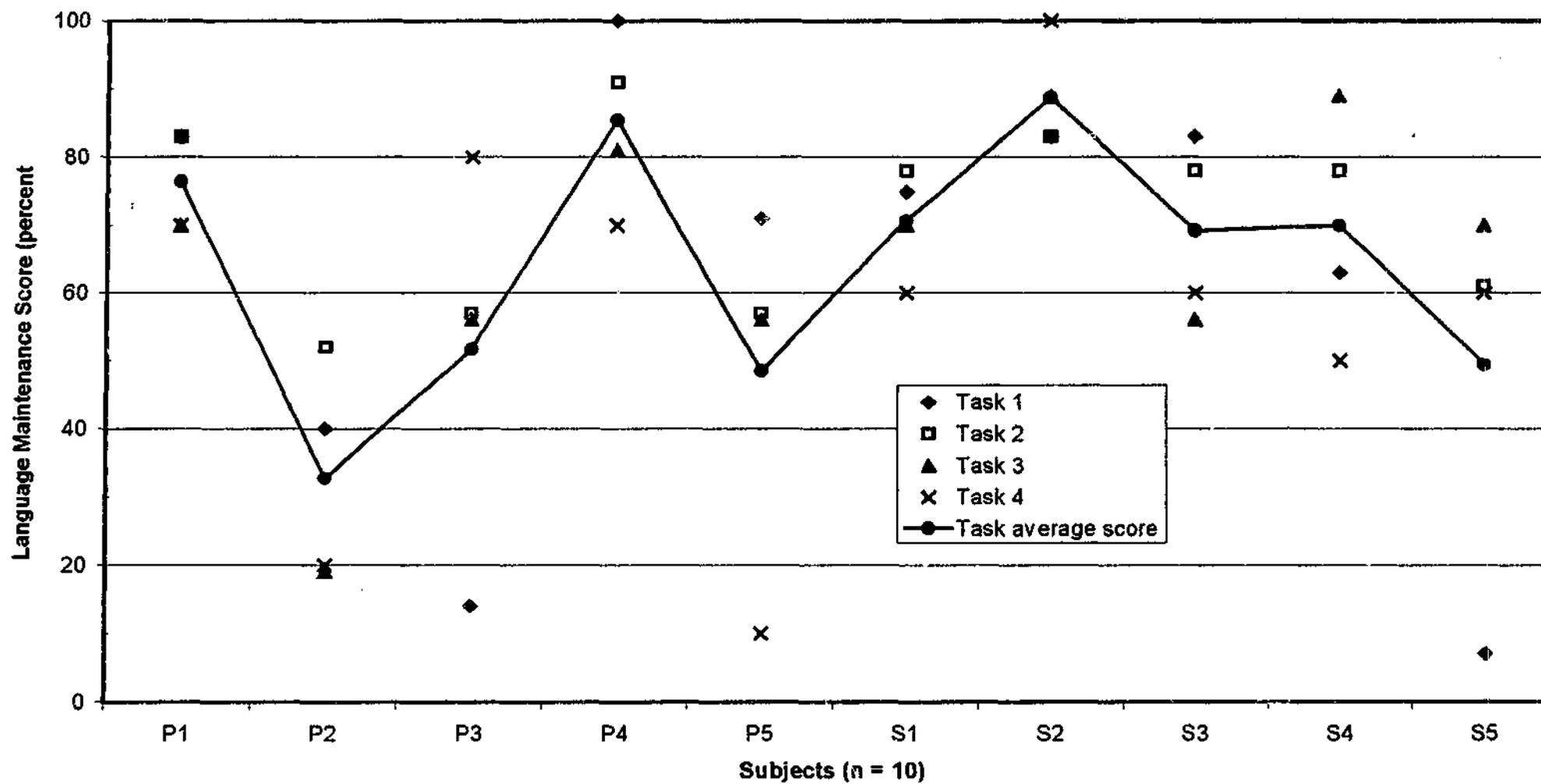
**Legend:**

G: GOOD (score achieved above 80percent)      F: FAIR (score achieved between 60 ~ 79percent)

P: POOR (score achieved below 59percent)

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children      S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

Figure 4.1: Range of individual task performance



#### **4.6 Closing Remarks**

This chapter was devoted to assessing the children's Japanese maintenance levels in terms of their performance in four language tasks (Reading large numerals, Counting objects, Naming objects and Describing facial expressions), the first half of the maintenance assessment criteria. The description of the tasks and the procedure for carrying them out were explained in this chapter. The results in each task were examined individually and in terms of the predisposing factors of the children. These were presented in descriptive form and in a number of tables. The success rate in each task was combined and overall maintenance level of each child was determined. The range in individual task performance and inter subject variation was presented in Figure 4.1. In order to obtain children's overall maintenance levels ('maintenance outcome' in Box E in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three), the results from task performance in this chapter need to be combined with the results of children's discourse skills assessment. Discourse analysis will be carried out in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### SPOKEN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the second set of the assessment criteria, the analysis of the children's discourse competence in Japanese. The data used for the children's discourse analysis was obtained from individual interviews with children and recorded family conversations in which each child participated. The criteria used to determine the maintenance level in discourse competence were: (1) English mixing, (2) the level of speech (politeness), (3) the flow of discourse, and (4) the coherence in discourse. These criteria were used because they were conspicuous discourse features in the data of this study and identified differences between children. The four criteria are fully operationalised in Section 5.3 with discourse examples illustrating the various notions of assessment. Once the results from those assessments are analyzed, the results from eight scoring criteria derived from the four language tasks in Chapter Four and the four discourse features introduced in this chapter will be combined to produce an overall score to indicate the maintenance level for each child.

#### 5.2 Assessment Scales for Discourse Analysis

Whereas a percentage success rate was used to determine the level of language maintenance for the language tasks in Chapter Four, individual scales were set for the four discourse criteria to yield three categories of Japanese language maintenance: GOOD, FAIR and POOR. Children's oral discourse skills were assessed on the basis of whether or not the discourse produced was considered the norm for the exchange taking place. For statistical analysis, each discourse skill was evaluated in terms of

three globally defined categories (where POOR = 1, FAIR = 2 and GOOD = 3). See Section 3.4.3 in Chapter Three for a definition of each of these three levels.

Assessment was structured to capture: (1) the *acceptability* of the English mixing, (2) the *appropriateness* in the level of speech, (3) the *smoothness and effortlessness* in the flow of discourse, and (4) the *comprehensibility* in the category which examined the coherence in discourse. Each is explained further in the following sections.

### **5.3 Results of Discourse Analysis**

The results of discourse analysis will be presented in three ways. First, the results of each discourse skill will be shown individually in the current section. The results will then be considered in light of the children's predisposing factors (Section 5.4). Finally, the overall results of all four discourse skills will be presented in summary form (Section 5.5). Each set of results will be introduced with distinctive discourse examples.

#### **5.3.1 English Mixing**

English mixing (the injection of English expressions into Japanese sentences) was a common feature of the discourse of the children in this study, although the amount of mixing did vary from one child to another. Linguistic mixing in bilingual speech includes (1) the use of elements from one language in an utterance made in another language (code mixing) and (2) alternation between language A and language B in the same utterance (code switching). The mixed elements may be lexical, syntactic or semantic. This study follows the practice of Pride (1985: 4) in operationalising code mixing as the incorporation (without permanent social acceptance and also very likely without linguistic assimilation either) into one language of items or stretches from another language. Most instances of mixing are lexical in nature, with nouns being

the most frequently substituted words. This reflects the fact that lexical switching involves fewer grammatical constraints (Appel and Muysken 1987; Romaine 1989; Clyne 1982, 1991). This was also evident in this study. The child may use mixing either because he or she lacks the equivalent in the Japanese or because he or she believes the mixed utterance expresses the intended meaning more adequately. Appel and Muysken (1987: 118-121) suggested six functions of code switching and code mixing: (1) the referential function, (2) the directive function, (3) the expressive function, (4) the phatic function, (5) the metalinguistic function, and (6) the poetic function. English mixing in the data collected for this study basically performed the 'referential' function and the 'expressive function'. The former type of mixing often involved a lack of knowledge or facility in Japanese. The latter type was used to emphasise a mixed identity through the use of English.

The *acceptability* of the English mixing on the lexical level was assessed in terms of the types of mixing and the dominance of particular types of mixing, rather than by referring simply to the amount of mixing in the discourse. The amount of mixing is affected by a number of uncontrollable factors such as the total number of utterances produced, lexical density and changes in the direction of conversation topics during interviews and family conversation. There is room for argument in regard to assessing the *acceptability* of English mixing. Here it should be noted that mixing is not necessarily a matter of interference, but may be a strategy specific to the bilingual speaker (Grosjean 1982; Hamer and Blanc 1989). The notion of mixing is close to that of interference in the theory of second-language learning. A deviation from the norm in each language may simply result from great familiarity with both languages (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991). It is only from the angle of monocultural or

monolingual norms that code mixing comes to be seen as being deviant or a marked form.

Two types of mixing and the dominance between them were considered. Type 1 is the mixing that occurs because of difficulties in expressing the same or similar concepts in Japanese, owing to the absence of an appropriate term in Japanese and/or because the English words were established as habitual language in the children's repertoire. This type of mixing served mainly the 'referential' function (Appel and Muysken 1987), and was treated as being acceptable in bilingual Japanese speech in this study. Type 2, on the other hand, is the mixing that occurs as a result of not knowing the appropriate vocabulary in Japanese, even though it was anticipated that most Japanese children of that age were familiar with the equivalent words in Japanese. This type of mixing was considered to be a deviation or an inappropriate form, and therefore was treated as being not acceptable in this study. Accordingly, dominance of Type 1 in the mixing was categorised as being GOOD, whereas dominance of Type 2 in the mixing was categorised as being POOR. When both types were equally observed, the case was labelled 'FAIR'. The children's maintenance levels in terms of English mixing are indicated in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Maintenance level assessed in terms of English mixing**

Subjects (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
LM Category	G	P	F	G	P	G	G	F	G	F

**Legend:**

G: GOOD F: FAIR P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

Half of the children (five) were categorised as being GOOD, three as being FAIR and the remaining two as being POOR in maintenance in terms of English mixing. Type 1 mixing in the data includes mixing that occurred when the children did not use Japanese equivalents for the Australian school subjects or school facilities. This kind

of mixing was often followed by a slight hesitation, and then a short explanation in Japanese. The following examples (1) and (2) illustrate how the Type 1 English mixing appeared in the children's discourse.

(1) Context: S5 and S4 were explaining school subjects at their Australian schools to the interviewer.

S5: ... *kyōporeeshon awarenesu* (Cooperation Awareness) toka iu nanka ano tomodachi o taisetsuni shimashoo toka ... soo yuu koto o narau.

(We have a subject called 'Cooperation Awareness' in which we learn about caring for friends and that sort of thing.)

S4: *Ano ... rerijasu sutadiizu* (Religious Studies) de kyookai no to ato wa...

(We have subjects such as 'Religious Studies' in which we learn about the church ...)

(2) Context: S5 was telling the interviewer about the school canteen.

S5: *Ano ... kyantiin* (canteen) tte yuu ka ano ... uriba arimasu ne. *Ano ... oyatsu toka.*

(Well, you know the canteen, a kind of selling corner, don't you? You buy snacks and things like that there.)

The majority of Type 1 mixing occurred in words which were established as habitual language in the children's repertoire. Because this type of mixing occurs more generally among the Japanese people residing in Melbourne (Masumi-So 1994), they were not treated as deviations in this study. Other examples of Type 1 mixing included the words which express (1) the type of school (*suteeto* = state school, *puraibeeto* = private school, *booizu sokuuru* = boys school, *junia sokuuru* = junior school), (2) school subjects (*saiensu* = science, *aato* = art and craft, *masu* = math, *myuujikku* = music), (3) places (*shitii* = city of Melbourne, *busshu* = bush, *chaachi* = church, *raiburarii* = library), (4) school grade (*iyaa sebun* = Year Seven, *pureppu* = prep), and (5) events ('*horidee*' = holidays, '*sutei za naito*' = staying the night [at a friend's house], *baasudee* = birthday, *bijitingu* = visiting, *ekusukaashon* = excursion).

Type 2 mixing (which were treated as deviations in this study) appeared in S5's discourse. They represented partial English mixing. These are '*ueitingu ga aru*'

(‘There’s a waiting list.’) and ‘*pikku suru*’ (‘Mothers pick up their children after school.’). If correctly adopted from English, these should be ‘*ueitingu risuto ga aru*’ and ‘*pikkuappu suru*’ respectively. The following (3) and (4) are the examples of Type 2 mixing that occurred in P2’s discourse:

(3) Context: P2 was telling her mother about a ride at the school fete.

P2: ... *kouyatte guruguru mawatte ne, appusaido-dawn (upside-down) ni natte ne, kao ga ne kooyatte sumairu (smile) shichatte ne ... . Ato wa suneeku (snake) mitaina mon notta.*  
(We turned around like this and became upside-down. Our face then smiled like this ... . I also had a ride on something which looks like a snake.)

M: *Suneeku (snake). Nani sore.*

(A ride on a snake. What kind of a ride is that?)

P2: *Nani ka ne, kou tonsuru (tonsil) mitaina, nanka karada no naka ni haitteru mitaina ne ... konna hiru (hill) mitai ni natte te, sore o nottari toka, nanka sooyuu koto sun no.*

(Let’s see. It was something like we were in a body (of a snake). There was something like a tonsil in the body of a snake, something like a hill. We had a ride on the hill and so forth.)

(4) Context: P2’s father was asking P2 how much pocket money she received from her mother.

F: *Ikura.*

(How much did you get?)

P2: *Iwanai, too much dakara.*

(I’d better not tell you, because it was too much.)

P2’s Type 2 mixing in the former example shown above consisted of two verbs (‘to become upside-down’ and ‘to smile’) and three nouns (‘snake’, ‘tonsil’ and ‘hill’), and in the latter example, one phrase (‘too much’). These examples of mixing are different from Type 1 mixing, and were noted by the listener (the current researcher). Similarly P5’s mixing in the following two discourse examples were also considered deviations. As illustrated in (5), P5’s mixing caused his mother difficulties in comprehending what he said, whereas his father understood what P5 meant in (6) and (7).

(5) Context: P5 was playing a game with his mother and used English to express his move in the game.

P5: *Aaaa ... boku kiipu (keep) dekinai. Boku aburibieito (abbreviate) yacchau.*  
(Ah ... I can’t keep it ... I will abbreviate.)

M: *Doo yuu imi.*

(What do you mean by that?)

P5: *Shoo[ryaku], shoo[ryaku], ... aburibieito (abbreviate), aburibieito (abbreviate).*

(I mean abbrevi ... abbrevi ..., I mean abbreviation, you know to abbreviate.)

(6) Context: P5 is talking to his father.

P5: *Kesa hayaku okitenai yo. Boku kyoo reito (late) nano. 'Quarter to, quarter to eight' nano. boku okita no.*

(I didn't get up early this morning. I was late getting up this morning. I got up at quarter to, quarter to eight this morning.)

(7) Context: P5's father asked about how P5 was doing at math at the Saturday School.

F: *Doyookoo de moo yakusuu narattaroo.*

(You've already learnt about finding denominators of numbers [in math] at the Saturday School, haven't you?)

P5: *Yakusuu ... shiranai. Boku raasuto uiiku (last week) inakatta mon.*

(I haven't done this [in math] yet. Because I was away from school last week.)

These examples show that the English mixing of P2 and P5 occurred in the normal flow of discourse without any hesitation markers, lengthy pauses or supplemental Japanese explanations, as occurred with Type 1 mixing. It should be noted that the occurrence of Type 2 mixing was limited during the interview, but that it occurred more frequently in ordinary family conversations. This may suggest that the children consciously control their English mixing in formal (or semi-formal) situations such as being interviewed by the researcher or when interacting with strangers such as this researcher. The examples shown above suggest that the parental reactions toward their children's mixing require further attention. This will be discussed in Chapter Eight in terms of parental attitudes toward their children's deviations.

### 5.3.2 Level of Speech: Politeness

Every language seems to have at least some kind of strategy for expressing respect or politeness. The strategy could involve intonation, the choice of words, or a particular selection of syntactic constructions. This type of conversational strategy is called

honorification (Tsujimura 1996). One of the salient characteristics of Japanese is the explicitness with which this honorification system is learned and utilised. The system of linguistic politeness in Japanese is learnt by children and adults as a part of the Japanese language study, and is called '*keigo*' (honorific language). It is built into the Grade Five curriculum in the Japanese schools where the average age of the children is 10 years. One can therefore assume that the children in this study are old enough to select and switch to the level of politeness appropriate to the situation and the status of the communication partner.

Generally speaking, in daily conversation, polite speech is used in social situations between acquaintances or strangers, while familiar speech forms are used between close friends and family members (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987). Different sentence endings in Japanese distinguish the two levels. In polite speech, sentences usually end with polite forms, such as '*desu*' and '*masu*'. For example, '*Ii otenki desu ne*' (Fine day, isn't it?), or '*Ashita eiga ni ikimasu ka*' (Are you going to the movie tomorrow?). In familiar speech, on the other hand, sentences usually end in what is known as the 'plain form'. This is the form of adjectives and verbs which are given in dictionaries, or '*da*' (plain form of '*desu*'). For example, '*Ii otenki da ne*' (Fine day, isn't it?), or '*Ashita eiga ni iku*' ('Are you going to the movie tomorrow?').

There is also a tendency for predicates to be ellipted in familiar speech: that is, sentences end with phrases and are verbless sentences. For example, while '*Kyoo*' (Today) is an acceptable informal (familiar) response to '*Itsu iku*' (When are you going?), the normal response to '*Itsu ikimasu ka*' (When are you going?) will be '*Kyoo ikimasu*' (I'm going today). Such ellipses (the omission of understood elements from sentences) serve to soften the politeness level in one way and to add abruptness in

another, depending on the context, the intonation and the way the speaker uses this device (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987).

During the interview with children, the interviewer (the current researcher) mainly addressed the children in the plain speech style or in soft speech with the omission of predicates, in order to ease the sense of tension which any of the children might have felt in the interview situation. This should have made it easier for the children to talk freely. However, it was anticipated that the children would respond in the 'desu-masu' style (polite speech style) in two instances during the interviews. One would have been at the beginning of the interview when the distance between the interviewee and the interviewer would still be obvious to most Japanese speakers. The other would have been when the interviewer switched to the polite speech style. Not all the children could make this switch.

The *appropriateness* is the scale used to assess the level of speech in children's spoken discourse, that is, their linguistic politeness in terms of the selection and use of appropriate sentence endings including the appropriate inclusion or omission of predicates. Use of the appropriate level of speech where necessary during the interview was rated as being GOOD. Occasional deviations resulted in the child being graded as FAIR. Consistent use of inappropriate levels of speech resulted in the child being given a grade of POOR in the language maintenance category. The results for this criterion are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Maintenance level assessed in terms of appropriateness in level of speech

Subjects (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
LM Category	F	P	P	G	P	G	F	F	G	G

**Legend:**

G: GOOD    F: FAIR    P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children    S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

The findings revealed that all sojourner children seemed to be more conscious about the level of speech in the interview situation than the permanent resident children and chose the appropriate speech style most of the time. Some permanent resident children (P2, P3 and P5 in particular) were neither able to select nor use the appropriate speech style regardless of the interviewer's use of polite speech, and used plain (familiar) speech style or abrupt speech endings with omitted predicates throughout the interviews. The following examples (8), (9) and (10) illustrate such occasions.

- (8) Context: When P2 was asked about her piano teacher, P2 used plain endings and mentioned her piano teacher's name without a proper name suffix which was the norm in this context.

I: *Piano no sensei donata.*

(Who is your piano teacher?)

P2: *Etto... Yamada Hanako, Nihon kara kiteru.* [Note: A fictitious name is used here.]

(Ah, she is Hanako Yamada. She came from Japan.)

- (9) Context: Although addressed in polite style by the interviewer, P3 responded in plain form without the predicate.

I: *Himana toki ni yonderu hon wa nan desu ka.*

(What sort of books do you read when you have a spare time?)

P3: *Uun... eigo no hon konogoro yonden no ne. Eigo hetada kara.*

(Ah ... , I'm reading English books these days. Because I'm not good at English.)

- (10) Context: P5 persisted in using plain form or without the predicate with the interviewer.

I: *Sono gakkoo wa ue no gakunen mo arimasu ka.*

(Is senior school attached to the school?)

P5: *Nai. Inai.*

(No. There aren't any senior students.)

I: *Sore wa doko ni aru n desu ka.*

(Where is the school?)

P5: *Tada soko.*

(Just there.)

These permanent resident children may give the interlocutor a friendly impression at first. However, their persistent use of plain speech style or speech style with predicate omission makes them sound incompetent for children of their age, and their

Japanese is negatively evaluated by the interlocutor because of this. P4, S1, S4 and S5, on the other hand, demonstrated their competence in selecting and using an appropriate level of speech which would be expected of children at their age. Examples (11) and (12) illustrate how P4 and S4 exhibited their skills in this area.

(11) Context: P4 responded in *desu-masu* style (polite style) when asked about his favourite subjects by the interviewer.

I: *Jaa nani ga tokui desu ka.*

(What are you good at, then?)

P4: *Kamoku desu ka. Kamoku dewa sansuu ga tokuida to omoimasu kedo. Sansuu wa motomoto s:ki desu ne.*

(You mean school subjects? Well, I think I am good at Math. Math has been my favourite subject from the beginning.)

(12) Context: S4 was asked about his favourite subjects by the interviewer.

I: *Sono naka de ichiban tokuina mono wa.*

(What are you good at among them?)

S4: *Supootsu desu ne. Ima wa daitai ga suimingu desu kedo ... fuyuni naru to futtobooru toka kurosu-kantorii toka ...*

(It's sports. Now we usually have swimming, but in winter we play football or have cross-country running and so forth.)

I: *Kurosu-kantorii tte iu no wa tokui?*

(Are you good at cross-country running?)

S4: *Maa yoku ikimasu kedo. Maa tokui desu ne*

(Well, we do it often. Yes, I would say that I am good at it.)

These examples show that the children from both residential groups demonstrated competence in this linguistic behaviour. This indicates that the problems in controlling speech level may not be specific to the permanent resident group. It is important to find out how some of the children acquired those skills, in contrast to the children who showed a lack of ability in this area. This issue will be addressed in Chapter Eight in terms of parental awareness of the children's problems in the first language maintenance.

### 5.3.3 Flow of Discourse

In contrast to written discourse, spoken discourse is characterised by frequent pauses, hesitation and the insertion of discourse markers (or fillers) which the speaker uses for various purposes, (e.g., to maintain his or her turn in the conversation, while searching for the right expression or a word, or to soften the situation) (Schiffrin 1987). However, slow and frequently hesitant speech with too many pauses and discourse markers often disrupts the flow of discourse, irritates the interlocutor and results in a tiring conversation. During the interviews with mothers, some mothers, permanent resident mothers in particular, expressed their concern with such disruptions when communicating with their children. In the data, these disruptions would occur when children seemed to lack confidence in finding suitable words or expressions in their Japanese repertoire or in organising coherent discourse. This resulted in producing lengthy and loose discourse, or reserved and rather slow speech by the children. In these occasions, the children often used a variety of discourse markers to maintain their turn in the exchanges. Discourse markers found most frequently in the data included: (1) '*etto ...*' or '*anoo ...*' (equivalents of 'well ...' or 'let me see ...' or 'umm ...' in English), (2) '*nan te yuu ka*' or '*nan dakke*' (I wonder what's the right way to say this ...), (3) '*nanika xxx mitaina*' (something like xxx), and (4) transition words such as '*sorede*' or '*sorekara*' (and then).

Flow of discourse was scored based on whether or not the speech was *smooth and effortless*. Flow of discourse which was at a natural speed with few disruptions was assessed as being GOOD. FAIR discourse was characterised by speech that was occasionally hesitant, accompanied by some rephrasing and repetition. The POOR grading was reserved for those whose speech was dominated by short or routine sentences, frequent hesitations, sentences which were left complete, and lengthy speech

which wandered without good discourse organisation. The results are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Maintenance level assessed in terms of flow of discourse

Subjects (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
LM Category	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	G	G	G

**Legend:**

G: GOOD F: FAIR P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

Four sojourner children (S2, S3, S4, S5) and one permanent resident child (P4) were rated as being GOOD. P1 and S1 were labelled 'FAIR' and three permanent resident children (P2, P3, P5) were rated as being POOR. The FAIR cases (P1, S1) spoke rather slowly and sounded less confident in their choice of words and expressions compared to the four sojourner children who were assessed as being GOOD. We may call this type of speech displayed by P1 and S1 'careful speech', a term employed from Labov's (1978) stylistic continuum. Examples of 'careful speech' are given in (13) and (14):

(13) Context: P1 was commenting on a story she had recently read.

I: *Sono ohanashi suki deshita.*  
(Did you like the story?)

P1: *Un. Nanda ka, sooyuu ne ... etto, denki toka yomu no suki da shi, etto, nanchuu ka, sugoi hito da na to omou kara.*  
(Yes, that sort of story is somewhat ... , well, I like to read biographies, and I think the person [in the story] is really great.)

(14) Context: S1 was talking about a story. S1 used the expression '*xxx te iu no kana*' (I wonder if xxx is the correct word or not) twice, a phrase which soon became conspicuous as one of her frequently used expressions.

I: *Sono yooki no naka ni nani ga haitte ta no.*  
(What was in the container?)

S1: *Unnto ... byooki o hiku, hikutte iu no kana ... byooki ga hiite nagaiki dekiru kusuri toka, kantanni uchuu o tobimawareru uchuusen toka, uun ... wakannai toki, ... sono kotoba ga tsuujinakatta ra dame da kara, techoo tte iu no kana ... etsuki no jisho, sore o naka ni irete zutto umete atta no.*  
(Ummm ... they were things like the medicine to cure sickness and to be able to live long, a spaceship by which you can travel in space freely, and a kind of pocketbook, that is, a dictionary with pictures for smooth communication.)

The hesitant speech style in these examples, although not necessarily evaluated negatively in this study, distinguished P1 and S1 from the other children (P4, S2, S3, S4, S5) who had been assessed as being GOOD in view of the smooth and effortless flow of their speech.

P2 and P3, both assessed as being POOR in terms of flow of discourse, exhibited fairly lengthy and loose discourse in which they frequently used discourse markers such as 'anoo' (umm ...), 'sorede' (and then) and 'nanika xxx mitaina' (I mean, something like xxx). Examples (15) and (16) illustrate this:

(15) Context: P2 was explaining to the interviewer what she did at the school camp.

1: *Kyampu de wa donna koto o shita no.*

(What did you do at the camp?)

P2: *Anoo ... kaado de asondari toka, 'Anne in Green Gables' no bideo o mitari toka, anoo... soto ni itte, ano ... nanika 'hike' (hiking) mitaina yoona no yatte, sorede nanika dokka ni itte, sorede mata bide ... nanika ookii nanika 'movie' mitaina toko ni itte, soide nanika bideo mite, sorede ... sore dake.*

(Well, we did things like playing cards and watching the video 'Anne in Green Gables <sic>', and then, let me see, we went outside and did something like hiking, and then we went somewhere, which was a place like a movie theatre and watched videos and ... and ... that's all.)

It seems that in (15), P2 wanted to list all the activities at the school camp in response to the interviewer's question about what she did at the camp. In order to do that, she produced one lengthy utterance by using connective devices and concluded the utterance with a rather abrupt ending after a pause. This gave the impression that she did not finish what she intended to say, but rather chose to end the conversation suddenly by surrendering her turn in the conversation outright as the easiest way out of the difficulties she was experiencing. The amount of repetition of 'sorede' or 'soide' (and then) and 'nanika xxx mitaina' (I mean something like xxx) was also notable. Furthermore, P2 inserted English words when she was unable to produce the appropriate Japanese word, such as in 'nanika "movie" mitaina toko' (well, some place

like where the movie is) in place of 'eigakan' (movie theatre) and 'nanka "hike" mitaina yoona no yatte' (ah, we did something like a hike) in place of 'haikingu o yatte' (we went hiking). As shown in (16) below, P3 also produced a lengthy discourse using connective devices, restating the previous statement with corrections or adding new information to it. This type of discourse was produced frequently by P3 and often resulted in vagueness rather than clarity in the meaning as a whole.

(16) Context: P3 was telling about a school excursion to the interviewer.

I: *Gakkoo kara ensoku toka ittari suru.*  
(Do you have school excursions?)

P3: *Tokidoki iku kedo, uun, gonensei wa tooku tte iu ka ... Bararatto ni itta koto an no ne. Soberen-hiru tte iu tokoro. Soshite sono tokoro ga sugoi minna ga kite mo ii tokoro na no ne. Soshite gakkoo ga kitara, etto ... obasan tachi ga kisete kure n no ne. Anoo .. ishoo mitaina no. Anoo ... jibun de kiru n da kedo, kuren no ne, kashite kure n no ne. Soshite, sore de futsuka gakkoo o kau, eeto kayou no ne. Soshite minna ga shashin toka mottekitemo ii n da kedo, ichiban saigo no hi ni shashin tonnai to ikenai no.*

(We sometimes have school excursions. In Grade 5, let me see, we went to a place far from Melbourne, I mean, we went to Ballarat, a place called Sovereign Hill. It is a place where anyone can go, you see. When school children visit there, the women there make us dress up in old costumes. Well, we put them on by ourselves. I mean that the women there lend us old costumes and we wear them for two days while we stay in Ballarat. And, we are allowed to bring our cameras with us on this trip, and on the last day we have to take photos of ourselves in old costumes.)

The difference between P2 and P3 in the above examples was that P2 did not hold her turn in the conversation as long as P3. Throughout the interview P2's speech was characterised as being short with minimum information. Example (15) was, in fact, one of P2's most lengthy and informative sentences. P3, on the other hand, did hold her turn in the conversation for quite a long time. However, she often ended up confusing the listener and probably herself as well. These features of P3 may relate to her problem in gaining overall coherence in terms of how she organised her discourse, a matter to consider in the discussion of the final measure in the following section.

### 5.3.4 Coherence in Discourse

A major aspect of discourse competence as described by Canale (1984) is the use of cohesive devices. This involves the extent to which utterances function together to form a unified spoken discourse and present comprehensible discourse to the hearer. In order to organise such discourse, the speaker must pay attention to two aspects: (1) cohesion in *form* through the use of appropriate transition words and pronouns, and through the repetition of key words and sentence patterns, and (2) coherence in *thought*, achieved through the development of ideas and organisation, and by being consistent in the presentation of a viewpoint. This aspect of spoken discourse competence was also considered in this study. A measure of *comprehensibility* of the speech was developed for assessing the conversations with the children. Children who produced discourse which contained no major incomprehensible elements for the interviewer were assessed as being GOOD. Those who occasionally produced ambiguous discourse which caused the listener to lose confidence in their understanding of the conversation were assessed as being FAIR. A POOR rating was given to the children who presented incomprehensible discourse and frequently lacked coherence in their thinking and in the forms they used. Table 5.4 summarises the results.

Table 5.4: Maintenance level assessed in terms of coherence in discourse

Subjects (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
LM Category	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G

**Legend:**

G: GOOD F: FAIR P: POOR

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

Two permanent resident children (P1, P4) and three sojourner children (S2, S4, S5) were categorised as being GOOD in maintaining coherence in their spoken discourse, two sojourner children (S1, S3) were seen as being FAIR, and three

permanent resident children (P2, P3, P5) were labelled 'POOR'. The examples of discourse which contained incomprehensible or ambiguous elements and loosely structured discourse are presented below. In (17), P5 was not successful in giving the location of the camp site because he seemed to be unsure of the right expression for directions in Japanese. He may have intended to say northwest or northeast. His utterances lost cohesion in both form and content, and this caused confusion for the interlocutor.

(17) Context: P5 was explaining the location of the camp site to the interviewer.

I: *Kampu doko ni itta no.*

(Where did you go for school camp?)

P5: *XXX tte iu toko atte ne, soko wa kita ka nishi, nishi, kita ka higashi no hoo, tokoro.*

(There is a place called 'XXX', you see, and it is in the direction of north or west, west, north or east, the place.)

In example (18), P2's initial response was not focused on the question, therefore the interviewer had to confirm what she really wanted to convey by her indirect statement about her favourite subject, math. Although indirect statements can be used as a strategy to express a speaker's modesty when it relates to his or her superiority over others, P2's statement did not work in this way due to the disorganisation of her sentence.

(18) Context: P2 was responding to a question about the subject in which she excelled at the local school.

I: *Ichiban tokuina kamoku tte nan desu ka.*

(What is your favourite subject?)

P2: *Sansuuwa, nanka geemu de, asobitekina, nanka, kakezan no geemu, ittsumo ue de ...*

(Math is something like a game, a fun game, and I am somehow always scored at the upper level in multiplication game ...)

I: *Jaa sansuu ga tokui.*

(Well then, Math is your favourite subject, is it?)

P2: *Un.*

(Yeah.)

Similarly P3's responses (underlined) to her mother's questions in examples (19) and (20) were somewhat unfocused and did not provide sufficient information, therefore her mother had to adjust herself towards the direction of the conversation established by P3, and ask follow-up questions. This produced rather lengthy exchanges between P3 and her mother.

(19) Context: P3's mother was talking to P3 about ballet lessons.

M: *Kyoo nande baree ... ano 'Taran Teraa (Tarantella)' benkyoo shiteta no.*  
(Why did you practice the ballet, ... "Taran Teraa (Tarantella)"?)

P3: *Baree da mono.*  
(Because it's a ballet lesson.)

M: *Are fudan ni yaranai deshoo.*  
(But you usually don't practice that one, do you?)

P3: *Dakara tanbarin mottekite tte itteta no.*  
(So the teacher told us to bring a tambourine.)

M: *Itsumo.*  
(Every time?)

P3: *Uun, isumo ja nai.*  
(No, not every time.)

M: *Kondo no kinyoobi.*  
(Next Friday?)

P3: *Un.*  
(Yeah.)

P3's mother had to follow up what P3 said, because P3's responses in example (19) were unclear. Example (20) is a continuation of the conversation in (19).

(20) Context: P3 and her mother were talking about when P3 has ballet lessons next week.

M: *Jaa nani, raishuu wa yonkai mo baree ga arutte koto. Getsuyoobi, mokuyoobi, kinyoobi, doyoobi. Yonkai. Ima wa shuu ni sankai ja nai. Mata ekisutora ni ekisutora ga tsuite renshuu.*  
(Well, you know that there will be four lessons next week, do you? Monday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, four lessons altogether. You have three lessons per week now, don't you. Do you have another extra lesson on top of the normal lessons, do you?)

P3: *Un, are ga to omou ya. Sanben, sankai da to omou yo. Datte sa sensei nanka ittete ne, I am sure you'll be there mitai yo.*  
(Yeah, I think it means that ... we'll have three lessons. Because the teacher said something like we don't have to come to the lesson.)

M: *Itsu.*  
(When?)

P3: *'Thursday' no ni.*  
(For Thursday's lesson.)

M: *Mokuyoobi wa.*  
(You mean you don't have to go on Thursday for a lesson.)

P3: *Soo.*  
(That's right.)

- M: *Huun, jaa mokuryoobi no kawari ni kinyoobi ni irasshaitte.*  
 (I see. Well, did your teacher tell you to come on Friday instead of on Thursday?)
- P3: *Un.*  
 (Yeah.)

In order to participate in this type of conversation, one has to become familiar with the speaker's patterns of discourse and to adjust oneself to them. Furthermore, one must be patient or have reasons for listening. Parents are the kind of people who can manage in a situation like this. In P3's case, her mother was patient enough to find out the information from P3. However, parents' reactions towards their child's incompetence in producing coherent discourse was not always of patience, as was the case of P5's father in the next example (21).

(21) Context: P5's father was asking about the bus on which P5 went to the school camp.

- P5: *Kyoo asa mita deshoo, ne. Basu. Sono basu notta.*  
 (You saw a bus this morning, didn't you? We went by that bus.)
- F: *Sono basu tte koto nai deshoo. Sore to nita yoona basu tte iu deshoo.*  
 (It can't be that bus. You should have said that you went by a bus which was similar to the bus we saw this morning.)
- P5: *Jaa onaji no basu.*  
 (Well, I would say it was the same bus, then.)
- F: *Onaji basu daka wakaru wake nai. Kuruma no bangoo oboeteta no. Uso iunja nai yo, omae. Omae uso bakkari itte n da.*  
 (How do you know it was the same bus? Did you remember the number plate? Don't go around making things up. Stop telling tales!)

In (21), P5's father got very impatient with P5's vague description of a bus because P5 did not pay much attention to the use of the demonstrative pronoun '*sono*' (that particular) as in '*sono basu*' (that particular bus) in place of '*sore to nita yoona basu*' (a bus similar to that one). The parental attitudes towards their children's Japanese is an important factor for maintenance of the language. When parents are aware of the children's problems, they may correct their children's Japanese. An example of how parents might correct their children's Japanese is illustrated in (22), a continuation of the discourse in (21) above.

(22) Context: P5 and his father continued talking about the bus P5 went the school camp.

P5: *Onaji da yo. Tada bangoo ga chigau dake da yo.*

(It's the same bus. It's just got a different number plate. That's all.)

F: *Jaa onaji kaisha no basu toka.*

(In that case, you have to say a bus of the same company.)

P5: *Onaji kaisha.*

([It's a bus of] the same company then.)

F: *Onaji taipu no kuruma no shurui.*

(You can also say that it's the same type of vehicle as we saw this morning.)

P5: *Onaji shurui to kaisha no kuruma.*

(It's the same type of vehicle, and the same company's vehicle.)

F: *Untenshu mo issho datta no.*

(Was the driver the same person, was he?)

P5: *Chigau. Kaeri wa chigau.*

(No, he wasn't. We had a different driver on the way home.)

As can be seen in the above exchanges between P5 and his father, parental awareness and correction of their children's language problems are undoubtedly important processes for successful language maintenance. However, effectively dealing with children's Japanese problems is not an easy task for parents. Some parents adjust themselves to their children's problematic Japanese and are patient in communicating with them. Others may be more impatient or irritated when problems which need correcting arise, as was the case in example (22). These issues will be further discussed in Chapter Eight where parental attitudes towards the children's Japanese language maintenance are considered.

#### **5.4 Analysis of Variance in Spoken Discourse Assessment**

This section sought to identify whether the discourse skills differed between children's groups which were formed according to their predisposing factors (Box C in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three). The values given for each of the children (scores of GOOD were given 3 points; FAIR, 2 points; and POOR, 1 point) were used for the analysis. The total average scores for the discourse trait were examined against values for the same

10 variables which were examined in the analysis of task performance (Section 4.4). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 5.5.

As can be seen from Table 5.5, there was a large variation between the two groups which were formed according to the children's 'everyday Japanese language proficiency' and 'academic Japanese language proficiency' ( $F = 12.80, p < 0.01$ ). The children exhibited better skills in discourse organisation if they developed an age-appropriate level of academic language proficiency in Japanese along with basic interpersonal communication skills. This pattern has already been confirmed in the task performance analysis in the previous section.

The 'residential status' ( $F = 4.23$ , nearly significant at  $p < 0.05$ ), 'preferred language' ( $F = 2.10, p = 0.18$ ) and 'language used with siblings' ( $F$  ratio = 3.41,  $p = 0.10$ ) were found to be the variables which tended to separate out the children in their Japanese proficiency levels. Sojourner children showed better skills in discourse presentation than permanent resident children, as did the children who preferred Japanese over English and used Japanese with siblings. There were no meaningful statistical differences between the groups which were formed according to 'gender', 'length of residence in Australia', 'schooling in Japan', 'Japanese schooling in Australia', and 'age of siblings'.

**Table 5.5: Results of analysis of variance in discourse skills**

Variables	Groups	No. of children (n=10)	Mean	SD	Min	Max	F ratio	F <sub>probability</sub>
1. Residential status	1. Sojourner	5	2.65	0.285	2.25	3.00	4.235*	0.073
	2. Permanent resident	5	1.75	0.935	1.00	3.00		
2. Gender	1. Boys	5	2.40	0.840	1.00	3.00	0.587	0.465
	2. Girls	5	2.00	0.810	1.00	2.75		
3. Length of residence	1. Short	3	2.66	0.381	2.25	3.00	0.695	0.530
	2. Average	3	2.08	0.946	1.00	2.75		
	3. Long	4	1.93	0.965	1.00	3.00		
4. Schooling in Japan	1. Short	7	2.00	0.878	1.00	3.00	0.897	0.449
	2. Average	1	2.25	-	-	-		
	3. Long	2	2.87	0.176	2.75	3.00		
5. Japanese schooling in Australia	1. 24 months	2	2.87	0.176	2.75	3.00	0.897	0.449
	2. 42 months	1	2.25	-	-	-		
	3. 54 months	7	2.00	0.878	1.00	3.00		
6. Everyday Japanese proficiency	1. Low	2	1.00	0.000	1.00	1.00	12.80*	0.007**
	2. High	8	2.50	0.566	1.25	3.00		
7. Academic Japanese proficiency	1. Low	3	1.08	0.144	1.00	1.25	12.80*	0.007**
	2. High	7	2.67	0.278	2.25	3.00		
8. Preferred language	1. English	3	1.66	1.154	1.00	3.00	2.105*	0.184
	2. Japanese	7	2.42	0.572	1.25	3.00		
9. Language used with siblings	1. Mix of English and Japanese	4	1.68	0.800	1.00	2.50	3.417*	0.101
	2. Japanese	6	2.54	0.659	1.25	3.00		
10. Age of siblings	1. Older and younger	1	2.50	-	-	-	0.092	0.913
	2. Younger	5	2.10	0.911	1.00	3.00		
	3. Older	4	2.25	0.889	1.00	3.00		

**Legend**

\* = F ratio > 1, \*\* = p < 0.01

### 5.5 Overall Results of Spoken Discourse Assessment

An overall summary of scores in terms of their central tendency and dispersion are presented in Table 5.6. Relatively small differences were found in the mean scores of four discourse skills, ranging from 2.1 for 'level of speech' to 2.3 for 'English mixing' and 'coherence of discourse'. The inter subject variation was also examined in the scores (see also Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below). The distribution of G, F and P (maintenance levels) presents a similar pattern in the four discourse skills, that is, almost 50 percent of the children consistently demonstrated a good level of discourse skill in all areas. However, 20 to 30 percent of the children showed incompetence in all areas.

**Table 5.6: Summary of scores in discourse skills**

Mean	Discourse traits	Median	Mode	Min score	Max score	Range	SD	No. children per Maintenance category		
								G	F	P
2.3	English mixing	2.5	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	-	5	3	2
2.1	Level of speech	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	-	4	3	3
2.2	Flow of discourse	2.5	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	-	5	2	3
2.3	Coherence in discourse	2.5	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	-	5	3	2

**Legend:**

G: GOOD (score = 3)

F: FAIR (score = 2)

P: POOR (score = 1)

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children    S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

Table 5.7 shows the results of correlation analysis. There is a strong interrelatedness in the children's discourse skills, shown by the significant positive correlation at the level of  $p = 0.01$  or  $p = 0.05$ . This finding suggests that the children's performance was consistent across different characteristics of discourse assessment. The correlation in discourse skills was stronger and more consistent compared to the correlation found in the task performance (see Section 4.5 in Chapter

Four). This suggests that these skills are strongly interrelated and are developing together. The finding suggests that it is necessary to organise maintenance programs to cater for the balanced development of these skills.

**Table 5.7: Correlation between discourse skills**

Discourse skills		English Mixing	Level of Speech	Flow of Discourse	Coherence In discourse
English mixing	<i>r</i>	1.000	0.724*	0.646*	0.793**
	<i>p</i>		0.018	0.044	0.006
Level of speech	<i>r</i>	0.724*	1.000	0.801**	0.801**
	<i>p</i>	0.018		0.005	0.005
Flow of discourse	<i>r</i>	0.646*	0.801**	1.000	0.868**
	<i>p</i>	0.044	0.005		0.001
Coherence in discourse	<i>r</i>	0.793**	0.801**	0.868**	1.000
	<i>p</i>	0.006	0.005	0.001	

Notes: \*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

*r* = Pearson's *r* coefficient      *p* = level of significance

Finally, Table 5.8 provides a overall summary of the children's maintenance outcomes. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 supplement Table 5.8, and highlight the inter subject variation in the different areas for each individual. For each individual rating, scores of GOOD were given 3 points; FAIR, 2 points; and POOR, 1 point. One permanent resident child and three sojourner children (P4, S2, S4, S5) were consistently assessed positively (rated as being GOOD), whereas three permanent resident children (P2, P3, P5) were consistently assessed negatively (rated as being POOR) in most of the discourse skills examined. The remaining three children (P1, S1, S3) did not exhibit notable incompetence in their discourse and therefore were assessed as being FAIR. If the children were to be placed in two broad categories, one would consist of the seven children who demonstrated a FAIR or a GOOD competence in organising discourse in Japanese, and the other would consist of the three children who exhibited some noticeable incompetence in this aspect of Japanese language usage.

Figure 5.1: Inter subject variation in discourse skills assessment

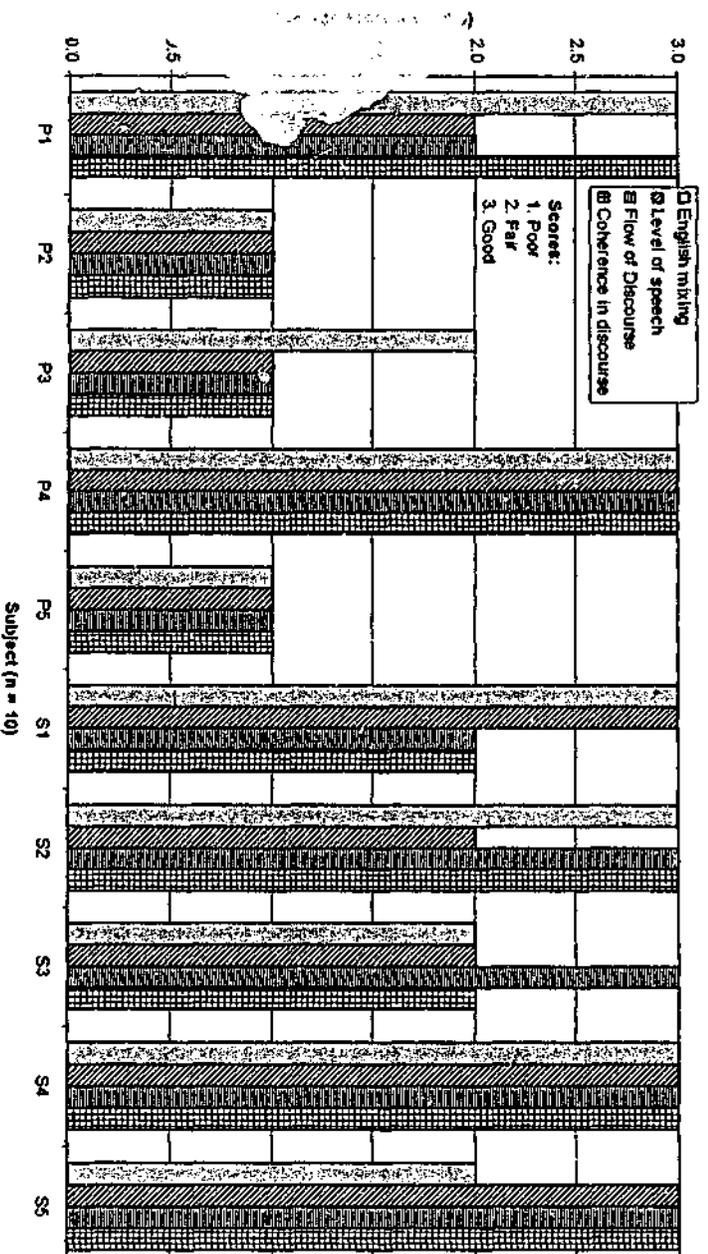
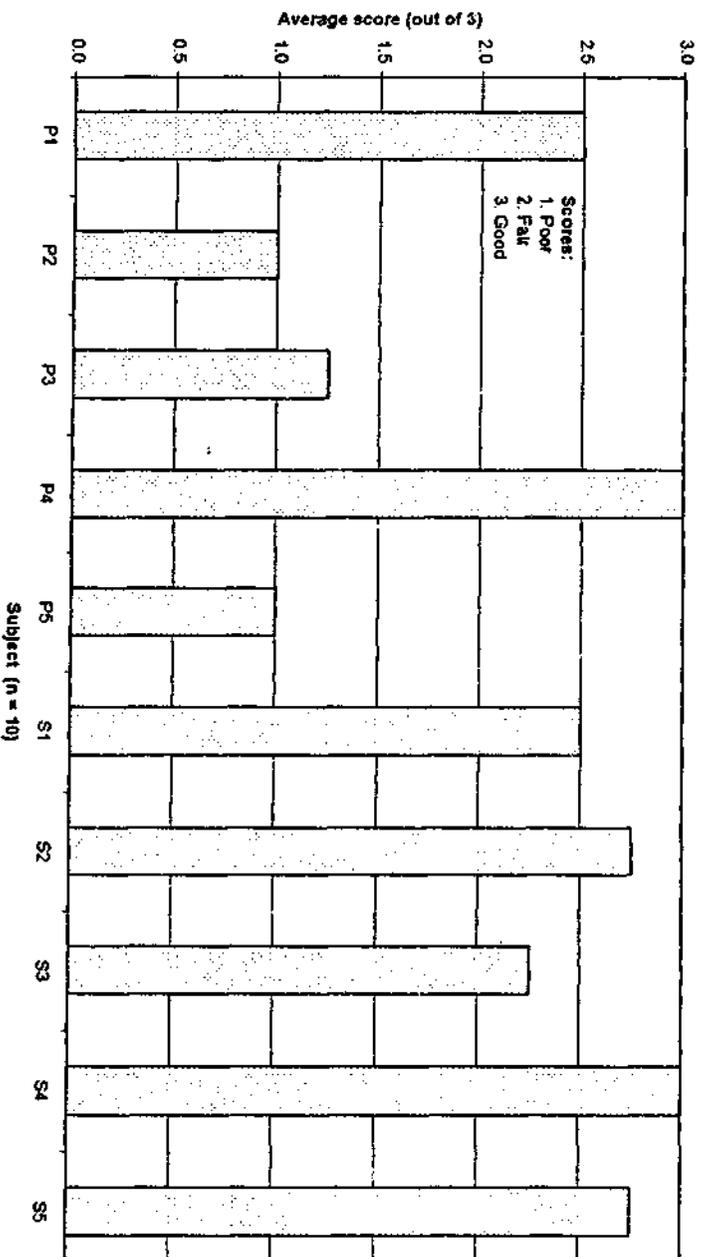


Figure 5.2: Inter subject variation in average maintenance score in spoken discourse



**Table 5.8: Summary of levels of maintenance in four discourse skills**

Children (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
Discourse skills										
English mixing	G	P	F	G	P	G	G	F	G	F
Level of speech	F	P	P	G	P	G	F	F	G	G
Flow of discourse	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	G	G	G
Coherence in discourse	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G
Average score	2.50	1.00	1.25	3.00	1.00	2.50	2.75	2.25	3.00	2.75
Maintenance category	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G

**Legend:**

G: GOOD (score = 3) F: FAIR (score = 2)

P: POOR (score = 1)

P1 ~ P5: Permanent resident children S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children

**5.6 Closing Remarks**

In this chapter, children's spoken discourse was analysed in terms of four discourse skills. The results in each discourse skill were presented individually together with the distinctive discourse examples. The results were also examined by reference to the children's predisposing factors. A summary of the overall maintenance level in discourse skills of each child was presented in tables and figures highlighting the inter subject variation. With regard to the problem cases, parents who critically evaluated their children's discourse competence and chose appropriate solutions for the problems were an important part of successful language maintenance. In the next chapter, the results obtained in this chapter will be combined with the results from the task performance to produce a single overall maintenance outcome for each child.

## CHAPTER 6

### INTER MEASURE RELIABILITY OF MAINTENANCE ASSESSMENT

#### 6.1 Introduction

The concept of language maintenance has several different dimensions as discussed in the introductory chapters. In order to grasp one's language maintenance level, it is important to apply a reliable standard or measuring method. Since there is no clear agreement on how to measure the level of Japanese language maintenance in terms of proficiency, especially for young school children (aged 10 to 11), two measuring methods were designed for this study. The previous two chapters presented the methods which were used for the assessment and the outcomes of the assessment. A crucial question here is, 'To what extent can we justify the outcomes and their interpretations?' According to Bachman (1990: 160-163), when reliability increases in the measures, it also satisfies the necessary conditions for validity. He recognises reliability and validity as complementary aspects of a common concern in measurement: identifying, estimating and controlling the effects of factors that affect assessment results.

This chapter first examines the reliability of the three sets of assessment results. It examines the internal consistency of the results by calculating reliability coefficients and by correlating the children's task performance with their discourse skills. The overall maintenance level of each child is then presented, highlighting the inter subject variation.

## 6.2 Internal Consistency in the Maintenance Assessment

To estimate internal consistency in the maintenance assessment, Cronbach's alpha coefficient reliability was calculated for each of the three assessments: (1) task performance (assessed in Chapter Four); (2) discourse skills (assessed in Chapter Five); and (3) overall maintenance levels (combined results of task performance and discourse assessment). The reliability coefficient for each assessment is shown in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1: Reliability coefficients in maintenance assessment**

Assessment	(1) Tasks	(2) Discourse skills	(3) Overall: tasks + discourse
Alpha ( $\alpha$ )	0.7415	0.9316	0.6688

A high reliability coefficient ( $\alpha = 0.74$ ) was found for the four sets of language task scores and a very high coefficient ( $\alpha = 0.93$ ) was found across the four discourse skill assessments. Thus, the reliability of the two sets of assessment was statistically supported, suggesting that language tasks and discourse analysis were the appropriate methods to measure a child's Japanese language maintenance. The higher reliability in discourse assessment compared to task assessment indicates that the interrelatedness among the four discourse skills is stronger than in the skills required for the four language tasks.

In order to obtain children's overall maintenance outcomes (Box E in Figure 3.1, Chapter Three), the results of four language tasks and four discourse skills were combined to produce a single overall score for each of the 10 children. This is presented in Table 6.3 below (Section 6.4). A moderate reliability ( $\alpha = 0.66$ ) was found in the overall maintenance results. There may be a limitation in combining and estimating internal consistency of two different sets of scores (i.e., the tasks were

assessed by a discrete point-measurement scale and the discourse skills, global rating scale), however, the reliability of the overall maintenance results was statistically supported. As shown above, the three sets of assessment results were statistically proved to be reliable and these will be used for further analysis and discussion in the following chapters.

### **6.3 Correlation between Task Performance and Discourse Assessment**

This section examines the relationship between the task performance and the discourse skills. Table 6.2 presents the correlation between the success rates of four tasks and four discourse skills. No negative correlation was found in the results. Instead, a high positive correlation was found between the English mixing and Tasks 2 and 3 ( $r = 0.83 \sim 0.87, p < 0.01$ ) and between the coherence in discourse and Task 3 ( $r = 0.80, p < 0.01$ ). A moderately high correlation was found between: (1) the English mixing and Task 4 ( $r = 0.74, p < 0.05$ ), (2) the level of speech and Tasks 2 and 3 ( $r = 0.652, p < 0.05; r = 0.697, p < 0.05$ ), (3) the flow of discourse and Task 2 ( $r = 0.72, p < 0.05$ ), and (4) the coherence in discourse and Task 2 ( $r = 0.76, p < 0.05$ ). It should be noted that whereas Task 2 (counting objects) and Task 3 (naming objects) correlated highly with all or most of the four discourse skills, Task 1 (reading large numerals) did not show any significant correlation with the discourse skills.

There was a high correlation between the mean success rates of tasks and discourse ( $r = 0.80, p < 0.01$ ). Figure 6.1 compares each child's mean success rates of task performance and discourse assessment. Here, the success rates (percentage scores) in the task performance have been converted to global rating scores (GOOD = 3, FAIR = 2, POOR = 1) for comparison. From this Figure, it is evident that the children generally achieved better mean scores in discourse

assessment than they do in task performance. However, no noticeable difference between the two mean scores was observed except for two cases, S4 and S5 who performed poorly in tasks but exhibited solid competence in discourse assessment. The findings thus indicated that in relative terms the children in this study generally performed at the same level both in the language tasks and in the discourse analysis. S4 and S5 were the exception.

Figure 6.1: Mean success rates of task and discourse

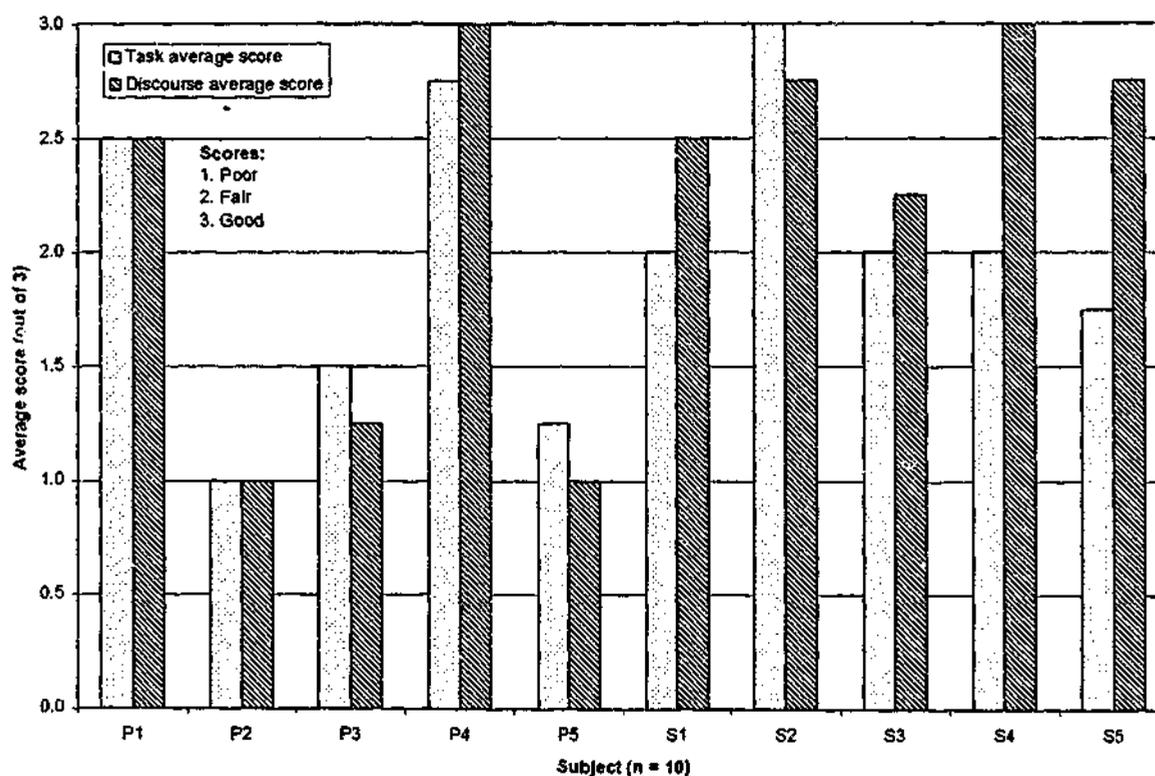


Table 6.2: Correlation between task performance and discourse assessment

	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 4	English Mixing	Level of Speech	Flow of Discourse	Coherence In discourse
Task 1	<i>r</i> 1.000	0.785**	0.379	0.118	0.462	0.235	0.337	0.337
	<i>p</i>	0.007	0.280	0.744	0.179	0.513	0.342	0.342
Task 2	<i>r</i> 0.785**	1.000	0.740*	0.589	0.875**	0.652*	0.720*	0.764*
	<i>p</i> 0.007		0.014	0.073	0.001	0.041	0.019	0.010
Task 3	<i>r</i> 0.379	0.740*	1.000	0.618	0.831**	0.697*	0.719	0.801**
	<i>p</i> 0.280	0.014		0.057	0.003	0.025	0.019	0.005
Task 4	<i>r</i> 0.118	0.589	0.618	1.000	0.741*	0.344	0.519	0.564
	<i>p</i> 0.744	0.073	0.057		0.041	0.331	0.125	0.089
English mixing	<i>r</i> 0.462	0.875**	0.831**	0.741*	1.000	0.724*	0.646*	0.793**
	<i>p</i> 0.179	0.001	0.003	0.014		0.018	0.044	0.006
Level of speech	<i>r</i> 0.235	0.652*	0.697*	0.344	0.724*	1.000	0.801**	0.801**
	<i>p</i> 0.513	0.041	0.025	0.331	0.018		0.005	0.005
Flow of discourse	<i>r</i> 0.337	0.720*	0.719*	0.519	0.646*	0.801**	1.000	0.868**
	<i>p</i> 0.342	0.019	0.019	0.125	0.044	0.005		0.001
Coherence in discourse	<i>r</i> 0.337	0.764*	0.801**	0.564	0.793**	0.801**	0.868**	1.000
	<i>p</i> 0.342	0.010	0.005	0.089	0.006	0.005	0.001	

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Task 1: Reading large numerals Task 2: Counting objects Task 3: Naming objects Task 4: Describing facial expressions

*r* = Pearson's *r* coefficient *p* = level of significance

## 6.4 Overall Maintenance Outcomes

As might be predicted from the results obtained in task performance and discourse analysis, there were notable differences in the overall maintenance outcomes (presented in Table 6.3) achieved by the individual child. These differences in outcomes were attributed to the children's individual differences as well as to group-specific factors. Whereas three children (P1, P4, S2, S4) were considered to be successful cases by demonstrating a good grasp of Japanese language, three children (P2, P3, P5) represented unsuccessful cases in which some notable problems (i.e., deviations) were found. The remaining three children (S1, S3, S5) demonstrated a fair level of competence in Japanese language where some deviations were found, although these were relatively few and less serious compared to those found in the unsuccessful cases. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 present inter subject variation in task performance, discourse skills and overall results.

Table 6.3: Overall results of maintenance assessment

Criteria (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1. Task 1	3	1	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	1
2. Task 2	3	1	1	3	1	2	3	1	2	2
3. Task 3	2	1	1	3	1	2	3	1	3	2
4. Task 4	2	1	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	2
Mean score for tasks	2.50	1.00	1.50	2.75	1.25	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.75
5. English mixing	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	2
6. Level of speech	2	1	1	3	1	3	2	2	3	3
7. Flow of discourse	2	1	1	3	1	2	3	3	3	3
8. Coherence in discourse	3	1	1	3	1	2	3	2	3	3
Mean score for discourse	2.50	1.00	1.25	3.00	1.00	2.50	2.75	2.25	3.00	2.75
Overall mean score	2.50	1.00	1.38	2.88	1.13	2.25	2.88	2.13	2.50	2.25

**Legend:**

P1 ~ P5: permanent resident children      S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children  
 Task 1: Reading large numerals          Task 2: Counting objects  
 Task 3: Naming object                      Task 4: Describing facial expressions  
 Score 3 = GOOD    Score 2 = FAIR    Score 1 = POOR

Figure 6.2: Inter subject variation in tasks and discourse

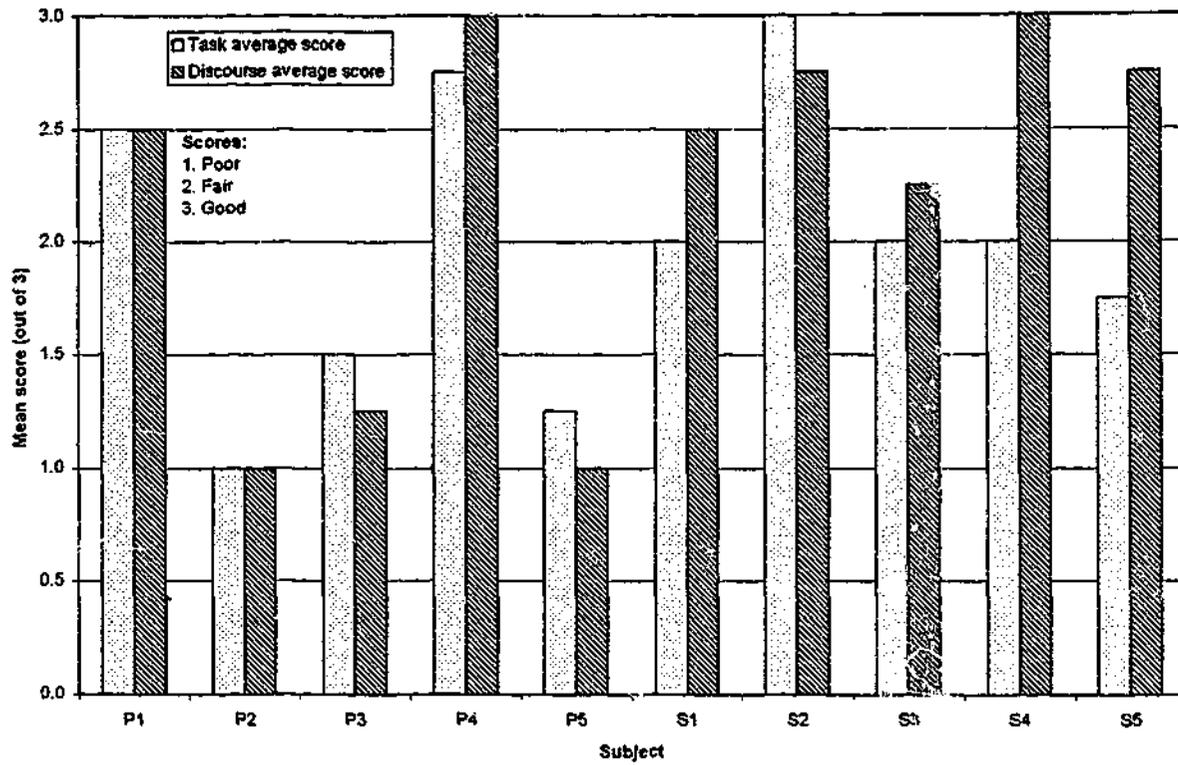
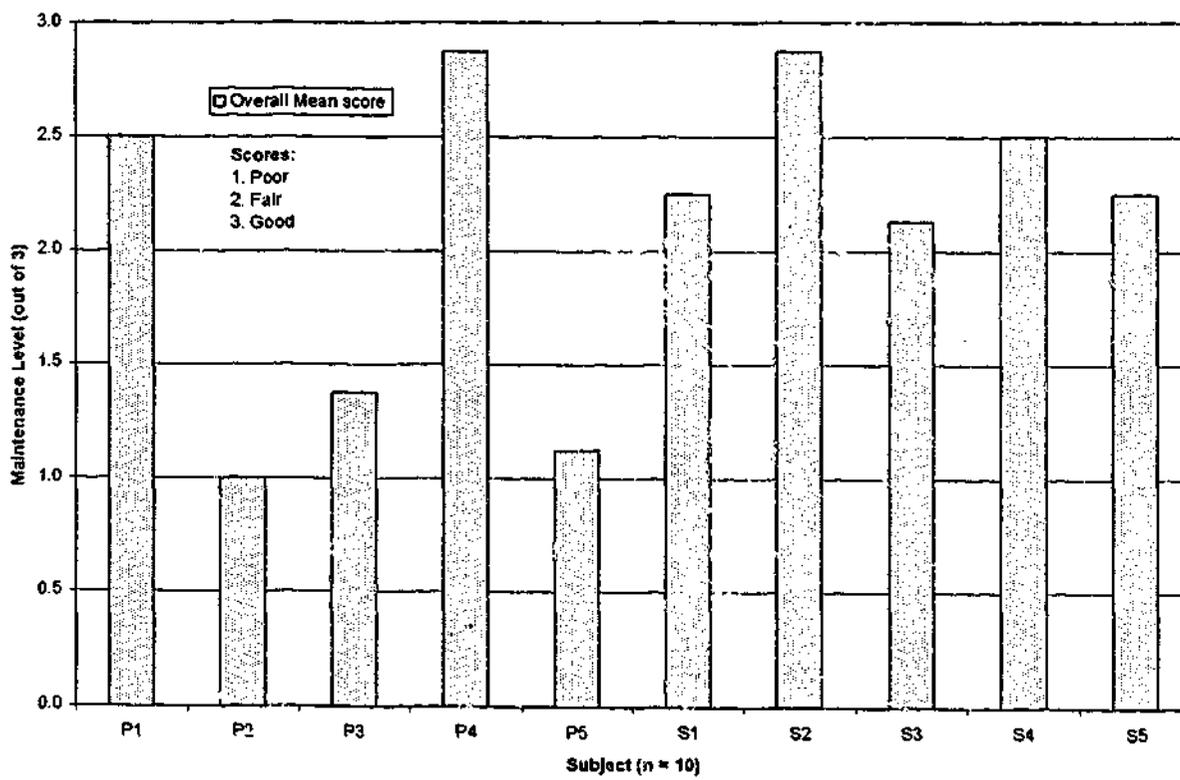


Figure 6.3: Inter subject variation in overall maintenance levels



## **6.5 Closing Remarks**

The results for the eight scoring criteria (the performance in four language tasks as reported in Chapter Four and the four oral discourse skills as reported in Chapter Five) were combined in this chapter to produce a single global score for each of the 10 children. The children were then categorised into three groups according to their achievement in maintenance. There was a strong correlation between the task performance and the discourse skills. The reliability of three sets of maintenance assessment results (of tasks, discourse and overall) was statistically supported. In order to address the second set of research questions raised in Chapter Three (Section 3.7), the overall maintenance outcomes must be considered in relation to the factors as well as the maintenance programs (strategies) implemented by the parents and the children. This will be the focus discussion in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 7

### FACTORS AFFECTING THE MAINTENANCE OUTCOMES

#### 7.1 Introduction

Many have attempted to identify factors which contribute to the maintenance of minority languages in an environment where two or more languages coexist (e.g., Kloss 1966; Haugen 1972; Giles *et al.* 1977; Smolicz 1981; Clyne 1982, 1991; Pauwels 1983, 1986, 1988a; Fishman *et al.* 1985; Fishman 1989, 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1996, 1997). Some have focused on demographic, social, or political factors; others on the cultural, attitudinal, psychological or linguistic dimensions. Most often, these factors were considered at the macro-level (e.g., the multicultural, national or multi-national level) where a central language planning agency was actively responsible for a deliberately planned and organised process. Few studies have dealt primarily with factors at the micro-level which affect groups, families or individuals in communities where the speakers of minority languages are highly motivated. At this level, 'micro-language planning' occurs on a non-centralised and highly individualised basis. However, the latter type of approach may be more useful than the large-scale cross-nation studies in providing us with in-depth information on how and why the same or similar conditions have affected different groups within the same community in different ways.

The study of the interaction between a given language and its environment was called *language ecology* by Haugen (1972: 325). In one study of language ecology in Australia, Clyne (1982) singled out the influential factors affecting language maintenance and language shift in community languages. He noted that these were factors which clearly promote language maintenance, and other factors which might

contribute to language maintenance or to language shift. Clyne argued that it was impossible to isolate each factor from the others and emphasised the interrelatedness of several factors affecting language maintenance and language shift.

This chapter discusses the language ecology of the Japanese children in Melbourne. It argues that some factors or strategies clearly promote language maintenance in young Japanese school children and points to the interrelatedness of such factors. The interrelatedness reflects the fact that each child's maintenance outcomes are the result of the combined efforts of the child and the parents. This analysis addresses Haugen's (1972) concern with where Japanese language stands in the mind of the children and the parents, and with where it is going in comparison to other languages.

In the analysis of findings, reference will be made to the two distinct samples: sojourner children and permanent resident children. As pointed out previously, residential status of a child implies the family's social position which is defined by father's occupational status. Whereas all of the fathers of sojourner children were career employees in Japanese companies, fathers of children permanently residing in Australia were employees or owners of locally-based small businesses. These differences in occupation translated into differences in socio-economic status in Australia. Therefore, it is inevitable to consider that the parents' socio-economic situation had influenced their child's maintenance planning. This aspect has also been emphasised by Noro (1990) (see Section 2.2.3, Chapter Two). In this regard, it will be useful to consider Bernstein's (1971) theory that children's language-use (i.e., language proficiency or maintenance outcomes) relates to parents' social class membership. In considering Bernstein's theory, sojourners will be referred to as middle-class (the elite with full local type citizenship status) and permanent residents,

as working-class (with minimal citizenship equivalence). Bernstein's theory will be briefly introduced below in Section 7.4.1.

## **7.2 Correlation Between Factors and Maintenance Levels**

The assessment of maintenance levels in the previous two chapters lays the groundwork for a correlation analysis in this chapter. Using the maintenance outcomes presented for each child in Chapter Six (see Table 6.3) a correlation analysis was carried out and coefficients for the correlation (i.e., statistical strength of the relationships) between 30 independent variables and the maintenance levels were calculated. Although the sample is very small, the correlation analysis will assist in identifying the factors which appear to be significantly associated with successful maintenance outcomes in the case of Japanese children. As such, the results may point the way ahead for a larger study which could verify the findings in a more statistically significant manner.

As indicated in Chapter Three, the independent variables seen as possibly affecting Japanese language maintenance were grouped into four broad categories: (1) those affecting the parents' choice of maintenance programs or strategies; (2) those affecting the child's choice of one or more maintenance program(s); (3) those relating to the specifics of the maintenance programs actually implemented by the parents; and (4) those indicating the nature of the maintenance program(s) actually implemented by the child. The correlation analysis was largely carried out using phi ( $\phi$ ), lambda ( $\lambda$ ) and chi square ( $\chi^2$ ). The level at which the Japanese language was maintained (as measured in Chapters Four and Five) was the dependent variable. Table 7.1 presents the overall results of the correlation analysis between maintenance levels and 30

variables. Several patterns emerged from this analysis. These are further summarised in Table 7.2.

### 7.3 Predictive Factors for Maintenance

The above analysis in Section 7.2 reveals that eight out of the 30 independent variables showed a moderate to strong influence on maintenance levels. These are listed in the shaded section of Table 7.2. Four showed a statistically significant correlation with maintenance ( $\phi = 0.77 \sim 1.00$ ,  $\lambda = 0.50$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and the remaining four showed moderate correlation ( $\phi = 0.65$ ,  $\lambda = 0.33$ ,  $p = 0.11 \sim 0.16$ ). These eight variables (including predisposing factors, maintenance strategies or behaviour) are useful to consider when thinking about language maintenance. They are considered as the 'predictive factors' promoting maintenance in this study. Among these, five are children's factors, two are parental, and one is a factor common to parents and children. It was noted that the strategic factors (what children and parents implemented to enhance Japanese language) contributed significantly towards maintenance, and thus supported the hypothesis of this study that language maintenance at the micro-level was largely concerned with individual and family language planning or decision making. The residential status (variable nos. 11 and 22) is a factor common to parents and children. As was predicted earlier in this study, this factor was one of the 'predictive factors' for maintenance, showing a moderate correlation with maintenance levels ( $\phi = 0.77$ ,  $\lambda = 0.33$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

Table 7.1: Correlation between overall maintenance levels and 30 independent variables

Variable	Label	$\chi^2$ value	P	$\phi$ (phi)	Approx P	$\lambda$ (lambda)
<b>Category 1: Parental factors</b>						
11 Residential status* (* = same as children's residential status)	Presstat	6.000	0.049	0.774	0.049	0.333
12 Length of residence	Preslgh	5.000	0.543	0.707	0.544	0.166
13 Previous overseas experience	Prevosex	1.145	0.563	0.338	0.563	0.000
14 Occupation	Occupn	3.055	0.217	0.557	0.217	0.166
15 English proficiency (mothers)	Mengprof	0.079	0.961	0.089	0.961	0.000
16 Cultural orientation (fathers)	Fcultor	3.253	0.196	0.570	0.196	0.166
17 Cultural orientation (mothers)	Mcultor	0.277	0.870	0.166	0.870	0.000
18 Maintenance consciousness	Maintcon	2.063	0.356	0.454	0.356	0.166
Average in Category 1		2.608	0.469	0.456	0.469	0.125
<b>Category 2: Children's factors</b>						
21 Gender	Sex	1.666	0.434	0.408	0.434	0.166
22 Residential status* (* = same as parents' residential status)	Cresstat	6.000	0.049	0.774	0.049	0.333
23 Length of residence	Creslgh	4.166	0.383	0.645	0.384	0.166
24 Schooling in Japan	Schjp	4.226	0.376	0.650	0.376	0.166
25 Japanese schooling in Australia	Jschoz	4.226	0.376	0.650	0.376	0.166
26 Everyday Japanese language proficiency	Conjppro	5.833	0.054	0.764	0.054	0.333
27 Academic Japanese language proficiency	Acajppro	10.000	0.007	1.000	0.007	0.500
28 Preferred language	Preflang	3.253	0.196	0.570	0.196	0.166
29 Language used with siblings	Siblang	1.319	0.516	0.363	0.516	0.166
30 Age of siblings	Sibage	2.500	0.644	0.500	0.644	0.166
Average in Category 2		4.318	0.303	0.632	0.303	0.232
<b>Category 3: Maintenance programs initiated by parents</b>						
31 Language use at home (Family language policy)	Langpol	3.055	0.217	0.552	0.217	0.166
32 Arrangement for supplementary Japanese study	Extrajse	2.063	0.356	0.454	0.356	0.166
33 Temporary return to Japan ( <i>ichiji kikoku</i> )	Ichiji	1.666	0.434	0.408	0.434	0.166
34 Japanese schooling during temporary return to Japan ( <i>taiken nyuugaku</i> )	Taiken	0.533	0.765	0.258	0.765	0.000
35 Use of maintenance aids	Parrange	4.333	0.114	0.658	0.114	0.333
36 Japanese networks in Melbourne	Pnetwork	3.650	0.161	0.604	0.161	0.333
Average in Category 3		2.550	0.341	0.489	0.341	0.194
<b>Category 4: Maintenance programs initiated by children</b>						
41 Code selection	Ccodesei	1.319	0.516	0.363	0.516	0.166
42 Video viewing	Cvideo	0.666	0.716	0.258	0.716	0.000
43 Reading books	Creading	7.333	0.025	0.856	0.025	0.500
44 Participation in peer group activities	Otomari	10.000	0.006	1.000	0.006	0.500
45 Keeping a group diary with close Japanese friends ( <i>kookan nikki</i> )	Groupdai	3.055	0.217	0.552	0.217	0.166
46 Initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance	Initiatv	4.333	0.114	0.658	0.114	0.333
Average in Category 4		4.451	0.265	0.614	0.265	0.277
Overall average		3.481	0.344	0.548	0.344	0.207

Table 7.2: Independent variables by strength of the correlation with maintenance levels

Variable	Variable Number	Variable Category	Level of Correlation	Criteria	Comments
Academic Japanese language proficiency	27	2	Strong	$\phi = 1.00, \lambda = 0.50, p < 0.01$	Significant positive correlation found.
Participation in peer group activities	44	4	Strong	$\phi = 1.00, \lambda = 0.50, p < 0.01$	
Reading books	43	4	Strong	$\phi = 0.85, \lambda = 0.50, p < 0.05$	Claimed as predictive factors for maintenance in this study.
Residential status	11/22	1 and 2	Moderate	$\phi = 0.77, \lambda = 0.33, p < 0.05$	
Everyday Japanese language proficiency	26	2	Moderate	$\phi = 0.76, \lambda = 0.33, p < 0.11$	
Use of maintenance aids	35	3	Moderate	$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.33, p < 0.11$	
Initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance	46	4	Moderate	$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.33, p < 0.11$	
Japanese networks in Melbourne	36	3	Moderate	$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.33, p = 0.16$	
Length of residence in Australia (parents)	12	1	Weak	$\phi = 0.70, \lambda = 0.16, p = 0.54$	Strong correlation hypothesised.
Schooling in Japan	24	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.37$	Weak positive correlation found.
Japanese schooling in Australia	25	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.37$	
Length of residence in Australia (children)	23	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.64, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.38$	
Preferred language	28	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.57, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.19$	
English proficiency (mothers)	15	1	Weak	$\phi = 0.57, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.19$	
Language use at home (Family language policy)	31	3	Weak	$\phi = 0.55, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.21$	
Occupation	14	1	Weak	$\phi = 0.55, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.21$	
Keeping a group diary with close friends ( <i>kookan nikki</i> )	45	4	Weak	$\phi = 0.55, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.21$	
Age of siblings	30	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.50, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.64$	Weak positive correlation found.
Temporary return to Japan ( <i>ichiji kikoku</i> )	33	3	Weak	$\phi = 0.48, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.43$	
Arrangement for supplementary Japanese study	32	3	Weak	$\phi = 0.45, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.35$	
Maintenance consciousness	18	1	Weak	$\phi = 0.45, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.35$	
Gender	21	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.40, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.43$	
Language used with siblings	29	2	Weak	$\phi = 0.36, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.51$	
Code selection	41	4	Weak	$\phi = 0.36, \lambda = 0.16, p < 0.51$	
Previous overseas experience	13	1	Very weak	$\phi = 0.33, \lambda = 0.00, p < 0.56$	Meaningful association not found.
Japanese schooling during temporary return to Japan ( <i>ichiji kikoku</i> )	34	3	Very weak	$\phi = 0.25, \lambda = 0.00, p < 0.76$	Non predictive factors for maintenance in this study.
Video viewing	42	4	Very weak	$\phi = 0.25, \lambda = 0.00, p = 0.71$	
Mothers' cultural orientation	17	1	Very weak	$\phi = 0.16, \lambda = 0.00, p < 0.87$	
Mothers' English proficiency	15	1	Very weak	$\phi = 0.08, \lambda = 0.00, p < 0.96$	

Source: Adapted from Table 7.1

Legend: Category 1: parental factors, Category 2: Children's factors, Category 3: Maintenance programs initiated by parents, Category 4: Maintenance programs initiated by children

Comparing the correlation strength among the four categories of maintenance variables (see Table 7.3), it was found that children's variables (Categories 2 and 4 in Tables 7.1) were more strongly associated with the maintenance outcomes than parental variables (Categories 1 and 3). This finding clearly indicates that children's greater control over maintenance activities as well as their active involvement in the activities are essential for the better outcomes. Parental support will then become more effective for such children.

**Table 7.3: Correlation strength among the 4 categories of maintenance variables**

Category	$\chi^2$ value	$\phi$ (phi)	P	$\lambda$ (lambda)
Category 1: Parental factors	2.608	0.456	0.469	0.125
Category 2: Children's factors	4.318	0.632	0.303	0.232
Category 3: Maintenance programs initiated by parents	2.550	0.489	0.341	0.194
Category 4: Maintenance programs initiated by children	4.451	0.614	0.265	0.277
Overall average	3.481	0.548	0.344	0.207

Source: Extract from Table 7.1

The following sections 7.4 to 7.6 will examine how the eight predictive factors operated upon the maintenance outcomes.

#### **7.4 Children's Predictive Factors for Maintenance**

Among the 16 children's variables examined (see Table 7.1), five were found to correlate strongly or moderately with maintenance levels (see Table 7.2). The effect of each is considered briefly in the sub-sections below (7.4.1 – 7.4.4).

##### **7.4.1 Academic Language Proficiency and Everyday language proficiency**

In the studies of language maintenance, the type of proficiency developed by children in a given language possibly deserves more careful attention. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma (1976) initially drew attention to this area and made a distinction between surface fluency and academically-related aspects of proficiency in the language of

bilingual children. This notion was derived from their study of Finnish immigrant students in Sweden, where they noted that the students who were either born in Sweden or who immigrated to Sweden at pre-school age appeared to converse in peer-appropriate ways in everyday face-to-face situations in both L1 and L2, despite literacy skills that were very much below age-appropriate levels in both languages. Cummins (1979, 1980, 1984) developed their idea further and formalised the distinction in language proficiency in terms of 'basic interpersonal communication skills' (BICS) and 'cognitive academic language proficiency' (CALP). Cummins (1984) saw some communicative tasks as being cognitively undemanding, particularly when they were accompanied by paralinguistic features and situational clues which could provide feedback. On the other hand, certain activities involved decontextualised language, and were therefore of a more cognitively demanding type. Consequently, he argued, BICS, as compared with CALP, could develop fairly easily in minority children if they were in an environment where a good deal of contextual support for that type of language learning was provided.

Focusing on the relationship between language and social interaction, Bernstein (1971) identified language-use differences between different sub-cultures (i.e., middle-class and working-class) within a community. He postulated that there were two varieties of language available to speakers: 'elaborated code' and 'restricted code'. According to Bernstein, 'elaborated code' tends to be used in situations like a formal debate or academic discussion. 'Restricted code', on the other hand, tends to be employed in informal situations, within family or among friends. He demonstrated that there was a relationship between the usage of these two 'codes' and social-class membership, in that whereas middle-class children had access to both 'codes' (i.e., the children can develop and do use both 'codes'), working-class children had access only

to 'restricted code'. This characterised children's language behaviour and their academic performance.

Both Cummins' division of minority children's language proficiency and Bernstein's view of social class influence on language-use are useful to consider when thinking about the maintenance outcomes. Each type of language proficiency discussed in Cummins (1984) and Bernstein (1971) was considered as an independent variable in this study. One is 'everyday Japanese language proficiency' and the other is 'academic Japanese language proficiency'. In these variables, a child was ranked high or low.

There was a moderate positive correlation between 'everyday Japanese language proficiency' and maintenance levels. Table 7.4, derived from Table 7.1, shows these relationships, and also gives the number of children in each maintenance category and their residential group.

**Table 7.4: Everyday Japanese language proficiency and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 26 Everyday Japanese language proficiency	Maintenance level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
High	4 children: P1, P4, S2, S4	3: S1, S3, S5	1: P3
Low	0	0	2: P2, P5

$\phi = 0.76, \lambda = 0.33, p = 0.11$

**Table 7.5: Academic Japanese language proficiency and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 27 Academic Japanese language proficiency	Maintenance level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
High	4 children: P1, P4, S2, S4	1: S1, S3, S5	0
Low	0	0	3: P2, P3, P5

$\phi = 1.00, \lambda = 0.50, p < 0.01$

Children's 'academic Japanese language proficiency' correlated perfectly with maintenance outcomes (see Table 7.5), suggesting that maintenance levels were more strongly correlated with academic language proficiency than everyday language proficiency. Based on this finding, it can be emphasised that: (1) the children's development of age-appropriate academic language should be carefully planned and

closely monitored in the maintenance programs and (2) using the language for interpersonal and intergenerational communication in the family domain (Fishman 1989, 1991) is the initial stage of maintenance process, if viewing the outcomes from a long-term perspective.

All the children in this study were using Japanese as their everyday language at the time of investigation. A child could, therefore, be in one of the three stages as indicated by the numbers in Table 7.6. Some children were adding-on academic proficiency while further developing everyday proficiency (Stage 2), but some were not (Stage 1). Some children were developing both proficiencies and performing both well (Stage 3). There is a moderate positive correlation between the two types of language proficiency ( $r = 0.76, p < 0.05$ ).

**Table 7.6: Progress stage of language proficiency in this study**

Language proficiency		Academic Proficiency	
		High	Low
Everyday proficiency	High	Stage 3	Stage 2
	Low	N/A	Stage 1

$r = 0.76, p < 0.05$

Based on the class teacher's assessment and frequent participant observation by the researcher during classes (at the Japanese Saturday School), the children were categorised into two groups: one group with the children who had satisfactory developed their academic language proficiency (Stage 3 in Table 7.4) and another, with those who developed everyday language skills either high or low but had not fully developed their academic language proficiency (Stage 2 or 1). The former group consisted of children who did not present any major problems with the school work of their normal age grade at the Japanese Saturday School (P1, P4, S1, S2, S3, S4, S5),

while the latter was a group of children who exhibited some notable problems coping with the school work of their normal age grade (P2, P3, P5).

The teachers and the mothers of the latter group of children reported that they noted the problems of these children (P2, P3, P5) in the areas such as reading comprehension, reading fluency, composition, use of *kanji* especially in compound words, and the lack of vocabulary, in particular those which are associated with social science studies and literary works. The poor performance of three permanent resident children may be explained by Bernstein's (1971) notion that there is a relationship between language-use and social-class membership. The educational situation demands the ability to use 'elaborate code', however, many permanent resident children may not have been fully accessed to the code and could not and did not use it.

#### **7.4.2 Participation in Peer Group Activities**

The peer group formation and peer influence on language have been of interest to some scholars (e.g., Labov 1972; Milroy 1987; Romaine 1984). Past studies revealed that one of the most important influences in the development of communicative competence was the style of speaking used in peer group interaction and continuous monitoring from peers to which members were subjected. Association with Japanese peer group members is particularly important for the children of this study. When a child is in a minority situation where only limited contact with a limited number of peer members can normally be arranged, opportunities to participate in peer group activities will be invaluable.

This study examined children's membership in peer groups in relation to their maintenance outcomes. Needless to say, such membership involves a child in learning new styles of speaking and writing in order to cope with new communicative tasks and

functions, and therefore, it will affect the child's academic language proficiency. Interviews with parents and children revealed that some children (P1, P4, S1, S2, S3, S4, S5) had developed friendship networks through Japanese Saturday schooling, and that they often organised things to do together on the weekend or during school holidays. Staying the night at a friend's place, called *otomari kai* among themselves, was one of them. It was reported that *otomari kai* was organised to celebrate one's birthday or just to get together, and the children at *otomari kai* often engaged in such activities as playing computer games, watching Japanese videos, reading Japanese comics and boys' and girls' magazines, and going rollerblading and cycling. Parents seemed to welcome their children's participation in *otomari kai*, even though some parents occasionally thought that their children (P1, S1) were so engrossed in reading comics, watching videos, or playing computer games that they did not have much chance to chat with one another. One could say that these were occasions where the children exchanged knowledge of their interests or new information obtained from Japan.

A perfect correlation was found between children's frequent participation in *otomari kai* (as a proxy for peer group activities outside school) and their maintenance levels, suggesting that such activities had strong positive effects on language maintenance. Table 7.7 presents who were in which categories in terms of their participation in peer group activities.

**Table 7.7: Participation in peer group activities and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 43 Participation in peer group activities	Maintenance level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Frequent	4 children: S2, S4, P1, P4	3: S1, S3, S5	0
Rarely	0	0	3: P2, P3, P5

$\phi = 1.0, \lambda = 0.5, p < 0.01$

It was noted that the majority of frequent participants in and organisers of *otomari kai* were the children from one level of socio-economic background, i.e., the children of business sojourners, although two permanent resident children (P1, P4) were also among the frequent participants in those types of activities. This could be interpreted as insufficient command of Japanese possibly hindering the other permanent resident children in joining in their peer group activities such as *otomari kai*. Three permanent resident children (P2, P3, P5) rarely participated in or were rarely invited to *otomari kai* for a number of reasons reported by their mothers, such as children being engaged in other activities on the weekend, living in outer suburbs, or mothers not knowing each other well. The family's social position might have been one of the reasons for them not feeling comfortable in organising *otomari kai* at their own homes or getting their children involved in such activities organised by sojourner families. However, none of these mothers explicitly expressed their feelings in this regard.

The results indicated that children's peer group formation and active participation to its activities played a positive role for maintenance. However, it must be noted that outcomes were largely controlled by the type of children who participated in the activities. They were either sojourner children or permanent resident children with sufficient command of the Japanese language.

#### **7.4.3 Reading Books**

This study sought to assess the role of reading in maintaining a good level of Japanese language proficiency. The value of books and storytelling in maintaining and nurturing language has been discussed in a number of studies in the development of biliteracy (Saunders 1982, 1988; Romaine 1984; Arnberg 1987; Owens 1996). Mook (1996: 406 and 443) defined reading as a very complex cognitive event and an effortful, goal-

directed process. Past studies also suggested that if a child learned to read in one language, he or she could transfer his or her developing reading skills to the other language (Saunders 1982, 1988; Harding and Riley 1986; Cummins and Nakajima 1990). Needless to say, a child's reading skills promote his or her development of academic language proficiency, which has shown a perfect correlation with maintenance outcomes.

Parents play important roles in assisting their children's development of good reading habits as pointed out by Arnberg (1987) and Owens (1996). Owens (1996: 390) emphasised a relationship existing between the age of onset of home reading routines and the child's oral language skills, especially oral comprehension. This study examined the role of parents in establishing firm reading habits in the child. In particular, the mother's bed-time reading of books to her child in his or her pre-school age was assessed as this can help to establish the child's firm reading habits (Heath 1983).

Interviews with mothers revealed that most of the mothers in this study used to read books to their children until they reached a certain age, that is, when the children started to read by themselves, their younger brothers or sisters were born, or when the children started school. As a result, reading became a firm habit for some children (P1, P4 and S1 in particular) after their mothers had read books to them at bed-time during their pre-school years. These children were among those who were considered to have maintained a GOOD or a FAIR level of Japanese language proficiency. This finding conformed with Heath's (1983) claim that the passive 'listen and learn and repeat' period around the age of four was crucial for establishing the child's reading habits. In this regard, P2's mother particularly regretted that she did not have enough

time for bed-time reading for P2 during this period, which she believes resulted in P2's poor reading habits both in English and in Japanese.

Reading books in Japanese was strongly associated with maintenance levels. As shown in Table 7.8, the children who were considered to be as active readers (P1, P4, S2, S4) attained a higher maintenance level as compared with some of the poor readers (i.e., the children who do not read as much). The children in the latter category (P2, P3, P5) were rated as being POOR in maintenance level. One active reader (S1) and two poor readers (S3, S5) in the sojourner group presented a FAIR level of maintenance.

Table 7.8: Reading books and maintenance levels achieved

Variable no. 44 Reading books	Maintenance level (n=10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Active readers	4 children : P1, P4, S2, S4	1: S1	0
Poor readers	0	2: S3, S5	3: P2, P3, P5

$$\phi = 0.85, \lambda = 0.5, p < 0.05$$

It is interesting to note in this regard that some sojourner mothers (of S2 and S4) observed that their children, who were categorised as active readers and maintained a GOOD level of Japanese, began to read more since they came to Australia. According to these mothers, their children increasingly spent more time reading books than watching television, which might be partially due to their insufficient English competence to enjoy English programs. The type of books the children read varied. Sometimes children read to seek information or knowledge, while at other times they read for pleasure, using Japanese as a medium. Popular comic books and comic serials for their age group such as *Chibimaruko-chan*, *Doragon Booru*, *Jampu*, and *Ribon* were keenly read by all the children, which was, as reported by the mothers, important to maintain the 'shared knowledge among their peer group' (Romaine 1984: 184) at the

Japanese Saturday School. Books which were popular among children included biographies and fiction stories as well as non-fiction material such as science magazines and pictorial scientific books.

The availability of Japanese books and a regular source for obtaining books in Melbourne seemed to be important for the children in maintaining reading habits. In this regard, Japanese books were available for purchase or borrowing in Melbourne at the time of investigation if parents were willing to attend to this matter. The children often exchanged their comic books, monthly magazines and even Nintendo game cartridges at the Japanese Saturday School. Some sojourner parents (S2, S4, S5) brought a number of books and reference books from Japan which they thought would be necessary for their children during their stay in Australia. Sojourner parents could also order books through the father's company workplace or ask their relatives and friends in Japan to send them over. Moreover, sojourner fathers often brought back books and magazines for their children from business trips to Japan. As compared with the sojourner children who had a number of sources to obtain Japanese books, permanent resident children, the children who were found not to read as much or not to be fond of reading (P2, P3, P5) in particular, seemed to have limited sources for obtaining suitable books.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion, reading was one of the key factors to differentiate the children in terms of their better maintenance levels. Active readers had established a firm reading habit with parental assistance. The study thus supports the findings of previous studies that the parental role in assisting the child to form a habit of reading books from an early age is vital for developing a child's reading skills. Furthermore, parental commitment to providing the child with age-appropriate Japanese books regularly is also important for maintenance, especially when the child

lives in a foreign environment for a number of years where contact with Japan is inevitably limited.

#### **7.4.4 Initiative in Supplementary Study Related to Language Maintenance**

Mook (1996) argues that children tend to be more motivated when they take their own initiative in learning and have greater control over the choice of task and learning styles. This study sought to assess the children's willingness to maintain or develop proficiency in the Japanese language in terms of their taking their own initiative in Japan-related hobbies, activities or studies outside school, rather than being told to do so by their parents. This aspect of language behaviour has been examined because more focused and conscious behaviour towards language by its speaker is essential for active maintenance, as emphasised by Fishman (initially in 1966, and more recently in 1991).

Parental support in providing their children with supplementary activities, which aim to make up for the insufficient study hours at the Japanese Saturday School, encouraged children to be motivated in using Japanese for studies. These supplemental activities were, in general, either correspondence studies (which cover language, mathematics, science and social science) or enrollment of their children in the *Kumon* Educational School (which covers studies in language and mathematics). The latter is a Japanese type of cram school which also officially has been ancillary to the Australian education system for just over a decade with almost 30,000 Australian school children attending its after-school classes in 1997 (The Age, 2 December 1997, p. 10). Correspondence studies seemed to be more commonly selected by the sojourner parents because it followed the same curriculum as in Japan. The *Kumon* School was favoured by the permanent resident parents because the children could choose their own level of

study and determine their own pace. The permanent resident parents recognised that the *Kumon* method would develop their children's competence in reading and writing *kanji* (Chinese characters), constructing Japanese sentences and Japanese reading comprehension of which they noted as their children's weak areas. P2 and P3 continued to study at the *Kumon* School since Prep but discontinued the language subject (*kokugo*) recently when they started to feel it had exceeded their ability. Both P2 and P3 were, however, continuing the mathematics subject and P2 was continuing English at the time of investigation.

Some parents felt that the supplementary studies arranged by them were not willingly taken up by their children, in particular P2 (*Kumon*) and S3 (*Kumon* and correspondences studies). This is not to say that all children were uncomfortable with their studies. In order to cope with these studies, children have to be motivated as well as being efficient in balancing the supplementary studies in Japanese with studies at their Australian school. Two permanent resident children (P1, P4) and four sojourner children (S1, S2, S4, S5) showed their capabilities in taking their own initiative in doing the supplementary studies in Japanese.

This factor showed moderate correlation with the maintenance levels. The children's active involvement in the supplementary studies in Japanese led to better results in general as shown in Table 7.9.

**Table 7.9: Initiative in supplementary study and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 46 Initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance	Maintenance level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Active involvement	4 children: P1, P4, S2, S4	2: S1, S5	0
Passive involvement	0	1: S3	3: P2, P2, P5

$$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.33, p = 0.11$$

Sojourner children seemed to be well aware of the fact that they would return to Japan sooner or later, so they were more concerned about their academic performance in Japanese as a result. This awareness may be encouraged by their parents, older siblings or peer group members. Permanent resident children, on the other hand, who had been studying at the Japanese Saturday School more than five years (Prep to Grade Five) did not necessarily have the same incentive as some of the sojourner children in maintaining their Japanese language studies. However, some children in this group who seemed to be aware of their needs tended to undertake extra supplementary studies in Japanese in various forms on their own accord (P1, P4), and this may also have resulted in their higher maintenance level compared to those children who showed a rather passive attitude towards these studies. The findings thus suggest that children's awareness of their need to do extra studies in Japanese outside school, which was derived from their problem consciousness or future planning, reflects favourably on maintenance outcomes and therefore is an important factor for maintenance. Supplementary studies were shown to be beneficial to the children and positively influencing maintenance, although there was an indication that cost factors might have hindered some parents in providing these aids.

### **7.5 Parental Predictive Factors for Maintenance**

A total of 14 parental variables were examined in the correlation analysis (see Table 7.1). None registered a strong correlation with the children's maintenance of their Japanese language proficiency, but no negative correlations were found. Two showed a moderate correlation: (1) parental arrangement for maintenance activities and (2) parental use of Japanese networks in Melbourne, both of which were categorised as

strategic factors (i.e., maintenance programs) initiated by the parents. The next section will examine their relationship to the children's maintenance outcomes.

### 7.5.1 Parents' Use of Maintenance Aids

The interviews with the parents revealed that they employed a number of language maintenance aids. These included: (1) enrolling their child in a Japanese supplementary schooling (i.e., the Japanese Saturday School), (2) providing them with supplementary studies (correspondence studies and enrollment at the *Kumon* School), (3) facilitating activities such as *otomari kai* (staying the night at a friend place) and birthday parties, (4) providing them with books, magazines, videos and computer games, (5) receiving visitors from Japan, (6) planning temporary return to Japan known as *ichiji kikoku* among the Japanese in Melbourne, and (7) providing their child with the experience of Japanese schooling during *ichiji kikoku*, which was called *taiken nyuugaku*.

In this study, the parents' adoption of a variety of maintenance aids was seen as a reflection of their maintenance consciousness as well as their financial capability in employing these aids. The maintenance aids listed above can be expensive. Business sojourners usually receive company support for their children's educational cost while they live in Australia. The cost factor, therefore, may be more significant for permanent resident parents in their use of maintenance aids than sojourner parents.

Two values were used to assess the effect of parents' use of maintenance aids on the outcomes: one is their active use of maintenance aids and the other, less active use of these aids. It was thought that in the former case, parents were aware of their child's needs and therefore their adoption of maintenance aids was considered as being a more conscious and carefully planned decision (in the cases of P1, P4, S1, S4, S5),

whereas the latter implies that the parents' decision over adopting the aids did not necessarily reflect their conscious planning, but rather it relied on more *ad hoc* planning (in the cases of P2, P3, P5, S2, S3).

Table 7.10 shows the relationship between the two variables. This factor indicated a moderate positive statistical correlation with maintenance levels. As one would naturally predict, active use of maintenance aids by parents resulted in better maintenance levels, being rated as either GOOD or FAIR. It was evident that less active use of maintenance aids by parents lead to POOR maintenance outcomes, although there were exceptions to this (S2 and S3).

**Table 7.10: Parents active use of maintenance aids and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 35 Use of maintenance aids	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Active use	3 children: P1, P4, S4	2: S1, S5	0
Less active use	1: S2	1: S3	3: P2, P3, P5

$$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.33, p = 0.11$$

Why parents adopted these maintenance aids and how effective these were in achieving their goals will be discussed below with the examples of (1) Japanese schooling and (2) maintaining contact with Japan.

### ***(1) The Japanese Saturday School***

The Japanese Saturday School has been a prime aid for all the children in this study by providing them and their parents with valuable support in maintaining and fostering the Japanese language. Unlike the other ethnic Saturday schools in Melbourne studied by Clyne (1982, 1991), the majority (two-thirds) of the children at the Japanese Saturday School were business sojourner children. This seemed to indicate a potential for creating an unfavourable environment for the minority permanent resident children in

the school community since the learning content was focused on the needs of the majority sojourner children.

Although permanent resident parents formed a minority group within the Japanese community in Melbourne, they were among the strongest supporters of establishing the Japanese Saturday School in 1986. They enrolled their children at this school from either Prep (*Nenchoo gumi*) in the year the school was established, or from Grade One in the following year. Therefore, their connection with or attachment to the school had been strong during the five or six years before this study commenced. All the children in this study were thus in Grade Five at the time of this investigation.

With regard to the goals the parents set for their children to achieve through Japanese Saturday schooling, a difference in the attitude of permanent resident parents and sojourner parents was observed. Sojourner parents enrolled their children at the Japanese Saturday School because they wanted their children to maintain and/or develop learning skills in the Japanese language. In general, sojourner parents displayed a more study-oriented attitude. However, the sojourner parents seemed to realise the fact that the learning content covered at the Japanese Saturday School was insufficient. Several of the sojourner parents expressed their opinion that if they wanted their children to experience Australian schooling during their limited stay in Australia, they had to compromise and accept the education provided by the school and its limitations for what they were. Since these parents were aware that learning at the Japanese Saturday School would be limited, they tended to place more emphasis on the children maintaining contact with other Japanese children.

Permanent resident parents, on the other hand, expressed less study-oriented goals for their children compared to sojourner parents. They enrolled their children at the Japanese Saturday School for a number of reasons. A view expressed by all the

parents was that they wished to continue to communicate with their children in Japanese. Their prime concern was, therefore, the maintenance of everyday Japanese proficiency of their children through Saturday schooling. The parents of P1 and P3 believed in the Japanese style of education and they wanted their children to acquire a firm discipline in relation to study. Some parents wanted their child (P2, P4, P5) to become a bilingual. Access to Japanese textbooks issued by the Japan Ministry of Education was also important according to these parents. Above all, permanent resident parents wanted their children to retain contact with Japan and its language through the association with sojourner children.

None of the permanent resident children in this study had experience of full-time Japanese schooling in Japan. Therefore, it was not an easy task for them to cope with studies using materials intended for children living in Japan. All the mothers in this group stated that they did not expect high academic performance from their children at the Japanese Saturday School. The mothers of P2 and P3 expected that so long as their children completed Grade Six, they would acquire sufficient Japanese proficiency to enable them to operate effectively within the family and friendship domains. P3's mother expected her child to acquire enough proficiency in order to read Japanese newspapers.

As has been pointed out above, parents from the two groups set different goals in sending their children to the Japanese Saturday School. However, it is interesting to note that the expectation of their children to retain contact with other Japanese children was a common goal shared by the parents of both groups. Although learning may be limited at the Japanese Saturday School, the school was a focal place for the parents who were concerned with their children's Japanese language maintenance.

## ***(2) Contact with Japan***

Parents spoke openly about a variety of activities designed so that their children would maintain contact with Japanese life. The following section discusses some of these activities.

### ***Video Viewing***

Video viewing was reported by parents as being prime entertainment for the Japanese families in both residential groups in this study. Japanese videos were sent by relatives and friends from Japan, purchased during temporary returns to Japan or brought back by fathers on business trips to Japan. One sojourner family reported that they had a satellite dish to receive television programs live from Japan, which they used to regularly watch news and dramas. It was also reported by a number of informants that Japanese videos were widely circulated among Japanese families residing in Melbourne. Animated videos (*anime*) were popular among the younger children, and the mothers of P3 and S1 stated that these visual aids were beneficial to their children in expanding their Japanese vocabulary, even though the content level was well below that of their children's age. In fact, during the interviews with the children, especially when they were engaged in language tasks such as naming objects or events (see Section 4.3.3 above in Chapter Four), S1, P2, P3 and P5 often stated that they could not name the objects but remembered seeing them in the Japanese videos. Arnberg (1987) suggests that parents should always select educational materials (e.g., books and videos) which were at the child's level of comprehension or slightly above so that the child will gain full benefit from them. However, according to the mothers in this study, this was not easily done in Melbourne.

### *Temporary Return to Japan: 'Ichiji Kikoku'*

The permanent resident families who were away from Japan for a number of years believed temporary return to Japan had an enormous impact on children because it provided the opportunity for children to experience the Japanese language and culture in its native context, and to meet relatives and friends. These visits were known as '*ichiji kikoku*' among the Japanese residing in Melbourne. The effect of this particular network in Japan was emphasised more strongly by permanent resident parents than sojourner parents.

Scholars such as Arnberg (1987) and Saunders (1982, 1988) claim that of all the methods for raising children bilingually, trips to the minority language's country were by far the most important. It was also a view that was shared by the permanent resident mothers who had recently taken their children to Japan (P1, P3, P4). For instance, during their *ichiji kikoku*, the parents of P1 and P3 made arrangements for their children to attend schools in Japan for three to four weeks. This experience of Japanese schooling, called *taiken nyuugaku*, was regarded by the parents as being an invaluable opportunity for Australian-born Japanese children. These mothers noted that teachers and peers at schools in Japan were most supportive in interacting with their children in natural Japanese, and in providing a positive model for their children. They observed that their children had gradually become confident in mixing with their peers during their stay in Japan.

There are assertions commonly made that children returning from overseas experience *ijime* (bullying) (Goodman 1990). What is thought to cause *ijime* is the returnee children's inability to readapt to Japanese culture and language, which leaves them marked as 'different'. Being different from other children makes them the subject of bullying and ridicule at school. It was thought that this would be more of a

problem for the permanent resident children, however, no such occasions were reported. Rather, according to the mothers, their children were welcomed as being a short term visitor from Australia.

Due to financial constraints, every five to seven years seemed to be a realistic temporary returning cycle for permanent resident families. Nevertheless, this was thought to be a good investment of time and money by parents, even if such visits to Japan occur infrequently, so long as children have time to adjust themselves to the use of Japanese language on a regular basis.

Temporary return to Japan with the family every two or three years was reported as being commonplace among Japanese business sojourners posted to Australia by their company. In these cases, the company covered the travel expenses of all the family members. All of the sojourner children in this study had temporarily returned to Japan at least once during their stay in Australia, however, none of the sojourner parents reported that they had made their children attend Japanese schools during their stay. In this regard, sojourner parents appeared to have a different attitude towards *ichiji kikoku* from permanent resident parents, who showed more concern for their children's Japanese language enhancement through this trip back to Japan.

#### *Visitors from Japan*

Whereas the maintenance of regular contact with relatives and friends in Japan seemed a routine practice for the sojourner families, this was not always the case for the permanent resident families. The sojourner families had more frequent visitors from Japan compared with the permanent resident families. The former tended to host both business-related visitors and their relatives and friends, while the latter were visited mostly by relatives such as grandparents. It was reported that extended visits from relatives who did not speak English, often grandparents, were beneficial to the

permanent resident children. This view was supported by Harding and Riley (1986) who observed that the presence of a visitor at home who was the speaker of the language in question was natural and welcome, because all members of the family switched to the visitor's language for the duration of his or her visit. Similarly, having adult Japanese visitors at home gave the children opportunities to interact with them in Japanese.

Nevertheless, the mothers of S3, S4 and S5 expressed their concerns about their children's appropriate use of greetings as well as the level of speech when receiving adult visitors. They corrected their children's Japanese if it was too friendly and less polite. There were no occasions reported where children in this study interacted with Japanese adult visitors in English. This indicates that interacting solely in Japanese with Japanese adults (visitors) became a common strategy shared by the children in both groups.

### **7.5.2 Parents' Japanese Networks in Melbourne**

This section examines the second parental predictive factor, the parents' use of Japanese networks in Melbourne. An examination of the types of Japanese networks that parents formed was important because these networks often gave the children additional opportunities to interact in Japanese. Mitchell (1986: 74) argues that individuals create personal communities (i.e., networks) because these provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day to day existence. Naturally Japanese residents in Melbourne formed various types of Japanese networks for a wider range of purposes while they stay in Australia. These networks were also used by them for leisure activities such as circulating Japanese videos, books, magazines and newspapers, and organising outings or events (for example, activities

organised by the Japanese Society of Melbourne and Japan Club of Victoria). What type of networks parents formed and how, and what effects they had on their children's maintenance will be discussed below.

### *(1) Types of Japanese Networks in Melbourne*

Networks formed by the parents in this study included those which were developed in Melbourne as well as those which were maintained back in Japan. We can distinguish these personal contacts according to their strength and type. This is in line with the study of Li Wei *et al.* (1992) in which three types of networks were found in the Chinese community in Britain. These were 'exchange networks', 'interactive networks' and 'passive networks'.

According to Li Wei *et al.* (1992), 'exchange networks' constitute people such as kin and close friends with whom one interacts routinely and exchanges direct advice, criticism and support. The second type, 'interactive networks', consist of people with whom one interacts frequently and over prolonged periods of time, but does not rely on for personal favours or assistance. An example of an interactive tie would be found between a shopkeeper and his/her customers. Another type of network exists which entails an absence of regular contact but is valued by an individual as a source of influence and moral support. An example of this would be the tie with physically distant relatives or friends, which are particularly important to migrant families. Li Wei *et al.* (1992) categorises these networks as 'passive networks'.

The first ('exchange networks') and the third ('passive networks') type of networks identified by Li Wei *et al.* (1992) are 'close-knit community networks'. They are also discussed in Milroy and Milroy (1992), who argued that close-knit social networks seemed to have a particular capacity to maintain and even enforce local conventions

and norms, including linguistic norms of maintaining community language. The framework presented by Li Wei *et al.* (1992) provided this study with a means of examining the correlation between the type of networks that parents formed in Melbourne and the children's maintenance levels. Two types of networks were examined: the close-knit, which include the exchange and passive type of networks, and interactive, the rather loose networks, both as defined by Li Wei *et al.* (1992).

**(2) Correlation between Japanese Networks and Maintenance Levels**

This factor showed a moderate correlation with maintenance levels. As illustrated in Table 7.11, parental formation of close-knit Japanese networks was related to their children's better maintenance levels (P1, P4, S2, S4), with the exception of P3 whose maintenance level was rated as being POOR. Among the children whose parents formed relatively loose Japanese networks, two exhibited a POOR level of Japanese proficiency and one, a FAIR level of Japanese proficiency.

**Table 7.11: Maintenance levels in relation to parents' Japanese networks in Melbourne**

Variable no. 36 Japanese networks in Melbourne	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Close-knit	4 children: P1, P4, S2, S4	2: S3, S5	1: P3
Interactive (loose)	0	1: S1	2: P2, P5

$\phi = 0.60, \lambda = 0.33, p = 0.16$

The majority of the parents (seven out of 10 families) seemed to have established and maintained some kind of close-knit Japanese network. These networks were formed between families through the father's place of employment, through the children's schooling, membership in Japanese organisations in Melbourne such as the Japanese Society of Melbourne and Japan Club of Victoria, and participation in cultural activities and sporting events involving Japanese people.

In contrast, three parents were rather reluctant to involve themselves in close-knit Japanese networks. Their cultural orientation towards Australia, successful establishment of life in Australia (an indication of sufficient English competence), or lack of success in forming or maintaining Japanese networks seemed to have contributed to their reluctance. Two unsuccessful cases of Japanese language maintenance (P2, P5) were found in these families..

### *(3) Formation of Japanese Networks*

Two major formations of Japanese networks were identified in this study. They were job-related networks and children's school-related networks. The fathers of all children in this study were engaged in occupations related to Japan. All sojourner fathers were businessmen (company staff) who had been posted to Australia for a fixed term. The occupations of permanent resident fathers were more varied. At the time of investigation, some permanent resident fathers owned small to medium sized businesses such as subsidiaries of Japanese companies or travel agencies. Others were employed as tour-guides or worked at a duty-free shop. Some of the mothers, permanent resident mothers in particular, had connections with the Japanese community in Melbourne through part-time jobs. These included hair dressing, co-ownership of a Japanese bookstore, teaching at the Japanese Saturday School, or working at a Japanese restaurant. These Japan-related occupations seemed to play an important role for parents in establishing Japanese networks in Melbourne and, in some cases, friendship networks.

Networks among Japanese in Melbourne had also been formed through their children's schooling at the Japanese Saturday School and at Australian schools. In fact, there were some Australian private schools in Melbourne with a sizeable

Japanese student population. This appeared to be a kind of parental strategy adopted among sojourner families, who felt more reassured among a community of fellow Japanese expatriates.

Interestingly, however, having another Japanese in their children's local school was sometimes viewed differently between permanent resident and sojourner parents. The parents of P3 and P4 expressed their views on this stating that Japanese classmates at Australian schools as being beneficial to their children. The newcomers to their children's classes were business sojourner's children, and in both cases their children played the role of mediator in the school community. Consequently, according to their mothers, the amount of exposure to Japanese increased for their children. P4 was particularly lucky because he had been in contact with a newcomer from Japan every two or three years at his Australian school. His mother stated that if P4's Japanese maintenance was found to be better than that of other permanent resident children (P4 was rated as being GOOD), it was due partly to his regular contact with these newcomers.

Some sojourner parents (S3 and S4's), however, held quite opposite views to P3 and P4's parents, stating that Japanese classmates at Australian schools could hinder or delay their children's English acquisition by not mixing with fellow Australian classmates.

#### ***(4) Language Problems and Japanese Networks***

According to the mothers, fathers inevitably had more regular contact with Australians through work and were coping with English language situations better than the mothers. Difficulties or discomfort with English was a prime factor which compelled mothers from both residential categories to favour Japanese networks over

Australian ones. Some mothers admitted that although they did not intend to consciously avoid Australian networks, they felt more comfortable within Japanese networks which they established in the early stages of their arrival in Australia, partly because of their insufficient command of English. During the interviews with mothers, it was reported that their Japanese cultural orientation was stronger than that of their husbands. This may be another strong factor explaining why mothers favoured Japanese networks.

With regard to the mothers' English competence, Table 7.12 gives their opinions as to whether or not they felt comfortable using English for basic daily interpersonal communication.

**Table 7.12: Mothers' evaluation of their English competence**

English competence for basic daily interpersonal communication	Sojourner mothers	Permanent Resident mothers
Comfortable	2 mothers: S3, S4	1: P2
Not comfortable	3: S1, S2, S5	4: P1, P3, P4, P5

n = 10

Correlation with network patterns:  $r = -0.48$ ,  $p = 0.89$

This analysis revealed that most mothers (seven out of 10) did not feel confident in their use of English for basic daily interpersonal communication. However, two sojourner mothers (of S3 and S4), who happened to be the only parents with previous overseas experience in this study, and one permanent resident mother (of P2) expressed a positive evaluation of their English competence. Four permanent resident mothers (out of five) evaluated their English competence negatively in spite of the fact that they had been in Australia much longer than any of the sojourner mothers. This may not be surprising if considered the differences in educational background in the two groups. A negative relationship was found between mothers' English proficiency and their

Japanese network patterns ( $r = -0.48, p = 0.89$ ), suggesting that the less confident in English, the more they rely on close-knit type Japanese network.

The examination of parental Japanese networks in Melbourne in this section suggests that although this factor by itself could not be claimed as a strong indicator of children's Japanese language maintenance it suggests an indirect role in the process of maintenance. The analysis of parental Japanese networks revealed that the majority of mothers showed a strong Japanese cultural orientation and reserved feelings towards forming Australian networks. Such attitudes of mothers inevitably influence their creation of the language environment at home and the family's language policy.

#### **7.6 Residential Status: A Common Predictive Factor for Children and Parents**

As stated earlier, this study was designed to identify whether or not the difference in residential status affected the children's maintenance outcomes. The residential status was found to be a predictive factor for maintenance, showing a moderate correlation with the outcomes (see Tables 7.1). In relation to residential factors, the effects of the fathers' occupation on maintenance outcomes was also examined. As mentioned in Section 7.1, the differences in occupation translated into differences in socio-economic status in Australia. A positive correlation ( $\phi = 0.55, \lambda = 0.16, p = 0.21$ ) was found but the relation was not statistically significant as was the case in residential status.

The differences between the two residential groups have been discussed in Chapter Two in terms of the child's language situation in Australia and how the parents organise the maintenance programs of their child's Japanese in Australia. In the discourse skills assessment in Chapter Five, more problem cases were found among the permanent resident children than among the sojourner children (see Table 5.8 in Section 5.5, Chapter Five), suggesting that the children's discourse skills were related

to their residential category. The finding may point to Bernstein's (1971) notion that parents' socio-economic status has influence on a child's literacy development. Bernstein argues that there are distinctions in language type available to a child which relate to a child's social class differences. The effects of socio-economic differences between the two groups were also clearly seen in the parents' adopting a variety of maintenance programs, as discussed in Section 7.5.

Table 7.13 shows the residential status in relation to maintenance outcomes.

**Table 7.13: Residential status and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable nos. 11/22 Residential Status	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Permanent resident	2 children: P1, P4	0	3: P2, P3, P5
Sojourner	2: S2, S4	3: S1, S3, S5	0

$\phi = 0.77, \lambda = 0.33, p < 0.05$

The results show that whereas sojourner children displayed a relatively even maintenance level, either rating GOOD (S2, S4) or FAIR (S1, S3, S5), there was a large difference among the permanent resident children, some rating GOOD (P1, P4) and some rating POOR (P2, P3, P5). Two permanent resident children (P1, P4) convincingly demonstrated that permanent resident children were quite capable of maintaining a high level of Japanese proficiency despite their 11 years of residence in Australia without any formal Japanese schooling experience in Japan. On the other hand, the results also revealed that the problem cases (rated as being POOR) were likely to be found only among permanent resident children. These findings suggest that the differences in maintenance outcomes within the permanent resident group, therefore, might have been caused by other predictive factors or a combination factors specific to each child.

## 7.7 Other Factors

Past studies (e.g., Iwasaki 1982, Cummins and Nakajima 1990, Janik 1996) suggest that the factors such as 'length of residence outside Japan', 'schooling in Japan' and 'language policy at home' would affect the child's language maintenance. The following briefly discusses how these factors operated on the maintenance outcomes.

### 7.7.1 Children's Length of Residence in Australia

Children's length of residence in Australia varied. The minimum stay was two and a half years and the maximum, 11 years. Children were categorised into four groups according to their length of residence in Australia as shown in Table 7.14.

Table 7.14: Children's length of residence and maintenance levels achieved

Variable no. 23 Length of Residence	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Less than 3 years	1 child: S4	1: S5	0
3 to less than 4 years	0	1: S3	0
4 to less than 6 years	1: S2	1: S1	1: P5
6 to 11 years	2: P1, P4	0	2: P2, P3

$$\phi = 0.64, \lambda = 0.16, p = 0.38$$

A weak positive correlation between the length of residence and maintenance outcomes was found (see Table 7.1). There is a limitation to this analysis due to the small number of subjects in each of the four categories. It can be seen from Table 7.14 that a GOOD level of Japanese language maintenance was achieved regardless of the length of residence, as in the cases of S4, S2, P1 and P4 (ranging from minimum of two and a half years to maximum of 11 years). A POOR level of maintenance resulted only from longer residence; two children of 11 years residence (P2, P3) and one child (P5), over five years-residence.

The results indicate that an extended stay by a child outside Japan may cause Japanese language maintenance problems. However, as the good results of P1 and P4 show, the problems may be overcome if a child is highly motivated, placed in an environment where they need to use Japanese with sufficient provision of parental support, and has developed an age-appropriate academic language proficiency along with the proficiency in everyday situations.

### 7.7.2 Schooling in Japan

Schooling in Japan refers to the education the children received before arriving in Australia. This was in a purely monolingual medium in a monocultural environment. Consequently, it differed greatly from the education at the Japanese Saturday School (which all the children in this study attended), not only in terms of the contents and the amount of study but also, the environment. Schooling in Japan varied among the children. Six children (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, S1) did not have any schooling in Japan because they were born in Australia or arrived in Australia during their pre-school years. Four sub-categories were created for the variable of 'schooling in Japan' based on the length of schooling experience: (1) nil (no schooling experience), (2) four months (first term of Grade One only), (3) one year (Grade One only), and (4) two years and four months (Grades One, Two and first term of Grade Three). Any periods of *taiken nyuugaku*, where children attended Japanese schools for short periods during temporary returns to Japan, were not included.

The children's Japanese maintenance levels in relation to their schooling in Japan are presented in Table 7.15. The results revealed that children with no schooling in Japan could attain a GOOD level of Japanese language proficiency (P1, P4) or a FAIR level (S1). However, only this category of schooling revealed problem cases (P2, P3,

P5). A sojourner child (S4) with the longest Japanese schooling experience in Japan (two years and four months) exhibited a GOOD level of Japanese language proficiency. Interestingly, a child with only four months schooling in Japan (S2) achieved better results than a child with one year (S3).

Table 7.15: Schooling in Japan and maintenance levels achieved

Variable no. 24 Schooling in Japan	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Nil	2 children: P1, P4	1: S1	3: P2, P3, P5
4 months	1: S2	0	0
1 year	0	1: S3	0
2 years and 4 months	1: S4	1: S5	0

$\phi = 0.65, \lambda = 0.16, p = 0.37$

Neither the length of residence in Australia nor the schooling experience in Japan were statistically supported as significant variables affecting the children's Japanese language maintenance. However, the common notions (e.g., Cummins and Nakajima 1990) that the longer the children reside outside Japan, the worse they become in their Japanese language proficiency did not necessarily apply to some of the children. Two permanent resident children (P1, P4) successfully demonstrated that they could develop and maintain a high level of Japanese language proficiency.

### 7.7.3 Language Use at Home

Fishman (1968) and Greenfield (1972) argue that code selection of bilinguals is largely affected by the speech domain such as the home, school, work, neighbourhood and peer group. The prime domains where Japanese was used by the children in this study were the home, Japanese Saturday school and peer group. English mixing (appearing mainly on the lexical level) also featured in the children's speech in such domains. It has been reported by all the mothers that the language used in the parent-child

interaction at home was Japanese, a language in which the parents felt more at ease and proficient. Fathers were regarded as being more fluent in English than mothers, but even so spoke to their children in Japanese.

Code-selection, nevertheless, occurred in some situations in the home domain. In the case of permanent resident children, the language used with siblings was not always Japanese. As pointed out in Chapter Two, the first language of permanent resident children was initially Japanese. Interviews with permanent resident mothers revealed that their children always used Japanese with their younger siblings because their parents made it a practice to assist their younger siblings in acquiring Japanese. This practice remained until younger siblings reached Grade Two or Three, in other words, until they began to interact in English within their school and peer group domains. The mother of P5, however, noticed that the amount of English P5 used rapidly increased within a year or so after beginning school when talking to his eight-year old sister. P4's mother also noticed a similar tendency between P4 and his eight-year old brother, although it was not regarded as rapid a change as in the case of P5.

When one of the siblings reached junior high school age, code-switching and code-mixing tended to occur more frequently when talking about specific topics such as school matters and Australian friends. Code-switching according to the conversation topics in bilingual children has been identified by a number of scholars (Gumperz 1972; Grosjean 1982, 1985; Saunders 1988; Romaine 1989). This phenomenon was observed by mothers between P1 and her 13- and 15- year old sisters, and between P2 and her 13 year old brother. Thus, at the initial stage, the language choice among the permanent resident families seemed to be the result of the insufficient English competence of the mothers and their younger children, as well as the family language policy that Japanese is to be the first language at home. However, when the mothers

(of P1, P3 and P4) realised that the inflow of English was becoming stronger in the family domain, they had to set a rule that only Japanese was to be spoken at home, and this rule was basically kept.

Among the sojourner children, Japanese was more dominantly used among siblings compared with the permanent resident children. However, occasional code mixing was reported by the mothers of S1 and her two younger sisters, and S3 and his two elder sisters of high school age. This might have resulted from their extended stay in Australia, almost six years for S1 and four years for S3, and from having virtually no schooling in Japan. However, this was not always the case. S2 had lived in Australia for nearly five years with no schooling in Japan, and according to his mother, predominantly used Japanese with his elder brother in spite of both having attained a good level of English proficiency. She thought that her son was reluctant to speak English at home because it would be out of place. Similar examples of reluctance to speak English in front of family members were also reported by some mothers during preliminary interviews.

The variable 'language use at home' showed a weak correlation with maintenance outcomes (see Table 7.1). The interviews with the parents revealed that none of the children used English exclusively at home, and that Japanese dominated among the majority as the language used in the family domain. The children were classified into two groups for analysis on the basis of their language use at home: (1) Japanese dominance (P3, P4, S1, S2, S4, S5) and (2) occasional code selection between Japanese and English or code mixing occurring (P1, P2, P5, S3). The maintenance level in relation to the language use at home is shown in Table 7.16.

**Table 7.16: Language use at home and maintenance levels achieved**

Variable no. 31 Language use at home	Maintenance Level (n = 10)		
	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Japanese dominance	3 children: P4, S2, S4	2: S1, S5	1: P3
Code selection between Japanese and English	1: P1	1: S3	2: P2, P5

$\phi = 0.55, \lambda = 0.16, p = 0.21$

The outcome was quite self-evident in that the children who formed a habit of code-selection between Japanese and English in the home environment exhibited more problems in maintaining a GOOD level of Japanese language than those who use Japanese as the dominant language, although there was one case of POOR maintenance in this category (P3). The causes of POOR maintenance, despite Japanese being the child's dominant home language, may be related to the type of language proficiency P3 acquired at home.

Table 7.17 gives a visual presentation of the eleven maintenance factors discussed in this chapter in terms of their association with maintenance outcomes.

### 7.8 Closing Remarks

This chapter examined the factors and the strategies associating with language maintenance. A correlation analysis was carried out between the 30 independent variables and the overall maintenance levels (dependent variable). The results showed that three variables had a strong positive correlation with maintenance levels and five, a moderate positive correlation. The remaining 22 variables showed only a weak correlation. None of these showed a negative correlation with maintenance levels. The 11 factors, including eight predictive factors, were closely examined in this chapter.

As stated in Section 3.7 in Chapter Three, the research questions in this study are addressed in three research areas. The first is the measurement of maintenance

levels, the second is the investigation of factors and strategies affecting maintenance outcomes, and the third is the evaluation of parental role played in maintenance planning. The first area was examined in Chapters Four and Five by assessing maintenance levels of the children in terms of eight scoring criteria, and the second area was addressed in the current chapter by carrying out a factor analysis. The next chapter is devoted to the third research area, the evaluation of parental maintenance planning, that is, parental conscious behaviour toward their child's Japanese language maintenance.

Table 7.17: The 11 factors associated with maintenance levels

Subject (n = 10)	Overall LM Levels	(1) Academic Japanese language proficiency: High or Low	(2) Everyday Japanese Language proficiency: High or Low	(3) Participation in peer group activities: Frequent or Rarely	(4) Reading books: Active reader or Poor reader	(5) Initiative in supplementary study: Active involvement or passive involvement	(6) Parental use of maintenance aids: Active use or Less active use	(7) Japanese networks in Melbourne: Close-knit or Interactive	(8) Residential Status: Permanent resident or Sojourner	(9) Length of residence in Australia:	(10) Schooling in Japan	(11) Language use at home: Japanese Dominant or Code selection between Japanese and English
P1	GOOD	High	High	Frequent	Active reader	Active	Active use	Close-knit	Permanent resident	11 years born in Australia	Nil	Japanese dominant
P4	G	H	H	F	A	A	A	C	P	11 years born in Australia	Nil	J
S2	G	H	H	F	A	A	Less active use	C	Sojourner	4.5 years	4 months	J
S4	G	H	H	F	A	A	Active use	C	S	2.5 years	2 years and 4 months	J
S1	FAIR	H	H	F	A	A	A	Interactive (loose)	S	6 years 1 month	Nil	J/E
S3	F	H	H	F	Poor reader	Passive	Less active use	Close-knit	S	3 years 10 months	1 year	J/E
S5	F	H	H	F	P	A	Active use	C	S	2 years 5 months	2 years and 4 months	J/E
P2	POOR	L	L	Rarely	P	P	Less active use	Interactive (loose)	Permanent resident	11 years born in Australia	Nil	J
P3	P	L	H	R	P	P	LA	C	P	11 Years born in Australia	Nil	J/E
P5	P	L	L	R	P	P	LA	I	P	3 years	Nil	J/E

**Legend:**

P1 - P5: permanent resident children    S1 - S5: Sojourner children  
 G: GOOD    F: FAIR    P: POOR

## CHAPTER 8

### PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

#### 8.1 Introduction

In a community where different language groups co-exist, language attitudes play an important role in the lives of users of these languages. Language attitude is one of the major factors in accounting for which language is learned, which is used, and which is preferred by people with two languages. Losing one's L1, which is often a minority language, or taking a negative attitude towards one of the two languages are the consequences of language attitudes. There is no doubt that parents' language attitudes have a major effect on children who initially acquire language at home from their parents. It was hypothesised that variations in attitude to the language environment existed between the two different residential groups in this study (see Section 2.5, Chapter Two). This chapter examines the parental role played in the maintenance process focusing on their attitudes towards children's language behaviour.

#### 8.2 Methods of Examining Parental Attitudes

Attitude is too general a concept to be accurately examined from answers to a specific set of questions administered to the parents. The interpretation of the notion of 'attitude' from the subjective domain into something objectively measurable, and therefore more easily comparable, is viewed by scholars (e.g., Gardner 1979; Fasold 1984; Romaine 1989;) as a common problem in any research that involves social categorisation and perceptual judgments. There are also a number of general problems in trying to elicit attitudes towards language behaviour. Attention often

focuses only on those items that have risen to conscious awareness. Furthermore, as Romaine noted, 'most people do not have a vocabulary of terms with which they can evaluate speech' (Romaine 1989: 257). The current study sought an appropriate model in the studies of micro-level language planning and applied Jernudd-Neustupný's (1987) language management model in discourse to examine the parental conscious behaviour towards their child's Japanese language maintenance.

According to Jernudd-Neustupný's (1987) model, parental maintenance planning (i.e., formulating maintenance programs or strategies) normally progress through four stages: the first being problem identification followed by a second stage, the evaluation of the problems, the third consisting of the implementation of programs to solve the problems, and the final stage, evaluation of the programs and a further fine tuning of the programs. Based on this model, this chapter explores the following four dimensions of the parental maintenance planning:

- (1) How the parents (mothers) evaluated their child's Japanese language maintenance;
- (2) What kind of deviation the parents identified in their child's Japanese language use;
- (3) How the parents treated the deviations that they identified in their child's Japanese language use; and
- (4) What maintenance programs the parents implemented and how effective they were.

The information for the analysis was obtained through two sources: (1) the interviews conducted with all the mothers and (2) the discourse data of recorded family conversations, in which all the children participated. Since the interviews were conducted with mothers only, in the discussion of findings, reference will be

made to the mothers of either the permanent resident group or sojourner group, where applicable.

### 8.3 Mothers' Evaluation of Their Children's Japanese Language Maintenance

This section sought to identify mothers' problem consciousness of their children's Japanese language maintenance by asking them to evaluate their children's level of maintenance in terms of their proficiency. It should be noted that the mothers' evaluation was based on their own standards and expectations for their children and therefore, was a purely subjective one. Each mother was asked to evaluate her child's Japanese proficiency using the same three global rating scales as was used in this study: GOOD, FAIR and POOR (see Section 3.4.3 in Chapter Three for the definition of the each scale). Table 8.1 presents the mothers' evaluation of their child's Japanese language maintenance. The child's overall maintenance level obtained from this study (see Table 6.3, Chapter Six) is also given for comparison.

**Table 8.1: Mothers' evaluation of their children's Japanese language maintenance**

Children (n = 10)	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
Mothers' evaluation	+	--	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+	+
Overall maintenance levels	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	F

**Legend:**

P1 ~ P5: permanent resident children    S1 ~ S5: Sojourner children  
 +: Positive evaluation    +/- : Neutral evaluation    -- : Negative evaluation  
 G : GOOD    F : FAIR    P : POOR

It is evident from this table that most mothers evaluated their children's Japanese language levels positively (six positive and three neutral) except in one case of a permanent resident child, P2, whose mother evaluated her child's Japanese language maintenance negatively, which concurred with the assessment of this study. However, a big discrepancy between parental evaluation and the maintenance results in this study

was found in the cases of P3 and P5. Below examines the grounds of mothers' evaluation of each residential group.

### **8.3.1 Evaluation Made by Permanent Resident Mothers**

During the interviews with permanent resident mothers, it was noted that they were more concerned about their children's English proficiency, which was directly related to learning academic content at the Australian school, compared with their expectations for their children's achievement of better academic performance at the Japanese Saturday School. In regard to the Japanese competence of their children, permanent resident mothers were primarily concerned about whether their children were able to maintain the proficiency required in the family domain and peer group or friendship domains, where Japanese was the prime means of interpersonal communication.

The mothers of P1, P3 and P4 stated that as Australian-born Japanese, their children were managing well in maintaining Japanese language when compared to some Australian-born Japanese children whom they knew in Melbourne. Most of them do not go to the Japanese Saturday School. In fact, both P1 and P4 exhibited a high performance both in language tasks and in oral discourse skills, and were rated as being GOOD in maintenance assessment (see Table 6.3 in Chapter Six). The positive evaluation of P1 and P4's Japanese language maintenance made by their mothers was, therefore, quite appropriate. In the case of P3, however, despite her mother's positive evaluation in this regard, P3's maintenance level was rated as being POOR in this study. This discrepancy may have resulted from P3's mother not being aware of the level of Japanese proficiency expected for P3's age. This issue of parental standards for assessing their children's Japanese language proficiency will be explored further in

a later section of this chapter. Below I discuss the cases of P2 and P5, whose mothers evaluated their children's maintenance negatively (P2) or neutrally (P5).

In the case of P2, who was born in Australia and had no Japanese schooling in Japan, her mother became aware of P2's decline in Japanese proficiency during Grade Four at the Japanese Saturday School. At the time of investigation P2 was in Grade Five and had obvious difficulties in coping with her learning in Japanese. According to her mother, P2 often expressed her wish to discontinue the Japanese schooling upon completion of Grade Six, suggesting that she was not enjoying it. P2's mother regretted that although she had enrolled P2 at the Japanese Saturday School for the last six years (Prep to Grade Five), she had not done much about P2's Japanese language learning planning due to her business commitments, since P2 was about two years old. Referring to the cases such as this, Neustupný (1985) pointed out that children with both Japanese parents residing in Australia were known to quickly lose their competence in Japanese even though almost all of their parents were highly educated middle class speakers. He explained this as the result of 'lack of language correction (i.e., language planning) in the family networks' (Neustupný 1985: 59) and warned if parents did not adopt effective correction patterns (i.e., language policies), the language of the children would be quickly flooded with transfers from English, the next stage being abandoning Japanese in favour of English which seemed to be an inevitable result. Neustupný's prediction may fit the case of P2.

P5 emigrated to Australia at the age of six years and had no experience of Japanese schooling in Japan. P5's Japanese language maintenance was not negatively evaluated by his mother but was assessed as being POOR in this study. His mother recently became aware of P5's strong shift to English language especially when he was interacting with his younger sister (8 years old). His English shift was also reflected in

his English mixing examined in this study. During the interview, his mother stated that she was not sure of the measurement standard in evaluating P5's Japanese competence expected for his age, because it was mainly her husband's role to assist P5's study in Japanese. In fact, her husband was engaged in teaching at the Japanese Saturday School during the early days of their settlement in Australia, and therefore felt that he was more suitable for this role. She also admitted that although she and her husband were aware of P5's problems of learning in Japanese, P5's English acquisition was of more immediate concern for them rather than his Japanese language development and maintenance. A number of father-child exchanges occurred in P5's family conversation, and these illustrated how P5's incompetence in Japanese language made his father frustrated. Parental reactions to their child's Japanese use will be examined in Section 8.5 below.

The cases of P2 and P5 presented above indicate that these children needed proper treatment in order to control or reverse the situation where English was taking the place of Japanese. Otherwise there would be little chance for them to maintain an appropriate level of Japanese language. Fishman (1991) called this kind of treatment as 'reversing language shift efforts' (RLS-efforts), in which one (or a minority ethnic community) must follow the proper sequencing efforts. He identified eight stages of 'RLS-efforts' and developed the Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (see Figure 1.1 in Section 1.5.3, Chapter One). This scale indicates the stages of development for language survival. In terms of Fishman's scale, P2 and P5 were at the critical stage of Japanese language survival and needed reinforcement in the minority language (Japanese) for its continuity.

### 8.3.2 Evaluation Made by Sojourner Mothers

Sojourner mothers commonly expressed their concerns for the development of their children's Japanese language skills required to perform school learning tasks. Nevertheless, none of them evaluated their children's Japanese language proficiency negatively. The mothers of S1 and S3 evaluated their children's Japanese language maintenance as being neutral, meaning that they occasionally noted some kind of 'oddities' (i.e., deviations from norm) in their children's Japanese use. Their evaluation did not disagree with the maintenance assessment. In the case of S5, however, a small discrepancy was found between the two assessments. Whereas her mother evaluated S5's Japanese proficiency positively, S5 was rated being as FAIR (in maintenance level) in this study. In the maintenance assessment, S5 was noted for her poor performance in the language tasks, particularly in the task of reading large numerals where she mixed the English system with the Japanese one and become totally confused (see Section 4.3.1), and this lowered her overall maintenance level despite her comfortable command in discourse skills.

S1 was rated as being FAIR in the maintenance assessment and evaluated as being neutral by her mother. She was a different case from other sojourner children in terms of her schooling pattern. S1 lived in Australia over six years, the longest in sojourner group, and had no schooling in Japan. Her parents noted S1's strong shift to English after five years of local schooling, and they decided to change S1's schooling in Grade Five from the 'local school and Japanese Saturday school' pattern to the 'full-time Japanese School and Japanese Saturday school' pattern. This was an exception to the usual schooling pattern for a sojourner child in this study (see Section 3.8, Chapter Three). S1 and her parents decided to keep Japanese Saturday schooling in order to maintain the peer group networks which S1 had established during the last five years.

Both S1 and her parents valued them highly. S1's mother emphasised that this decision about school was made with S1 who also started to realise her increasing lack of competence in Japanese.

The case of S1 presents a good example of 'language planning at the micro-level' as discussed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987), where the decision about language behaviour was initiated by its speaker and her family. S1 and her parents were going through the 'four stages in the language planning' discussed by Rubin (1971) and Jernudd and Neustupný (1987). Both S1 and her parents noted the problems (Stage 1) and they evaluated them negatively (Stage 2), then they sought measures and implemented them (in this case, changing the schooling pattern) to remove the problems (Stage 3). In order to evaluate the outcomes of this language planning (Stage 4), continuous observation of S1's language behaviour for a longer period of time would be necessary. Such observation exceeded the capacity of this study; however, follow-up research on this case would be valuable. Language shift is often a slow and cumulative process and as Fishman argues (1991), efforts to reverse language shift are essentially value-based and are part of the process of re-establishing oneself, therefore, it is not possible to achieve the goal without one's realisation of the need to do so. In this regard, S1's case clearly contrasts with the cases of P2 and P5 in which the speaker's problem consciousness was either very weak or absent.

The findings in this section point to the importance of parents appropriately evaluating their children's Japanese proficiency in the process of maintenance planning. In order to do that, parents need to have an evaluation standard as well as information regarding their children's performance. Rubin (1971) regarded this as a fact-finding stage in language planning, where the planner (parents) needs to have information 'about the situation (children's proficiency) for which the plan (maintenance strategy)

is to be developed. The next section examines what kind of deviations the parents have noted in their children's Japanese language use and how they treated them.

#### **8.4 Deviations Identified by Mothers**

In order to examine parents' awareness and treatment of their children's Japanese language problems if any, Neustupný's theory of correction (1978, 1985) was applied.

Neustupný's correction process operates as follows (Neustupný 1985: 49-50):

- (1) one of the communication systems presented in a situation serves as the 'base norm';
- (2) the deviations from the norm often occur in contact situations such as in the Australian situation where English and Japanese interact;
- (3) some of the deviations remain covert while others are noted;
- (4) the noted deviations are evaluated by those who are involved in the situation;
- (5) when the deviations are negatively evaluated, they will be labelled as 'violations' or 'inadequacies'; and
- (6) these may be corrected or adjusted by those who are involved in the situation, the speaker or the hearer.

Two questions were raised here based on Neustupný's (1978, 1985) correction theory. The initial question was whether or not the parents were aware of their children's deviations from the 'base norm'. If so, did they apply any correction strategies to remove the deviations or instead did they disregard these deviations? This section deals with the first question.

The parents certainly noted some deviations (or 'oddities' in their term) in their children's Japanese utterances. Discussion in this section is focused on the three types of deviations which were reported by mothers as being particularly salient in their children's Japanese language. These are related to: (1) English mixing, (2) discourse organisation, and (3) politeness in Japanese.

#### 8.4.1 English Mixing

The phenomenon of English mixing has already been discussed in Chapter Five as being one of the discourse features that the children in this study displayed. In this section, English mixing will be discussed from the parental point of view revealed during the interviews. The mothers in both groups commonly noted the children's English mixing to some degree, although it was reported that their mixing occurred mainly on the lexical level.

Sojourner mothers regarded their children's English mixing, usually limited to nouns, as a natural phenomenon of Australian life, from living in an English speaking environment. Therefore, they did not consider their children's English mixing as a deviation, rather they accepted this phenomenon as a kind of communication device or strategy that the children had acquired in Australia. Furthermore, sojourner mothers admitted that they themselves and the fathers as well mixed English in their Japanese speech, because they somehow had established a habit of doing so during their stay in Australia. In this regard, Goodz (1984, cited in Hamers and Hablanc 1989: 36) observed that language mixing in the child related to the mixing produced by the parents, therefore these parents may influence their children to mix their speech through their own mixing.

Whereas some permanent resident mothers (of P1, P3, P4) noted their children's English mixing as not being so salient, others (mothers of P2, P5) admitted the frequent occurrence of English mixing in their children's speech. Nevertheless, they were accustomed to this and accepted this linguistic phenomenon as one of their children's discourse features. Some mothers observed this feature as becoming more salient when their children were talking in a hurry. P2's mother commented that at most times P2's English mixing was seen as being normal because she did not expect

P2 to communicate with her fully in Japanese. She explained that her daughter's English mixing occurred mainly because of her insufficient command of Japanese, but also because of her familiarity with and competence in English. In fact, P2 often communicated in English with her older brother (13 years old), but with her parents, customarily in Japanese. P2's mother also noted that she had gradually adjusted herself to P2's English mixed speech style, so she came to consider P2's frequent English mixing as normal. From the linguistic point of view, this situation can be interpreted as P2's mother's 'base norm' (Neustupný 1985) changing over the years, while at the same time acquiring similar linguistic habits as her daughter (i.e., English mixing). Thus, she had become more tolerant of P2's frequent English mixing, and consequently became less aware of the seriousness of her daughter's deviations.

P5's mother also noted her son's frequent English mixing in Japanese and his increasing use of English with his younger siblings (5 and 8 years old). As mentioned above, P5's parents' prime concern at the time of investigation was his English acquisition for Australian schooling. P5's mother considered English mixing as a normal part of her son's English learning process and did not assess this phenomenon negatively. Thus, both mothers (of P2 and P5) were rather reluctant to correct their children's English mixing, especially those found on the lexical level, so long as the conversation flowed and their communication was maintained.

#### **8.4.2 Discourse Organisation: Frequent Use of Pronouns and Fillers**

With regard to the discourse organisation, permanent resident parents noted children's frequent use of Japanese pronouns (P1, P2, P3, P5) which occasionally caused comprehension problems. P1's mother reported that P1 frequently used Japanese

pronouns to supplement her lack of vocabulary, which often made P1's sentences unclear or ambiguous. Some examples are illustrated in the following:

- (1) '*ano toki no are*' (that one at that time): In this phrase, it is not clear which event and what occasion are referred to.
- (2) '*asoko no ano bun*' (those ones at that place): The location and the object are ambiguous.
- (3) '*are o soo suru to*' (if you do that in that way): One can not understand what the speaker is going to do in what way.
- (4) '*hora are yo*' (that one, you know): The speaker assumes that the speech partner shares the common knowledge or experience with her, but it is not clear what 'that one' refers to.

P1's mother stated that this linguistic behaviour occurred because P1 was more comfortable in Japanese than in English and hence, wherever she lacked vocabulary in Japanese, she used a Japanese pronoun instead of switching to English. Her mother assumed this to be the result of P1's lack of competence in English, referring to P1's problems in academic performance at the Australian school. However, this can also be interpreted as P1 trying to avoid mixing English when communicating in Japanese. In other words, she accommodated herself to Japanese speaking situations.

A similar phenomenon was also reported by P3's mother, stating that P3 habitually switched to Japanese completely when communicating with Japanese adults including her parents, and thus P3's use of pronouns became salient in such situations. Both the mothers of P1 and P3 tried to persistently clarify what was being referred to by their children when they used a pronoun in their speech, rather than guessing. P1 reacted to this by either becoming irritated or abandoning the conversation, and P1's mother admitted that she often did not wish to persist in causing such behaviour. P3, on the other hand, ended up producing lengthy explanatory utterances which were often unclear or incoherent. Discourse examples from such situations were presented in

Chapter Five for the assessment of P3's discourse skills (see examples 16, 19, 20 in Sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4).

The mothers of P1, P3, and P5 also reported that their children had a habit of saying '*nan'te yuu no*' (what are you supposed to say), '*nan takke*' (how do you say that again) when talking to them. These were expressions they used to stall for time when they could not find the right vocabulary in Japanese, but sought to maintain their turn in the conversation. A large amount of fillers such as '*etto*' or '*anoo*', which are the English equivalents of 'let me see', or 'umm', were also commonly noted by these mothers. As a result, the flow of discourse of their children often became slow, and the mothers had to be rather patient in order to participate in such situations. Neustupný (1985) called this type of deviation 'performance deviance' and in this situation the speaker (the child) may expend too much energy 'performing', while the hearer (the mother) may become weary or irritated because of the slowness of the speaker's performance or because of other problems. In this situation, in the case of P1, there were times when she herself became irritated or impatient with the slowness of the discourse flow, and gave up the conversation with her mother saying, '*mata ato de*' (I'll explain it later).

The findings discussed above suggest that, on the one hand, frequent use of Japanese pronouns and fillers by permanent resident children may be the result of their insufficient Japanese vocabulary or lack of knowledge of expressions, as was observed by mothers. At the same time, the case of P1 and P3 also demonstrate the children's determination to use Japanese instead of switching to English when they face problems, for example, when not being able to find a suitable word or expression. In such situations, they tend to use pronouns, fillers or other devices like rephrasing (as noted in Chapter Four). It is interesting to note that P3 had set her own guidelines for

language use with Japanese adults, that is, completely switching the language to Japanese. None of the sojourner mothers reported their awareness or identification of problems in using too many pronouns and fillers in their children's Japanese, hence this kind of linguistic behaviour may be specific to the children in the permanent resident group.

#### **8.4.3 Politeness in Japanese**

All permanent resident mothers expressed their awareness of difficulties for their children in selecting and switching to the appropriate level of speech according to the situation or the communication partner. In fact, this was one of the areas where the permanent resident children (P2, P3, P5) exhibited their incompetence (in Chapter Five). With regard to this topic, Nakajima's (1988, 1991) studies on Japanese children in Canada revealed that the permanent resident children whose dominant language environment was English became weaker in Japanese, and that this tendency became more evident as they grew up. Nakajima identified that the speech style of the children whose Japanese was acquired and maintained within the family environment was characterised as being familiar, informal and even child-like for their age. These phenomena were also noted by the permanent resident mothers in this study.

The mothers of P2, P3 and P5 stated that their children were not aware of the function of switching speech level and consequently they were not capable of this action. P3's mother was often embarrassed when her daughter spoke to adult acquaintances in the same manner as if she was talking to someone of her own age, and the mother's occasional corrections did not seem to work with her. P3's case indicates that the mother's correction does not work effectively unless the child is aware of the importance and the meaning of the particular linguistic behaviour. This was also the

case of P5, although the mother seemed to consider her son's speech level control to be a less urgent problem compared with his other language problems, including his English acquisition.

In the case of P2, her mother was particularly concerned that P2's speech level remained that of a young child, which she believed had resulted from being spoilt by her grandparents and aunt who used to live very close by in Melbourne, and who looked after P2 during her mother's absence while at work. A similar case was described by Nakajima (1988, 1991). Whenever the mother noted P2's inappropriate levels of speech towards adult visitors to the house including her Japanese piano teacher, she consciously corrected them. This was usually done afterwards rather than on the spot. P2's mother realised that although P2 was aware of the feature of speech politeness, it was beyond her capability to handle it properly. P2's case thus suggests that the presence of many adults in the family environment could negatively affect the development of a child's level of speech if these adults keep treating the child as a small child and communicating with the child in that way.

Two other permanent resident children, P1 and P4, seemed to be aware that the level of speech needed to be adjusted according to the speech partner and actually demonstrated their capacity to handle the linguistic rules appropriately during the interviews for this study. Nevertheless, their mothers reported that only a limited range of situations existed for their children compared with sojourner children, in which their children could acquire and develop competence in this area. Apparently, these mothers believed that sojourner children would have more contact with Japanese adults (other than family members) than their own children would, hence assumed that sojourner children could handle the adult-child interactive situations more appropriately.

One sojourner mother expressed concern about her son's (S3) control of speech level towards adult visitors to their home. The family often received visitors from Japan through the father's company, or colleagues from the Melbourne office. On such occasions, her son was expected to behave appropriately with polite greetings and thanking them for gifts or souvenirs they brought for him. Other sojourner mothers did not express any special concern over their children's control of speech levels, which could mean that their children already possessed or developed age-appropriate skills in this area.

The findings so far (in Section 8.4) indicated that deviations were noted more by permanent resident mothers than sojourner mothers. This agrees with the finding in Chapters Four and Five that the children in the permanent resident group displayed more notable problems in their task performance and discourse skills compared to the children in the sojourner group. More importantly, this suggests that permanent resident mothers have a clearer problem consciousness regarding their children's Japanese language use compared with sojourner mothers, who were more concerned about academic performance in learning conducted in Japanese language. In the process of language maintenance planning, how the planner (i.e., the parents) treats the noted problems is crucial in order to move onto the next stage in achieving the maintenance goal. This will be the focus of the next discussion.

### **8.5 Parental Treatment of Child's Deviations**

This section focuses on the parental treatment of their child's deviations. When faced with deviations, parents either applied corrective strategies or chose to ignore them (Neustupný 1978, 1985). The study identified both of these occasions in the family conversations. The parent-child exchanges in these occasions are presented below for

discussion. Since the magnitude of the deviations was greater in permanent resident children's discourse (as shown in Chapter Five), discussion is mainly focused on the cases of permanent resident group.

### 8.5.1 Disregarding Deviations

In the previous section, it was identified that mothers, permanent resident mothers in particular, noted a number of deviations in their child's Japanese use, however, they did not always correct them consciously so long as the conversation flowed. Two major reasons were found to explain this behaviour: (1) the parents have adjusted themselves to their child's speech styles, that is, their 'base norm' has changed and they do not consider the deviations serious; and (2) the parents try to avoid causing their child to give up the conversation due to persistent parental corrections. The second reason is especially pertinent since in all families Japanese is the language of parent-child communication, and therefore, the parents hope to keep this mode of communication with their bilingual child as long as possible.

The following five discourse examples (1) to (5) illustrate some of the situations where parents did not correct children's English mixing which would normally be marked as deviations by native speakers of Japanese.

(1) Context: P2 was telling her mother about a ride at the school fete.

P2: ... *kouyatte guruguru mawatte ne, appusaido-dawn (upside-down) ni natte ne, kao ga ne kooyatte sumairu (smile) shichatte ne ... . Ato wa suneeku (snake) mitaina mon notta.*  
(We turned around like this and became upside-down. Our face then smiled like this ... . I also had a ride on something which looks like a snake.)

M: ... *Suneeku (snake). Nani sore.*  
(A ride on a snake. What kind of a ride is that?)

P2: *Nani ka ne, kou tonsuru (tonsil) mitaina, nanka karada no naka ni haitteru mitaina ne ... konna hiru (hill) mitai ni natte te, sore o nottari toka, nanka sooyuu koto sun no.*  
(Let's see. It was something like we were in a body (of a snake). There was something like a tonsil in the body of a snake, something like a hill. We had a ride on the hill and things like that.)

In this example, P2 was trying to describe a ride she had at a fete using the English words (underlined in the above dialogue) 'upside-down', 'smile', 'snake', 'tonsil' and 'hill', which were the key words she used to explain this to her mother. The mother's reaction here was to repeat the word '*suneeku*' (snake) only to clarify what kind of a ride P2 had, not to point out P2's English mixing. She seemed to be very patient with P2 in listening to what P2 tried to convey, with minimum interruption. In another situation as illustrated in the example (2), P2 switched to English, saying 'why not?' and 'I don't like you', to object to her mother's refusal to let her eat a snack. P2's mother did not seem to take this seriously and ignored P2's English switching.

(2) Context: P2 asked for her mother's permission to have a snack and the mother refused.

M: *Ikemasen.*

(No, you can't.)

P2: *Uun, Why not?*

(Well, why not?)

M: *Damena mono wa dame desu.*

(Because I say so.)

P2: *I don't like you.*

[Then, P2's mother changed the topic.]

Similarly, P2's father also accepted her English mixing as in example (3) below. P2 inserted an English expression in her Japanese but her father neither pointed it out nor corrected it. The conversation terminated there.

(3) Context: P2's father asked P2 how much pocket money she received from her mother.

F: *Ikura.*

(How much did you get?)

P2: *Iwanai. Too much dakara.*

(I'd better not tell you, because it was too much.)

A few examples of P2's English insertion (English mixing or code-switching) were found in her exchanges with her parents, but not during the interview with the researcher. This indicates that the occurrence of English mixing or code-switching by P2 is controlled by the formality of situation as well as by whether or not the speech partner is a family member, and thus the home environment makes P2 feel more free to adopt these devices.

The next two examples illustrate the occasions when P5's father did not react to P5's English mixing. In both (4) and (5), P5 switched to English when describing key words in these contexts such as 'late', 'quarter to eight' and 'last week'.

(4) Context: P5 responded to his father saying what time he got up that morning.

P5: *Kesa hayaku okitenai yo. Boku kyoo reito (late) nano. 'Quarter to, quarter to eight' nano. boku okita no.*

(I didn't get up early this morning. I was late getting up this morning. I got up at quarter to, quarter to eight this morning.)

(7) Context: P5's father asked about how P5 was doing at math at the Saturday School.

F: *Doyookoo de moo yakusuu narattaroo.*

(You've already learnt about finding denominators of numbers [in math] at the Saturday School, haven't you?)

P5: *Yakusuu ... shiranai. Boku raasuto uiiku (last week) inakatta mon.*

(I haven't done this [in math] yet. Because I was away from school last week.)

The above examples demonstrated that there were occasions where some permanent resident parents did not correct or show any reaction to their children's English use in Japanese utterances, despite being aware that this was one of the discourse features which they noted during the interview. No examples of this kind were found among sojourner parent-child interactions in the data. However, it should be noted that this does not necessarily suggest that sojourner parents and children do

not have similar situations; a much larger sample of data must be examined to explore this possibility.

### 8.5.2 Correcting Deviations

This section examines the parental correction of the children's Japanese use in terms of what they corrected and how, and whether the correction was effective or not. Two types of correction behaviour were considered here. One is the correction which encourages the child to be aware of his or her deviations and the other, the correction where the parents simply point out the deviations and criticise such linguistic behaviour. The former is considered as 'effective corrections' while the latter being the opposite kind, 'ineffective corrections'.

Examples (6), (7) and (8) illustrate the former type, the effective corrections. In example (6), P4's father tried to remind P4's younger brother to say 'excuse me' in Japanese because there was a rule in this family of using Japanese among family members. The father performed his correction using an indirect expression of reminder instead of criticising the child's behaviour.

(6) Context: P4's family were at the dinner table. P4's younger brother burped, and the mother reminded him of his table manners.

M: *Nante yuu no.*  
(What do you have to say now?)

P4's B: Excuse me.

F: *Nani ka wasurete wa imasen ka.*  
(Haven't you forgotten something?)

Example (7) illustrates that P2's mother was patient in listening to her daughter and explained how to say an English word which P2 used in Japanese.

(7) Context: P2 was explaining about a game called 'water bomb' to her mother after Saturday schooling.

- M: *Nani shite asonde ita no.*  
(What game did you play at school today?)
- P2: Water Bomb!  
(Water Bomb!)
- M: *Uootaa bomu tte naani.*  
(What is Water Bomb?)
- P2: *Uootaa bomu wa uootaa bomu.*  
(It is Water Bomb.)
- M: *Nihongo de nante yuu no.*  
(What do you call it in Japanese?)
- P2: *Aan, fuusen.*  
(Well, it's balloon.)
- M: *Uootaa dakara mizu, bomu dakara bakudan.*  
(Water is *mizu* and bomb is *bakudan* in Japanese.)
- P2: *Mizu bakudan! Mizu bakudan!*  
(Then I can call it 'mizu bakudan'!)

There were two steps in this correction: firstly the mother checked whether P2 could find a Japanese equivalent name for the 'water bomb' game and realised that P2 could not, then in the next step, she gave P2 the Japanese equivalents of 'water' (*mizu*) and 'bomb' (*bakudan*) so that P2 could call the game '*mizu bakudan*'. P2 followed her mother's correction and sounded happy in calling the water bomb game '*mizu bakudan*' in the end. The attitude of P2's mother towards her daughter's English mixing on this occasion is what Neustupný (1985: 45) called a 'correction process'. As reported by some mothers previously, parental corrections may cause the children to become frustrated and make them cut the conversation short. However, if parents could follow the proper correction process such as in the case of example (7) above, it would lead to a desirable outcome. Although this example presented only one small example of a mother's correction, it demonstrates how parental corrections could be performed so as not to cause any negative effects on the children. Needless to say, cooperation between parents and the child, that is, both sides being prepared to listen, is important in order to achieve the goal in the event of correction.

In example (8), P1's mother's correction by commenting on P1's frequent use of the Japanese filler word '*etto*' ('well...') seemed to encourage P1 to become aware

of her deviations. It was evident that the mother's comment was made on the assumption that her daughter could perform better. In this correction, the mother was obviously trying to ease P1's embarrassment in the situation.

(8) Context: P1 was performing a formal self-introduction in front of her mother for recording.

P1: *Eetto..., eetto..., etto, Nihon Kokusai ... aa ..* (laugh)

(Well, ... well, ... umm, I am studying at the International Japanese .....

M: *Eetto, etto tte itteru to, nihongo shaberenai hito mitai ja nai* (laugh)

(If you keep saying 'well', people might think that you can't speak Japanese properly.)

In the family conversations, it was noted that fathers occasionally requested their children (S3 and P5) to repeat what they were trying to say because it was not clear. Mothers, on the other hand, seemed to be more tolerant of their children's communication style in Japanese and minimised the interruptions during their children's talking. One could interpret this as resulting from fathers not being with their children as much as mothers, and therefore not understanding their children as well because they are not used to working out their children's conversational 'oddities' (deviations). The occasional necessity for fathers to clarify what their children said may have been a source of frustration for them. In other words, fathers seemed to be less patient than mothers in listening to what their children wanted to convey. The following two exchanges in (9) and (10) between P5 and his father were good examples of this.

(9) Context: P5's father was asking about the bus on which P5 went to the school camp.

P5: *Kyoo asa mita deshoo, ne. Basu. Sono basu notta.*

(You saw a bus this morning, didn't you? We went by that bus.)

F: *Sono basu tte koto nai deshoo. Sore to nita yoona basu tte iu n deshoo.*

(It can't be that bus. You should have said that you went by a bus which was similar to the bus we saw this morning.)

P5: *Jaa onaji no basu.*

(Well, I would say it was the same bus, then.)

F: *Onaji basu daka wakaru wake nai. Kuruma no bangoo oboeteta no. Uso iunja nai yo, omae. Omae uso bakkari itte n da.*  
(How do you know it was the same bus? Did you remember the number plate? Don't go around making things up. Stop telling tales!)

In example (9), P5's father twice corrected P5's description of the bus, although he knew what P5 meant from the context presented here. When P5 did not correct his description of the bus as his father suggested, his father made the second correction and even called P5 a liar at the end. This conversation continued as in (10). P5 preferred to use his own expression to describe the bus and his father insisted on his own while pointing out P5's inadequate description.

(10) Context: P5 and his father continued talking about the bus P5 went the school camp.

P5: *Onaji da yo. Tada bangoo ga chigau dake da yo.*

(It's the same bus. It's just got a different number plate. That's all.)

F: *Jaa onaji kaisha no basu toka.*

(In that case, you have to say a bus of the same company.)

P5: *Onaji kaisha.*

([It's a bus of] the same company then.)

F: *Onaji taipu no kuruma no shurui.*

(You can also say that it's the same type of vehicle as we saw this morning.)

P5: *Onaji shurui to kaisha no kuruma.*

(It's the same type of vehicle, and the same company's vehicle.)

F: *Untenshu mo issho datta no.*

(The driver was the same person, was he?)

P5: *Chigau. Kaeri wa chigau.*

(No, he wasn't. We had a different driver on the way home.)

Error correction and explicit teaching of linguistic rules did not work here and thus examples (9) and (10) are ineffective corrections. In fact, this type of correction often occurred in the exchanges between P5 and his father, and they often sounded unpleasant in P5's family conversation recorded for this study. P5's father frequently lost his temper with P5 when assisting with his school work at home. This was not because of P5's incompetence in performing academic tasks but because of the fact that P5's POOR level of Japanese competence obviously hindered him in performing well. As can be seen in the above two examples, both P5 and his father were very obstinate

in persisting in their own ways of speaking and this made them feel weary at the end of the conversation. In this case, therefore, both the father and the son demonstrated 'performance deviance' (Neustupný 1985: 51).

Another example of ineffective correction is presented in the next example. Example (11) illustrates the situation where P5's English mixing puzzled his mother and younger sister (eight years old).

(11) Context: P5 was playing a game with his mother and young sister and he faced a problem..

P5: Aaaa ... *boku kiipu* (keep) *dekinai*. *Boku aburibieito* (abbreviate) *yacchau*.  
(Ah ... I can't keep it ... I will abbreviate.)

M: *Doo yuu imi*.  
(What do you mean by that?)

P5: *Shou[ryaku]*, *shou[ryaku]*, ... *aburibieito* (abbreviate), *aburibieito* (abbreviate).  
(I mean abbrevi ..., abbrevi ... . I mean abbreviation, you know to abbreviate.)

S: *Eigo tsukattara dame desho*.  
(Have you forgotten that you shouldn't use English?)

Here, P5's mother asked what P5 meant by his mixed English expressions of '*kiipu dekinai*' and '*aburibieito yacchau*' which appeared in his first utterance. In response to his mother's request for clarification, in his second utterance, P5 attempted to say 'abbreviate' in Japanese (which is *shouryaku suru*) although he was not successful in this. Therefore, he repeated the English word twice, this time pronouncing it more in a Japanese way so that his mother and sister might recognise the word. At this point, his younger sister reminded P5 that he used English despite of the family language rule of not using English in conversations. The mother's correction was made by seeking clarification, and his sister's correction was made by criticising P5's use of English with a family member, in particular with his mother.

### **8.5.3 Lack of Correction Policy at Home**

The above discussion on parental correction behaviour points to the importance of having a correction policy at home. As Neustupný (1985) emphasised, effective correction can be achieved only when the child is aware of and understands the problems, as well as when the parents know how to correct them. Some of the parental corrections examined above were considered to be effective in making the children aware of their deviations, while others were ineffective in that both parents and children became irritated and corrections did not work effectively to remove the problems. As mentioned previously, there were some deviations noted by the parents but these were not always treated by the parents accordingly. The parental corrections are often not systematic but rather random occurrences.

The use of the Japanese language at home was a conscious decision made by all families in this study. The children were occasionally reminded by their parents of this policy when their English use (or mixing) became salient. The interviews with the permanent resident mothers revealed that this kind of treatment was particularly evident in their families. Children's appropriate politeness in Japanese when interacting with adults was another area of parental concern, as discussed above. While the basic rules of linguistic politeness were taught at the Japanese Saturday School, situations for the children to acquire the necessary skills were limited, therefore constant corrections by parents would be necessary in this regard.

The interviews with mothers and the data collected from the family conversations suggest that the correction policy concerning what to correct, how, when and whom to correct did not seem to be firmly set by the parents. Needless to say, the school should cooperate with the parents to establish a realistic correction policy to deal with the children's deviations. Lack of consistency in parental correction may have resulted

from changes to their language policy over the years. Some permanent resident parents (of P2, P3, P4, P5) admitted that they started to compromise when faced with the reality that their children were becoming less competent in Japanese. They then began to encourage their children to perform well in English, because they realised that in any case, English was the language that their children had to use to survive in Australia. Up to around Grade Three, the parents considered Japanese and English to be equally important to their children. From Grade Four, however, when more abstract ideas were introduced in the Japanese education system (e.g., reading and writing 'poetry'), their children started to show difficulties in understanding these abstract ideas. The parents then had to accept the limitations of their children's Japanese language ability.

#### **8.6 Maintenance Programs**

The parental attitudes towards children's Japanese language maintenance have been examined so far in terms of their problem identification, evaluation of the problems and treatment of the problems. This section focuses on the final stage of language planning in maintenance where strategies (maintenance aids) are implemented to solve the problems, and the effectiveness of strategies will be evaluated. As discussed in Chapter Five, parents adopted a number of maintenance aids for their children. Among them, Japanese schooling was considered to be a vital aid for all the children. A variety of language activities organised at home were also important for children in creating opportunities to use Japanese. The question is how effective these programs were for children's Japanese language maintenance. In this regard, the role of the Japanese Saturday School and the content of home activities will be further discussed in the following.

### 8.6.1 Japanese Schooling

During the interviews with permanent resident mothers, a surprising fact was revealed. That is, after having enrolled their children at the Japanese Saturday School for the last five or six years, permanent resident parents did not seem to possess a clear standard with which to evaluate their children's competence in Japanese language expected for their age. This resulted in over- or under-estimation of their children's Japanese language competence (as examined in Section 8.3). In the former case, the proper and timely treatment to prevent further problems was delayed and as a result, the existing deviations became fossilised, thus became difficult to remove. P2, P3 and P5 may belong in this category. Their parents were reluctant to acknowledge the problems their children faced in further developing the Japanese language skills required for their current school work.

Neither P1's mother nor P4's mother evaluated their children's Japanese negatively, but ~~to some extent~~ they did not seem to be aware of how successfully P1 and P4 had developed and maintained their proficiency in Japanese. Their high level of Japanese proficiency was endorsed by the teachers at the Japanese Saturday School and also by the assessment in this study (see Table 6.3 in Chapter Six).

The above-mentioned parental uncertainty of the standard for evaluating their children's Japanese proficiency seemed to relate to their expectations towards their children's achievement at the Japanese Saturday School, which were noted as being different from those of sojourner parents. The mothers of P2 and P3 expected their children to complete at least up to Grade Six at the Japanese Saturday School, assuming this to be the level where P3 could read Japanese newspapers, and P2 could develop bilingualism in the future. Both P1 and P4 were expected to complete VCE Japanese

level according to their mothers. P5's mother, however, did not possess a clear opinion about the expected level to which P5 was heading.

Sojourner parents, on the other hand, possessed a clearer idea as to why they sent their children to the Japanese Saturday School. According to mothers in this group, their aims were ideally to develop and promote academic language proficiency to meet their age standard in school performance, so that they could return to the education system in Japan with minimum handicap. These parents were equipped with a measurement standard with which to evaluate their children's school performance. Nevertheless, all the sojourner mothers confessed that they did not expect their children to achieve much at the Japanese Saturday School, indicating that the academic content was not really what they expected. Some mothers even objected to having permanent resident children in the same class as their children, because it was perceived that they may lower the level of teaching in general. In this regard, it is interesting to note that permanent resident parents possessed the opinion that they wanted their children to mix with sojourner children (contrary to that of the sojourner parents) so that their children would benefit from these children's Japanese skills. According to sojourner mothers, socialising with other Japanese children became the prime function of the Japanese Saturday School for their children. Some mothers planned to enroll their children at a Japanese cram school (*gakushuu juku*) in Melbourne where the study was focused on higher academic achievement aimed at passing the entrance examination of prestigious high schools in Japan.

In explaining this discrepancy between parental expectations and actual outcomes, it can be pointed out that these parents, permanent resident parents in particular, did not have sufficient feedback with regard to their children's performance at the Japanese Saturday School. The parents received feedback on their children's performance

through end of term school reports three times a year, as well as opportunities to observe classes once or twice a year. The information they gathered from these sources may not have been sufficient for the parents, particularly the permanent resident group, to evaluate their children's performance correctly and to foresee any problems their children may encounter. Furthermore, being away from the education system in Japan for a number of years (ranging from six to 19 years) made it more difficult for them to assess where the current learning environment stood in relation to educational standards in Japan. At the time of investigation, the majority (approximately two-thirds) of children at the Japanese Saturday School consisted of sojourner children, and consequently the content of education was adjusted to be more suitable for these children. P5's mother commented on this by saying that after observing her son's classes, she discovered that the learning content was mainly focused on the area that the children at the same grade in Japan would cover, and that these were not necessarily relevant for her son, a permanent resident child. However, she did not know how she could approach the school about her concerns.

The situation therefore suggests that the Japanese Saturday School lacked suitable educational approaches for children from the permanent resident group. These children may spend nine to 10 years at the Japanese Saturday School, from Prep to Junior High School (Year Nine), which is much longer than the sojourner children will spend in Australia (average of three years). If this was taken into consideration, it could be said that the school should undertake more longitudinal planning to cater for the permanent resident children during their period of schooling, and proper follow-up of their progress should be included in its planning. During the interview with a member of the school committee, the situation described above was explained as being inevitable given the state of the school at that time. However, the committee member

insisted that the school was well aware of the situation and that special attention was urgently required for the permanent resident children's education, although not much had been done up until then owing to the limited funding and staff available. Analysing this situation in terms of language planning, the school had identified the problems of the children in this group but did not proceed to the next stage of evaluating the problems and providing feedback to the parents and the teaching staff involved; in other words, it had not yet reached the stage of implementing strategies to remove the problems. The situation at the time indicated that the lack of experience among school planners in educating permanent resident children and the absence of proper follow-up of the children's progress may continue to result in poor performance in some of the children in this group.

The school as an educational institution has acquired a prominent position in parental maintenance programs in this study. However, it did not seem to have proven its capacity in catering for the children from the two residential groups, whose goals of achievement in Japanese studies were fundamentally different. The school educational planning focused more on the needs of the majority in the school community (the sojourner children), yet the school was not responding fully to the requirements of sojourner parents as previously discussed. At the same time, the schooling seemed to be acting negatively on some of the permanent resident children examined in this study. The school was at the stage where it should evaluate the situation for both majority and minority groups in the community and identify the problems in order to implement corrective adjustments. The school should be asked to play a much bigger role in the maintenance process of these children.

### 8.6.2 Language Activities

The language content for interaction and learning differ between school and home. Whereas classroom activities are largely teacher-initiated, most activities at home are child-centred. The studies of child language acquisition (e.g., Snow and Ferguson 1977, Elliot 1981; Owens 1996) claim that the best way of helping the children learn language is by providing them with the richest and most varied opportunities possible for hearing and using language. Naturally, the greater the quantity and quality of this kind of input, the more the children will learn. As examined in Chapter Five, parents in this study organised a variety of activities at home in order to provide their children with opportunities of keeping in contact with the Japanese language in the Australian environment.

While these activities attracted the children, it seemed that parents did not always pay much attention to the quality of these activities. For instance, the range of books or videos was often limited to comics or less challenging types of material for the children's age, and therefore, was not suitable for their literacy skill development. With the children in the permanent resident group, it was found that limited access to new books and videos as well as cost factors resulted in reading or watching the same materials repeatedly, even though the content was well below their age level. Furthermore, the children with younger siblings in the family shared books and videos with them, another reason for the children to read content below their age level. One mother commented on this by saying that so long as books and videos were in Japanese, it would assist her children to expand their vocabulary. This kind of attitude may contribute to children having a poor level of Japanese discourse skills and lack of age-appropriate discourse content.

Language maintenance efforts are often focused more on spoken language rather than on written language, especially in their initial stages. This is more true for the efforts of intergenerational language transmission in the family domain. Speaking in Japanese at home was a common device for maintaining the language in all families in this study. Some parents (of S1, S3 and S5) extended their maintenance efforts to written language, making their children acquire a habit of keeping a diary in Japanese. Parents convinced their children to keep a diary as a record of Australian life and also as drafts of letters to grandparents or friends in Japan. Although this activity required constant parental assistance and encouragement, they regarded this as a valuable exercise for their children to develop writing skills which were otherwise often neglected at home. Some children (S1, S2, S5, P1) were participating in keeping a group diary (*kookan nikki*) which was circulated within the friendship network they formed at the Japanese Saturday School. This activity was initiated by the children and seemed to promote their friendship networks. Both the parent- and child-initiated activity of keeping a diary can be considered an effective method to involve children in writing about a variety of topics in Japanese.

The maintenance activities at home must be organised carefully according to the children's needs. These activities should stimulate the children's interest and motivation in using the language. The parents' control over the quality of activities to ensure they are suitable for their children's age is also important, although this may be affected by the family's financial capacity in providing the materials. The financial constraints in maintenance programs has already been noted in Chapter Seven.

## 8.7 Closing Remarks

This chapter sought to evaluate the parental role played in their child's maintenance achievement, focusing on their attitudes towards their child's Japanese language behaviour. A model of language planning (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987) and a theory of correction (Neustupný 1985) were applied to examine parental attitudes from four dimensions: parental problem identification of their child's Japanese language use, their evaluation of the problems (deviations), their treatment of the problems, and their implementation of maintenance programs to remove the problems. The effectiveness of the maintenance programs was also examined, focusing on the Japanese schooling and the maintenance activities organised at home. Some parents were critical of the situations where their children were positioned in the Japanese Saturday School, indicating the need for a stronger link between family and school.

## CHAPTER 9

### DISCUSSION OF CONCLUSIONS

#### 9.1 Introduction

This study was concerned with a minority group's efforts to retain the use of its language, as well as maintaining age-appropriate levels of language proficiency in a two-language environment. The study focused on micro-level language situations of the 10 Japanese children (aged 10 to 11) in Melbourne, whose parents were of Japanese background. The aim was not only to provide a descriptive account of the speaker's degree and direction of Japanese language maintenance, but also to engage in a more critical evaluation of 'who maintains which language how and why' (Li Wei 1997: 149).

This chapter presents a summary of findings from this study, and discusses how we can move towards a synthesis of the wide range of findings presented. It also considers the inter-relationships among them and raises some basic issues in minority language maintenance. The discussion of conclusions is focused on: (1) the research questions; (2) the practical implications of the maintenance patterns which emerged from this study; and (3) the directions for further research.

#### 9.2 Research Questions: A Summary of Findings

Using a framework derived from the consideration of three key aspects of maintenance studies suggested by Fishman (1966, 1991) and of the language management model presented by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987), this study: (1) assessed the degree and the direction of language maintenance of the target population; (2) identified factors and strategies which had an impact on language

maintenance; and (3) evaluated the parents' role in their children's Japanese language behaviour in terms of language planning for maintenance. This study sought to analyse maintenance outcomes using naturally occurring oral discourse data. Sections 9.2.1 to 9.2.3 present a summary of the findings.

### **9.2.1 Assessment of the Degree and the Directions of Maintenance**

Two types of assessment instruments were developed for this study. The first consisted of four language tasks in an oral interview format, while the second involved analysing the children's spoken discourse in the interviews and their family conversations. The integration of these two instruments created a matrix with eight scoring criteria, where the children's maintenance levels in terms of Japanese language proficiency was assessed.

Four language tasks (i.e., Reading large numerals, Counting objects, Naming objects and Describing facial expressions) were designed to identify the lexical areas in which Japanese children living in Australia may lack knowledge or lose competence, owing to the influence of the dominant language (English) and the limited contact with Japan and the Japanese language. The results confirmed the predictions of this study that the children would present a number of problems, including varying competence in the different areas examined. The results suggest that language tasks of this type are potentially valid indicators of language maintenance in the case of young school children. The reliability of task assessment was statistically supported with a high coefficient of  $\alpha = 0.74$ .

It was found that when the children were dealing with large numerals, some children made errors in reading them, despite the relative ease of the task. They became confused when they switched between Japanese and English counting systems.

In the task of counting objects, the difficulty posed by the large variety of Japanese noun quantifiers was apparent; children had difficulty selecting the appropriate quantifier, and some persistently used one type when they were unsure of which one to use, and needed to compensate for their lack of knowledge in this area.

Some children showed a lack of Japanese vocabulary on items which were closely associated with rural life or seasonal events in Japan. This indicates that Japanese social studies or social science tends to be neglected in the maintenance programs in favour of language and mathematics, and hence, more attention in building and expanding their knowledge in the area is needed. Furthermore, the repertoire of vocabulary describing abstract concepts or ideas such as onomatopoeia and adjectives was found to be limited in some children. Needless to say, it is essential for children to be actively involved in reading Japanese literary works, to enrich their vocabulary in this area. The study also found that the children tried to compensate for their lack of knowledge by using English equivalents, rephrasing words or over-generalising some linguistic rules in order to avoid break downs in communication.

There were individual differences in the task performance among the children. While some did consistently well, others did poorly in all four tasks, and some exhibited uneven performance between tasks. Although more problem cases were found in the permanent resident group, some children in this group demonstrated competence in the areas examined while on the other hand, some in the sojourner group forgot vocabulary or had interference from English linguistic rules.

The analysis of variance identified some influential variables associated with better results in tasks, including residential status and gender. The results also suggest that the children performed well if they had developed a balanced proficiency in everyday

and academic Japanese language, and used Japanese dominantly with siblings as their preferred language at home.

Children's discourse skills were analysed using naturally occurring discourse data obtained from interviews and family conversations. Discourse skills were assessed in terms of the *acceptability* of the English mixing into Japanese utterances, the *appropriateness* of the level of speech (politeness), the *smoothness and effortlessness* in the flow of discourse, and the *comprehensibility* of the discourse (coherence in discourse).

English mixing can be regarded as one of the communication strategies of bilingual children. However, some types of mixing found in the permanent resident children's discourse were regarded as deviations. Some children in this group were not able to select or use the appropriate speech style, and persistently used the familiar speech style as well as the predicate omission style, which were not the norm in the situations provided by this study. Furthermore, the flow of discourse was not as smooth and effortless as was expected for their age level, and often contained incomprehensible or inaccurate elements, or even lacked coherence in discourse organisation and caused confusion or irritation for both the speaker and the listener.

Some children in the permanent resident group presented low competence in oral discourse skills in Japanese, compared to other children. All sojourner children, on the other hand, demonstrated comfortable command of spoken discourse skills. Some English mixing occurred among these children which was considered to be natural in a bilingual situation. Nevertheless, their skill in controlling the speech level depending on the situation or speech partner, as well as maintaining a natural flow of discourse with coherence in forms and thoughts, were well demonstrated to the extent expected for their age level.

A very high reliability coefficient ( $\alpha = 0.93$ ) was found across the four discourse skills assessment. The results of the analysis of variance show the pattern which emerged was similar to that outlined for the analysis of task performance. However, the gender was not an influential factor in indicating differences in discourse skills, as was the case in task performance.

Overall, sojourner children exhibited better discourse competence than permanent resident children. This pattern was more clearly shown in the discourse results than in the results of task performance. The children in the permanent resident group were clearly divided into two groups in terms of their discourse organisation skills, one with a high command and the other with an insufficient command of Japanese language. A high level of discourse skills was the result of the child's balanced development in academic language proficiency and in everyday conversational skills in Japanese. The children's favourable attitude towards Japanese language use was also a strong indicator of better maintenance.

The results of four language tasks and four discourse skills were combined to produce a single overall score for each of the 10 children. There was a moderate reliability ( $\alpha = 0.66$ ) in the overall maintenance results. The maintenance outcomes were used for the correlation analysis in order to single out the influential factors for maintenance.

### **9.2.2 Factors for Japanese Language Maintenance in This Study**

This study hypothesised that the maintenance outcomes were the result of the combined efforts of the parents and the child, and therefore, the behaviour towards Japanese language was examined from both the parents' and the child's perspectives. Out of 30 independent variables, eight variables were singled out by correlation analysis as being

particularly important when considering the language maintenance of the children. These were five children's factors (Academic language proficiency, Everyday language proficiency, Participation in peer group activities, Reading books, and Initiative in supplementary study related to language maintenance), two parental factors (Use of maintenance aids and Japanese networks in Melbourne) and one factor common to children and parents (Residential status). These were considered as 'predictive factors' for maintenance.

The children who attained a good level of maintenance were supported by all of the eight predictive factors, whereas the children who exhibited a poor level of Japanese maintenance were obviously missing support in most of these areas (see Table 7.17, Chapter Seven). The children who developed age-appropriate academic language proficiency along with everyday communication skills in Japanese achieved a higher level of maintenance. Extended use of Japanese in a variety of situations was evident in these children. They were all coping with study at the Japanese Saturday School where the study content was more focused on the needs of sojourner children, the majority of the school community. These children showed their initiative in taking up supplementary studies in Japanese. They all actively read in Japanese. Furthermore, their frequent participation in peer group activities such as *otomari kai* (staying the night at a friend's place) was also noted. In short, these children were using Japanese language not only as the family language but also for their study and leisure activities such as reading and socialising with peers.

The parents' active use of maintenance aids (such as Saturday schooling, Japanese language activities organised at home) and their close contact with Japan, as well as close-knit Japanese networks in Melbourne had contributed towards their child's maintenance.

As was anticipated, the residential factor showed a moderately strong relation with maintenance outcomes. This factor was a positive indicator for all the sojourner children but a negative indicator for some of the permanent resident children. Conversely, two successful cases were also found in the permanent resident category. These cases may indicate that some of the permanent resident parents placed more importance on maintenance programs than sojourner parents, thinking that language shift or loss might result over time. The finding strongly suggests that appropriate maintenance programs can promote maintenance success for the children of this residential category.

A lengthy absence from Japan and lack of schooling in Japan did not show a significant correlation with lower maintenance levels. However, in the case of three permanent resident children, their longer residence outside Japan contributed to their lower Japanese language proficiency. As for language use at home, the children who formed a habit of code-selection between Japanese and English at home, especially with siblings, exhibited reduced command of Japanese language compared to those who used Japanese dominantly.

The mothers' cultural orientation and English proficiency were not found to be influential, however, there were indications that these factors need further attention in terms of their effects on mothers' attitudes towards maintenance and their Japanese network formation.

This study explored a large number of possible factors to show that language maintenance is a complex and dynamic process. From the findings of factor analysis, this study concludes that: (1) maintenance outcomes were the combined efforts of parents and their child; (2) the maintenance programs developed by parents and child were largely determined by family's predisposing factor of socio-economic status

(i.e., residential status); (3) there were eight predictive factors, but none of the other factors showed a negative correlation with maintenance, suggesting that the 30 factors examined in this study may all be important for maintenance. A further study with more cases could determine situations or combinations which make some factors more important. This study, therefore, claims no single factor or strategy which could completely account for GOOD or POOR maintenance levels by itself. Instead, it claims that a number of factors and strategies operated interrelatedly in the maintenance process, as was found in Clyne's (1982) study in Australia.

### **9.2.3 Evaluation of Parental Role in the Maintenance Process**

The parental role played in their child's maintenance process was examined in terms of their attitudes towards their child's Japanese language behaviour. Jernudd-Neustupný's (1987) model of language planning and Neustupný's (1985) theory of correction led the study to examine parental attitudes from four dimensions: (1) the evaluation of child's Japanese language proficiency; (2) the identification of deviations in child's Japanese language use; (3) the treatment of the deviations; and (4) the maintenance programs implemented and their effectiveness.

Evaluating the child's Japanese language proficiency was not an easy task for the parents. This was particularly so for permanent resident parents who were unsure of assessment standards, a problem which seemed to have originated from insufficient feedback from the Japanese Saturday School regarding their child's performance. These parents were uncertain about what they could expect from the Japanese Saturday School, where teaching was more focused on the needs of the majority sojourner children. Their uncertainty grew as their child proceeded on to higher grades with increased academic demands.

There were differences between the permanent resident and sojourner groups in the parents' expectations and goals set for their children, which was anticipated in Chapter Two (Section 2.5). The language maintenance goals of permanent resident parents were not as clear as those of sojourner parents, who set a more study-oriented goal for their children. Sojourner parents were well aware that their children would return to Japan sooner or later. The permanent resident parents should have a clearer direction in which to lead their children at the initial stages of maintenance planning, based on the children's actual Japanese language proficiency. In this regard, the current study takes a critical view on the attitudes that some permanent resident parents presented towards their child's maintenance.

The permanent resident mothers noted a number of deviations in their children's Japanese language use. However, the noted deviations were not always evaluated negatively by them. Instead, these were often regarded as habits or strategies which their child acquired in Australian. This view was shared by the majority of sojourner parents, and they did not perceive this as an indication of reduced Japanese language proficiency. Interestingly, some parents adjusted themselves to their children's speech style or may themselves have adopted similar linguistic habits over the years; in other words, their norms changed and therefore, they became less critical on these issues.

Particular deviations included English mixing, over-use of Japanese pronouns, lack of controlling politeness in speech and losing coherence in discourse. On some occasions, permanent resident parents were reluctant to correct deviations noted in their child so long as the conversation flowed, to avoid negative reactions such as shortening or giving up the conversation.

Despite the decision to use Japanese at home, followed by all families in principle, the correction behaviour of the parents was rather inconsistent. Two types of parental

corrections, 'effective' and 'ineffective' corrections, were identified. The former was effective in encouraging children to be aware of their deviations so that they could correct themselves, while the latter resulted in frustration or irritation on the part of the parent and/or child, and problems often remained unsolved. Although the parents were aware of the children's deviations, they did not seem to set a firm correction policy regarding who corrects what kind of deviations, when and in what way. Needless to say, a correction policy in the family would make the corrections more effective at removing existing problems.

Among the variety of programs adopted for maintenance enhancement, the role of the Japanese Saturday School and maintenance activities at home was examined in terms of their relevance and effectiveness. The parents felt that despite its prominent position in the maintenance process for all the families in this study, the Japanese Saturday School did not seem to have demonstrated a capacity to cater for the children from different residential groups. In terms of language planning, the school needs to evaluate the situation and identify the problems in order to implement a sound educational policy. The situation indicated that information exchange and reciprocal understanding between school and family should occur in order to achieve a common goal. The school can play a much bigger role than simply providing a place to socialise with other Japanese children, a view expressed by parents in both groups, since the school was the only place where both sojourner and permanent resident children could learn together. Parents make a financial commitment when enrolling their children at the Japanese Saturday School, but that does not guarantee favourable outcomes unless they make the school aware of their expectations.

As for the maintenance activities organised by parents at home, such as reading books, video viewing and playing games, there was lack of concern for choosing

quality, age-appropriate materials, although the study also noted that financial constraints often affected the variety and the quality of maintenance aids adopted.

### **9.3 Maintenance Patterns Emerging and Their Implications**

Milroy and Muysken (1995) observed that in the last forty years or so, developments such as the expansion of educational provision to many more levels of society, massive population shifts through migration, and technological advances in mass communication have served to accentuate our sense of a visibly and audibly multilingual modern world. Modernisation and globalisation have stimulated increases in the number of people speaking international languages such as English, while linguistic minorities are increasingly becoming bilingual.

As a consequence of Japan's growing international business activities since the late 1970s, an increasing number of Japanese business people and their families have lived outside Japan. Many of these Japanese people have had no previous experience with bilingual situations. In the studies of language maintenance, the experience of maintenance by Japanese individuals has not received as much attention as other minority languages. This may be largely due to the relatively small size of Japanese communities existing overseas. The findings of Yashiro (1995) indicate that in the host countries, Japanese people are sometimes seen as reluctant to become part of the local community, strongly retaining their orientation towards Japan. Such perceptions may lead to an expectation that successful maintenance of Japanese is a natural outcome of the strength of this orientation, rather than any conscious effort to maintain language. The Japanese people's experience with maintenance investigated in this study, however, presents a number of important implications applicable to the

maintenance of other minority languages, and provides further understanding towards basic issues of language maintenance at the micro-level.

Li Wei (1997b: 148-151) discusses the relevance of a key question in language maintenance and language shift research: who has maintained the minority language and who has given it up in favour of some other language(s), how and why? Fishman (1990) argues that if the speakers of the minority language are engaged in some form of maintenance programs (i.e., maintenance efforts), then the pertinent questions are to what extent did they achieve the goal, and is the likelihood of language survival high, medium or low.

In this regard, the children in this study demonstrated varying degrees of achievement. There were the successful cases with a GOOD maintenance level, moderately successful cases with a FAIR maintenance level, and the unsuccessful cases with a POOR maintenance level. The maintenance success was very high in two of the sojourner children and two of the permanent resident children, who demonstrated equivalent levels of Japanese proficiency. Three sojourner children demonstrated a fair level of Japanese proficiency. The three unsuccessful cases were the children of permanent residents. These children represented the difficulty of Japanese language survival despite their long-term maintenance efforts.

A maintenance pattern related to residential status, which indicates a difference in social positioning in Australia, emerged as anticipated. The pattern shows a tendency for sojourner children to maintain Japanese better than permanent resident children. This was expected in view of the findings from the Morwell case study (Yoshimitsu 1996), where sojourner children demonstrated their capacity to retain a comfortable level of Japanese language proficiency during their stay in Australia, despite their frequent contact with the dominant language, English. However, the present study

also found successful cases in the permanent resident group. Two children demonstrated that a different pattern also exists in this group. It is then necessary to find out how these successful cases achieved their maintenance, in contrast to the unsuccessful cases.

Gibbons and Lascar (1998) argue that minority-language children's maintenance initiated by the parents often becomes problematic, if the acquisition and the use of the language are limited to within the home and community environment. This is especially the case in the area of linguistic aspects of literacy which largely develop through educational contexts. Given the limited opportunities for acquiring the minority language, it is important to examine the extent to which the academic register develops in minority-language children. They argue that achieving full and literate proficiency in a minority language is difficult without proper maintenance planning. Nakajima (1988) also pointed out the importance of literacy development in language maintenance, stating that if the aim is to achieve an age-appropriate maintenance goal for children living outside Japan, a more balanced approach between the written and the spoken language was necessary.

Given the fact that language maintenance planning was initiated by parents, and the scope of learning at the Japanese Saturday School was limited for permanent resident children, it was important to examine to what extent these permanent resident children developed their academic language proficiency, and how their maintenance outcomes were influenced during their long-term maintenance efforts. In this regard, this study observed two patterns: (1) two successful children evidently developed age-appropriate academic language proficiency in Japanese, and were ably coping with studies at the Japanese Saturday School along with their majority sojourner children peers; and (2) three unsuccessful children had not fully developed their proficiency to

the level that the school expected for their age-level, and were consequently struggling to cope with learning at age-appropriate levels. The two successful cases strongly indicated that a high level of maintenance requires a balance between language use in everyday life contexts and educational contexts.

The child's academic language development can be assisted by parents who provide an age-appropriate learning environment (e.g., schooling, supplementary studies, maintenance activities, return visits to Japan). In such an environment, the child is encouraged to develop a favourable attitude and motivation towards learning Japanese language. The importance of attitudinal factors in successful maintenance was pointed by Okamura-Bichard (1985). Her study found that similarly positioned bilingual Japanese children differed markedly in their patterns of language development, which was largely affected by a difference in personal views and attitudes towards the minority language. The findings of the present study also suggest that the children's attitudinal factors (e.g., being an active reader in Japanese, frequently participating in peer group activities, taking initiative in supplementary studies, using Japanese language dominantly with siblings, Japanese as the preferred language) strongly correlated with maintenance outcomes.

The parents' inconsistent attitudes towards their child's language learning or towards family's language policy may result in the child learning the language poorly. Therefore, the goal set by parents for their child's maintenance should be based on parents' problem identification in their child's maintenance and proper evaluation of the problems. Scholars such as Cummins (1984), Appel and Muysken (1987) and Corson (1993) claim that it is very important that the minority child's first language is given maximum attention up to the stage of middle schooling, so that skills acquired in using it to understand abstract concepts can be used to perform the cognitive operations

necessary for acquiring the second language. In view of this, whatever the language the parents select for their child, it is important to set a consistent goal for their child and maximum attention should be given to pursue the goal.

Grosjean (1982, 1985, 1995) argues that bilinguals normally use each of their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Therefore, the level of fluency in a language will depend on the need for that language and will be domain-specific, hence 'fossilised' competencies can be observed in their language use according to their language situations (Grosjean 1995: 259). The present study found three unsuccessful cases in the permanent resident group. Their lack of academic Japanese proficiency could be accounted for by their 'fossilised' competence in this area due to insufficient support by parents and the school, and consequently their level of maintenance was limited to the use of everyday contexts. It can be predicted that the longer they remain in this stage, the less likely their Japanese language will survive. Their increasing shift to English to compensate for their lack of Japanese proficiency had already been noted by their parents.

One example of a strategy to prevent this was seen in the case of one sojourner girl who also started to show increasing English shift after living in Australia for over six years. She and her parents decided to change her schooling pattern from attending a local state school to the full time Japanese School, thus creating an environment to develop academic Japanese language proficiency. Language planning to create such an environment, while not a simple process, seemed to be urgently required for the children who show problems.

Language maintenance in the case of young children such as in this study was initiated and planned by parents according to their identities, values and goals in the society which they belonged to either temporarily or permanently, and later promoted

by home situations and schooling. As the children grow older it would also involve how the children perceive themselves in an environment with two languages, and these seemed to influence their motivation to continue to use a particular language. Undoubtedly, most of the parents in this study created a favourable environment for their children to pursue maintenance goals by carefully selecting and actively using maintenance aids, and by being part of close-knit Japanese networks. The study found that such parental support was limited by their financial capability. Therefore, parents' socio-economic status, which is largely defined by their residential status in this study, was an important factor when considering the language maintenance of the children.

Language maintenance did not occur by chance at the grass-roots level as a by-product of a higher level, power related social process. Instead, as was demonstrated in this study, it is the result of a long-term conscious effort of the person to retain a consistent need for the language. Maintenance at this level inevitably involves a financial commitment on the part of the family which largely influences how age-appropriate the maintenance is. The longer they pursue the goal, the more they must bear the financial burden and hence the situation becomes more difficult for the permanent resident family. This is also pointed out by Noro (1990) who found that the family's socio-economical background strongly conditioned the family's language policy, and that the language environment in turn shaped the achievements of the children.

Language maintenance patterns of this study revealed that maintenance by Japanese children living outside Japan depended on a complex interaction of a range of factors, which explained in what conditions and how they maintained the language, to what degree and to what direction, and why they maintained. The successful children

needed to be both motivated to maintain their language and also have appropriate support from parents and institutions such as the Japanese Saturday School. It is, therefore, imperative that parents who initiate the maintenance programs be aware of the goal for maintenance and why they set such a goal for their children. Their maintenance programs should then be regularly reviewed according to their children's progress in the language, and what the children need or wish to do with the language.

#### **9.4 Directions for Further Studies**

Language maintenance research centres on different types of language contact situations and different forms of bilingualism. Nonetheless, most contributions appeared to concentrate on observing a number of particular instances of language contact. The present study observed the language behaviour of bilingual Japanese school children residing in Melbourne, focusing on their Japanese language maintenance. The research in the field of language maintenance ranges from studies using large population samples to smaller, more personalised case studies. The former studies are invaluable in rationalising what happens to languages in contact and in examining the causes and processes of what happens. The latter studies contribute to gaining deeper insights into the process through which individuals undergo language maintenance. This study is a case study, an example of smaller scale research.

The findings presented in this study are the outcome of a small-scale case study on language maintenance of Japanese school children. Because of the nature of the data (i.e., naturally occurring spoken discourse) gathered by a study of this type, it was necessary to keep the samples size small. Ultimately, the findings from this small-scale case study will need to be confirmed by a larger investigation. Past

studies showed that language maintenance was the ultimate outcome of repeated language choices over a long period of time. Therefore, the observation of language behaviour at one point in time should be complemented by longitudinal data as well. Further research of greater depth is required, investigating more data taken from more specific groups within Japanese community, and more informants from each group. The following three areas for further research have emerged:

- (1) expanding the scale of the investigation, for example with different age groups, children who do not receive Japanese schooling, and with children of mixed marriages;
- (2) developing instruments used for assessing maintenance levels in terms of literacy skills, as opposed to oral skills; and
- (3) a new study to investigate Japanese maintenance levels in relation to English acquisition levels, as an extension of the present study.

### 9.5 Closing Remarks

Language maintenance at the micro-level, where a minority language lacks an official status and a role within the society, inevitably relies heavily upon the individual's efforts. Most of the financial burden also falls on the individual. At this level, the language tends to be used in limited domains, such as the home, minority language community and friendship networks. Furthermore, due to the absence of an official framework for maintenance planning, maintenance is often carried out in an unstructured, *ad hoc* manner; indications of this were seen in the families and the school examined in this study. It is not surprising that difficulties and problems would arise from such maintenance efforts. As a result, long-term efforts at the individual or family level do not always yield positive outcomes, as was found in the present study.

This study presented the Japanese children's experience with Japanese language maintenance in Melbourne. The study found both successful and unsuccessful cases in their achievement and sought to explain why there were differences in the outcomes. It is hoped that the findings in this study carry important implications for Japanese families, parents and their child, and Japanese educators who are involved in the language maintenance planning.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 Information Sheet for Subjects

The following categories were included on the sheet. The original categories in Japanese have been translated into English.

1. Current year level at school
2. Name
3. Place of birth
4. Date of birth
5. Address and contact number
6. Occupation and educational background of parents
7. Age of arrival in Australia
8. Length of stay in Australia (subject and parents)
9. Residential status
10. Educational background of subject
  - Place of education for prep and primary school
  - School currently attended
  - Date of commencement of schooling at the Japanese Saturday School
11. Household structure
12. Language used between household members and the subject
13. Origin in Japan of father and mother
14. Place of residence in Japan before arrival in Australia
15. Previous overseas experience (country, purpose, length of stay)

## Appendix 2 Interview Questions

All interviews were conducted in Japanese. The following lists the key questions asked, translated into English.

### 1. Key questions asked in the interviews with the children

#### (1) Schooling:

- Which school do you go to?
- Is it a co-educational school?
- Is it a private school?
- Where is the school located?
- Who is your class teacher?
- How do you like the school?

#### (2) School subjects:

- What subjects do you study at your local school?
- What subjects do you study at the Japanese Saturday School?
- What subjects do you like or dislike, and why?
- What subjects are you good at or poor at?

#### (3) Story telling:

- What story are you reading at the moment in *kokugo* (Japanese language class) at the Japanese Saturday School?
- Have you read any story books (magazines or comics) recently?
- Did you watch any videos or TV programs last night?
- Can you tell me briefly about the story (in the books, video or TV program)?
- How did you like it?

#### (4) School activities: excursions and camps:

- Have you ever been on an excursion or camp from your local school?
- If so, where did you go last time?
- How long did you stay at the camp? How long was the excursion for?
- What did you do there?
- How did you enjoy it?

#### (5) Friends at the school:

- Can you tell me about your friends at the Japanese Saturday School and your local school.
- Who's your best friend?
- What do you like doing with your best friend? (e.g., after school, weekends, school holidays)
- What kind of games are popular at the two schools?

#### (5) Private lessons:

- Do you take any lessons? What lessons do you take (e.g., sports, music)?

- Was it you who decided to take lessons?
- How do you like the lessons?
- How often do you have the lessons?
- Who is your lesson teacher?
- Do any of your friends also take the same lessons?

(6) Free time activities:

- What do you like doing in your free time (i.e., when you are not engaged in any studies or lessons)?
- What kind of books (or magazines) do you read?
- What kind do you like reading?
- Do you read in both Japanese and English?
- What are you reading at the moment, or what have you read recently?
- How do (or did) you like it?
- Where do you get your books?

2. A list of key questions in the interviews with the mothers

(1) Child-parent relationship:

- Do you spend more or less time with your child compared to when you were living in Japan? Why do you think so?
- What do you do with your child? (e.g., study, reading books, sports or games)
- What sort of Japanese topics do you talk about with your child? (e.g., cultural events, customs or current affairs)
- What have you talked about recently?

(2) Child's everyday Japanese language proficiency:

- What concerns do you have with your child's everyday Japanese language use?
- When did you start to notice the problems (i.e., deviations)?
- Are there any occasions where you correct your child's Japanese language use?
- What do you correct and how?
- What kind of reactions do you get from your child when you correct his or her Japanese?
- What kind of mis-communication have you experienced with your child?
- What do you think are the problems of your child's Japanese language use in general?
- Do you anticipate any further problems with your child's Japanese language use, and why?

(3) Child's study of Japanese language:

- How is your child enjoying the Saturday schooling?
- What do you think are the benefits of the Saturday schooling for your child?
- What kind of negative effects of the Saturday schooling do you recognise and why?

- What kind of supplementary studies does your child undertake in Japanese?
- Is your child willing to do these studies and why?
- Why do you think these supplementary studies are necessary for your child?
- Are these studies beneficial to your child? If so, in what way?
- Do you organise any activities which may assist your child's Japanese language development? (e.g., writing letters to relatives in Japan, keeping a diary)

(4) Parental evaluation of the child's Japanese language proficiency:

- How do you evaluate your child's Japanese language proficiency?
- What reasons do you have for this evaluation?

(5) Child's academic Japanese language proficiency:

- How does your child cope with the learning at the Japanese Saturday School?
- In what area is your child experiencing problems in learning at the Japanese Saturday School? (e.g., reading, composition, use of *kanji* [Chinese characters])
- What do you think are the reasons for the problems?
- How do you evaluate your child's school performance now, compared to his or her performance back in Japan?

(6) Child's peer groups

- What kind of Japanese peer group network does your child have in Melbourne?
- What kind of Australian peer group network does your child have?
- Do you consciously make your child mix with Japanese children?
- What criteria do you apply to select your child's friends?
- How do you think your child forms his or her peer group?
- What kind of peer group activities does your child participate in?
- What kind of activities do you organise at home for your child's peer group members?

(7) Networks in Japan:

- What kind of contact do you or your child have with friends or relatives in Japan?

(8) Contact with Japan:

- What kind of visitors does your family receive from Japan? (e.g., business related, relatives or family friends)
- Who has visited your family recently?
- How often do you get books, magazines or videos sent out for your child from Japan? Do you receive them regularly through your husband's company?
- What kind of books or reference books did you bring for your child from Japan?

(9) Lessons:

- Does your child have any lessons (sports, music etc.)?
- Does your child have any contact with other Japanese children through such lessons?

(10) Temporary return to Japan (*ichiji kikoku*):

- How often do you take your child back to Japan?
- Do you and your child normally stay with your relatives when you are in Japan?
- When did you take your child back to Japan last time?
- What activities did you organise for your child during your stay in Japan?
- How did your child react to the life in Japan?
- In what way do you see such visits back to Japan beneficial for your child?
- When do you plan to take your child back to Japan next?

(11) Parental networks in Melbourne:

- What kind of Japanese networks do you have in Melbourne?
- How did you form the Japanese networks?
- What activities do you participate in through the Japanese networks?
- How do you value the Japanese networks?
- Do you have any Australian networks?
- How did you form the Australian networks?
- How do you value the Australian networks?
- What activities do you participate in through the Australian networks?

(12) English competence:

- Do you feel comfortable with your everyday English?
- In what situations do you use English? (e.g., shopping, visiting doctors, attending school matters)
- Are you engaged in any activities which may enhance your English use?
- Have you had any English lessons since you came to Australia?
- How do you evaluate your husband's English proficiency?
- What reasons do you have for this evaluation?

(13) Changes in attitudes towards Japan:

- Are there any changes in your attitudes or thoughts towards Japan since you came to Australia?
- If so, what do you think made your attitude or thoughts change?
- Do you consider yourself strongly Japanese-oriented or not so strongly Japanese-oriented?
- What are the reasons for this?
- How do you consider your husband in this regard? Why?

3. A list of questions included in the interviews with class teachers

(1) Educational principles and goals:

- What do you take into consideration in your teaching to cater for the needs of the children in bilingual situations?
- What kind of difficulties do you have in teaching the children with different backgrounds? (e.g., difference in length of residency, residential status, parents' marriage pattern, parents' occupation)
- To what extent have you succeed in your teaching goals?
- Are there any special features in the class structure?
- How do you set the timetable?

(2) Contact with children:

- How you spend the time the children other than when you teach at the school? (e.g., playing games or playing sports together)
- How do you find the teacher-student relationship differs from Japan?

(3) Correction of children's Japanese language use:

- What mistakes do you correct in the children's Japanese language use?
- What kind of reactions do you get from the children when you correct their Japanese use?
- In what areas of Japanese language use do you usually note the children's problems?
- What do you think are the possible reasons for such problems?

(4) Activities in *kokugo* (Japanese language) class:

- What activities do you organise to encourage Japanese language use? (e.g., writing letters, keeping a diary or discussing cultural events in Japan)
- Do you think the children enjoyed these activities?

(5) Children's Japanese language skills:

- What features or weakness have you noticed in the children's Japanese language skills?
- What factors do you think affects the children's Japanese skills?

(6) Evaluation of the children's Japanese competence:

- How do you evaluate the individual child's Japanese competence?
- How do you communicate with the parents with regard to their child's school performance?
- What changes have you noticed in the children's Japanese competence over time?
- What kind of positive or negative effects has the Japanese Saturday School had on the children?
- What kind of problems do you anticipate these children might have in the future, or when they return to Japan?

(7) Children's family situation:

- What have you noticed in the child-family relationship?
- Have you recognised any problems in the child's family situations?
- How have you noticed the problems?
- Do you think there is good communication between a child and his or her parents, or between a child and with siblings?

(8) Parental attitudes:

- What have you noticed in parental attitudes towards their child's Saturday schooling? (e.g., goals and expectations)
- What differences have you noticed between sojourner parents and permanent resident parents in this regard?
- How do the parents show their interest in their child's progress (e.g., feedback) ?

(9) Children's peer groups:

- What kind of peer groups do you notice in your class?
- What are the features of the groups? (e.g., gender-based or residential-group-based).
- Do you notice any children who do not mix well with other children in the class?
- Why do you think this is the case?

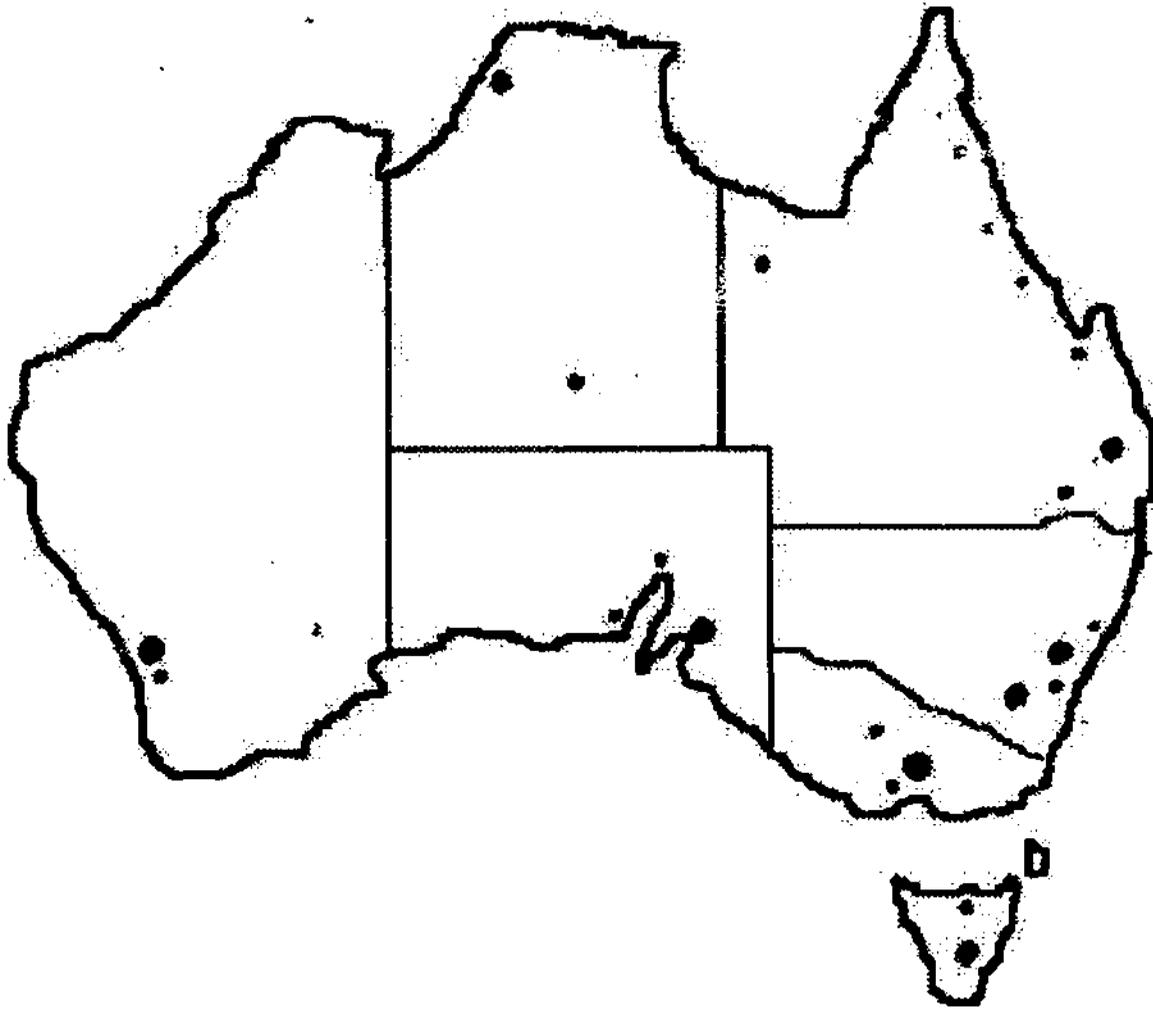
4. A list of topics discussed in the interviews with a school committee member:

- Residential categories of the children at the Japanese Saturday School (e.g., children of business sojourner, permanent residents or mixed-marriage)
- Majority residential category in the school community
- Ratio between boys and girls
- Features of each grade at the school (e.g., class characteristics)
- Factors affecting the children's Japanese language development
- The parents' future intentions in regard to their child to the Japanese Saturday School
- Differences in problem consciousness between sojourner parents and permanent resident parents
- Educational goals at the Japanese Saturday School

### **Appendix 3 Materials Used for Language Tasks**

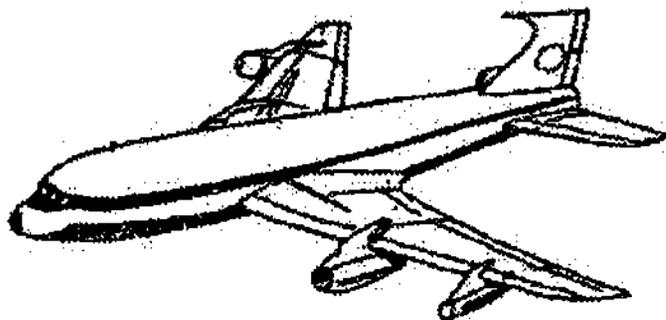
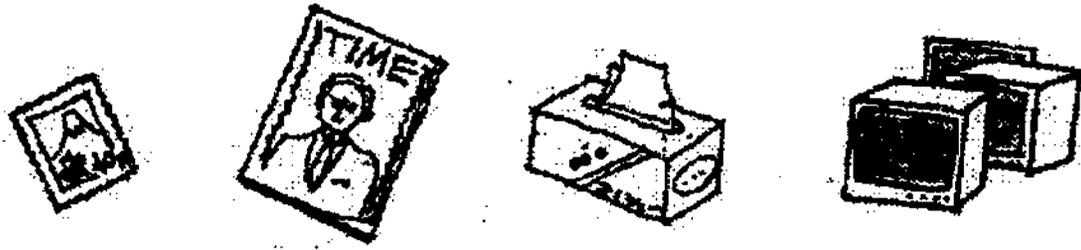
- (1) For Task 1: Reading large numerals (population figures)
- (2) For Task 2: Counting objects (pictures)
- (3) For Task 3: Naming objects (photographs)
- (4) For Task 4: Describing facial expression (pictures)

**Task 1: Reading large numerals**

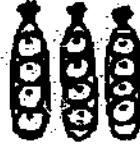


**Melbourne: 3,485,000**  
**Morwell: 17,500**  
**Australia: 15,370,000**  
**Japan: 121,050,000**  
**World: 4,685,000,000**

Task 2: Counting objects (pictures)



Task 2 (continued)



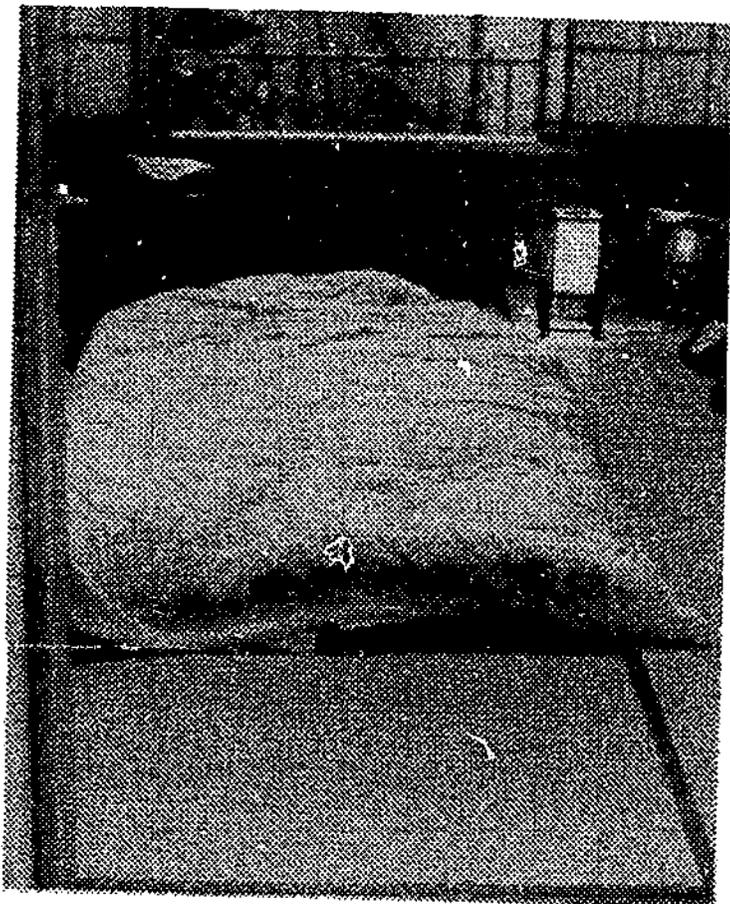
**Task 3: Naming objects (photographs)**



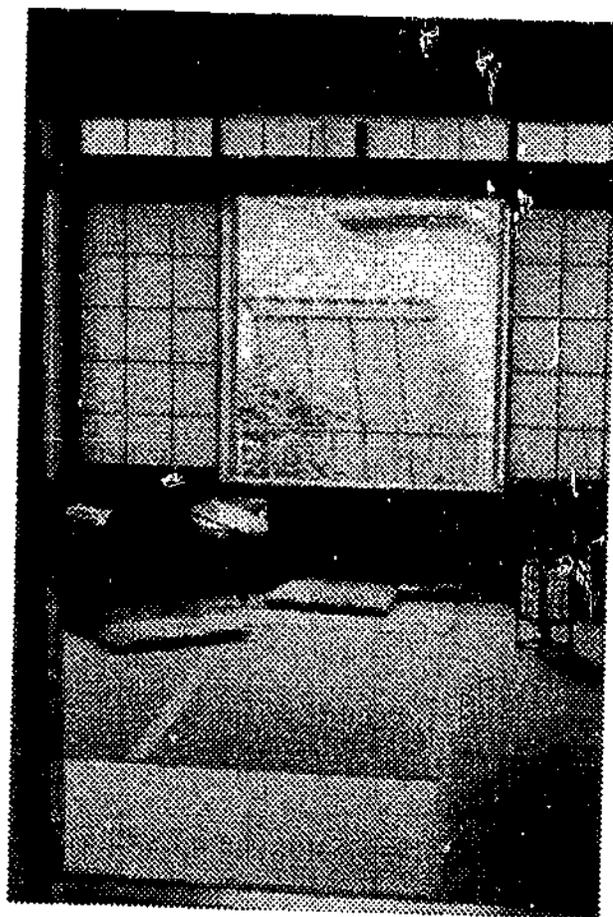
*ensoku* (excursion), *ryukku* (backpack)



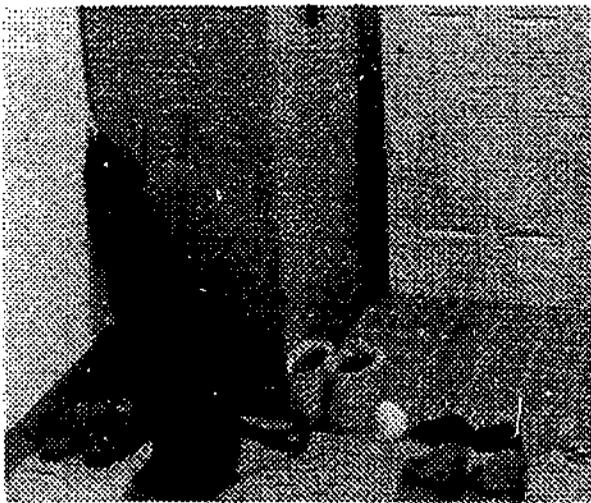
*seifuku* (school uniform)



*futon (futon)*



*tatami (tatami mat), shoji (sliding door)*



*genkan* (entrance hall)



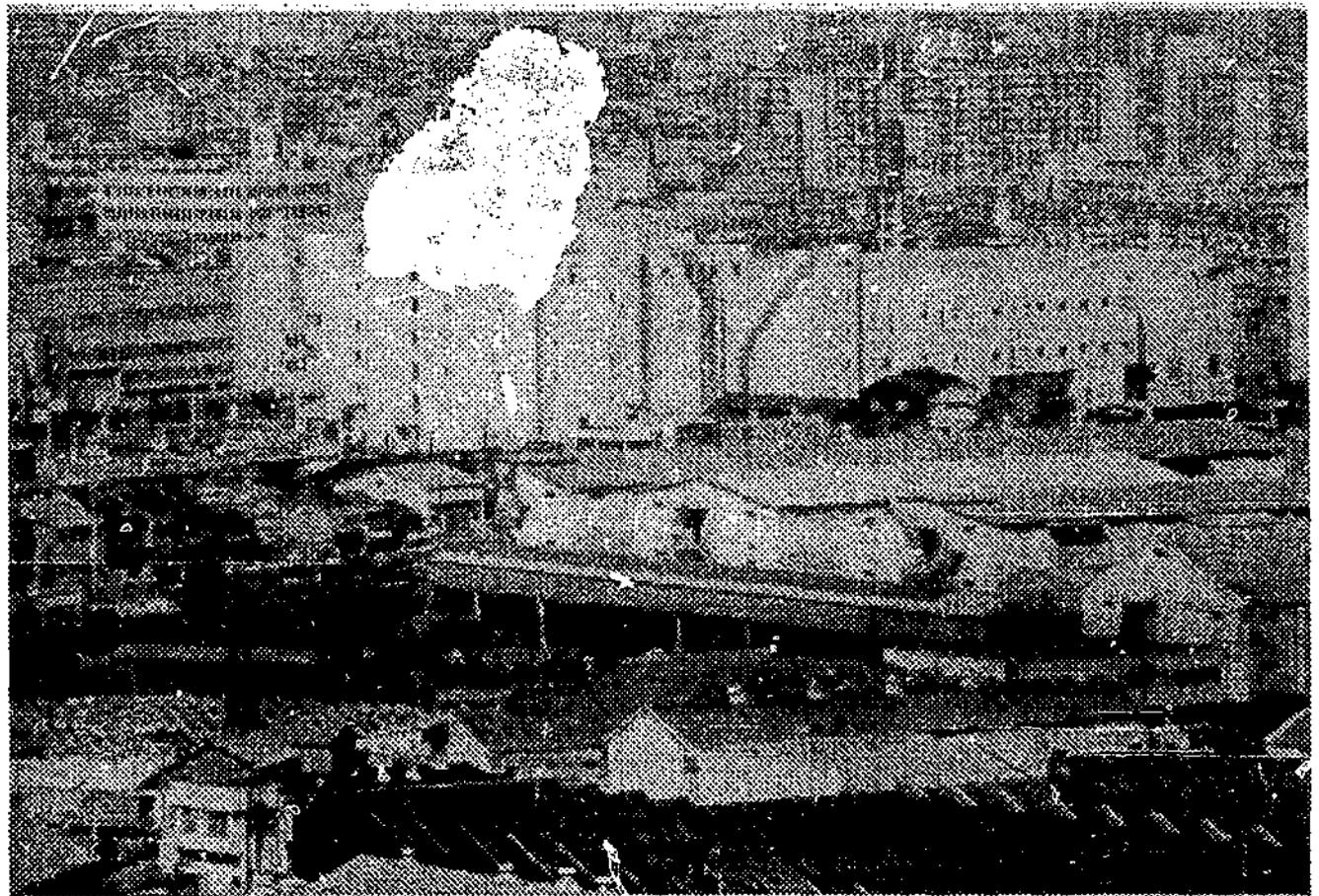
*kawara* (roof tiles)



*tokoya* (barber)



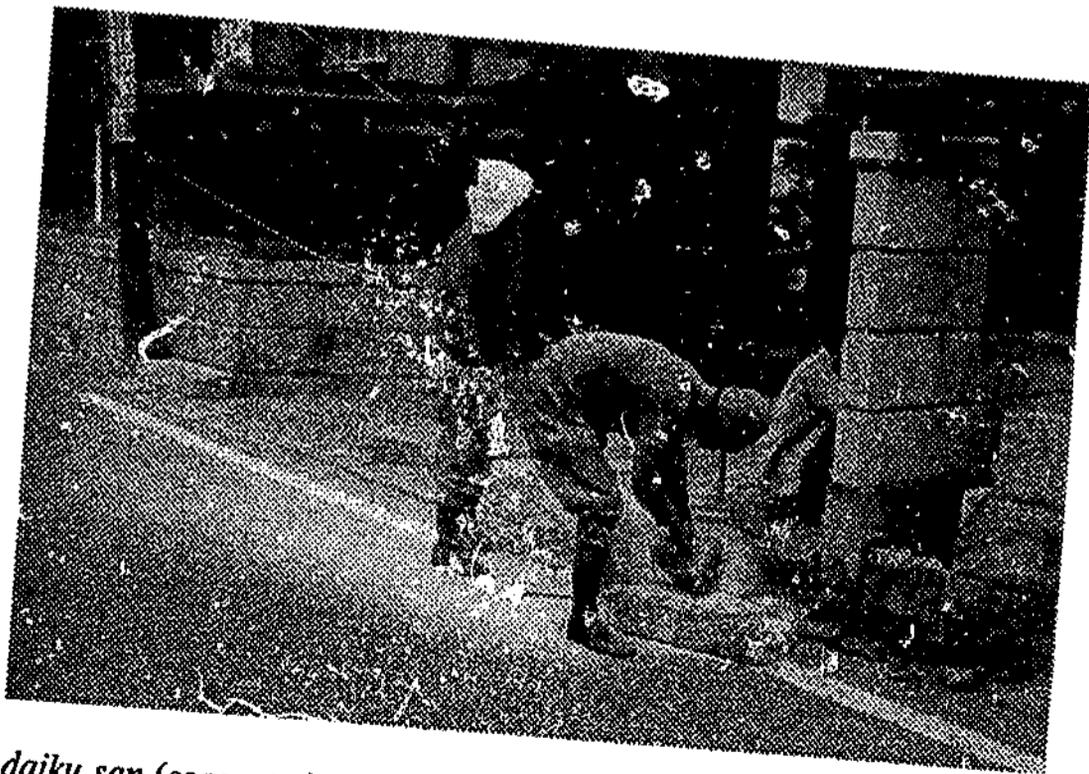
*kooshuu denwa* (pay phone)



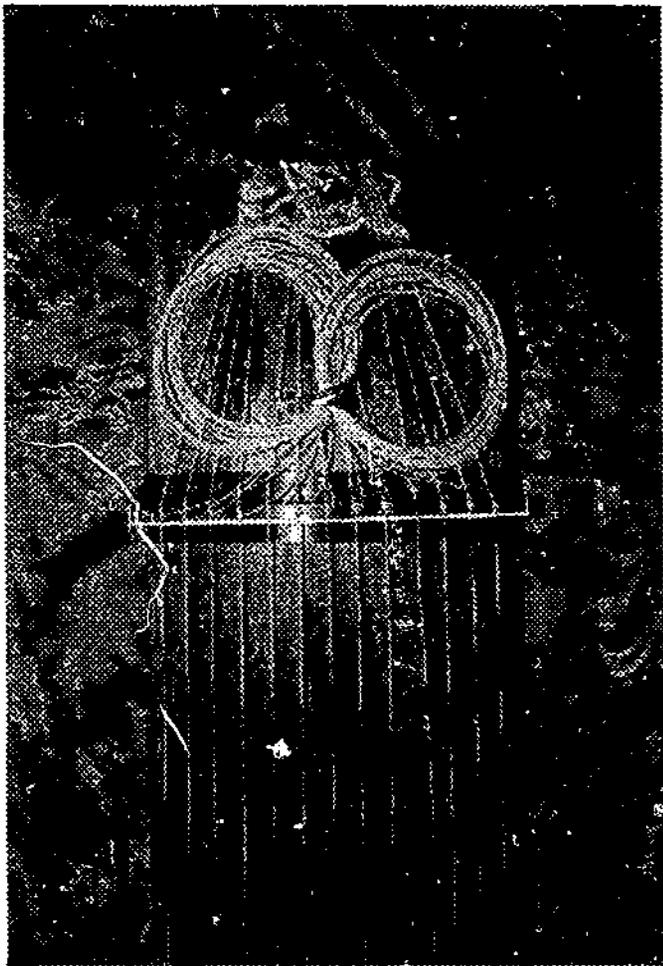
*danchi* (apartment block)



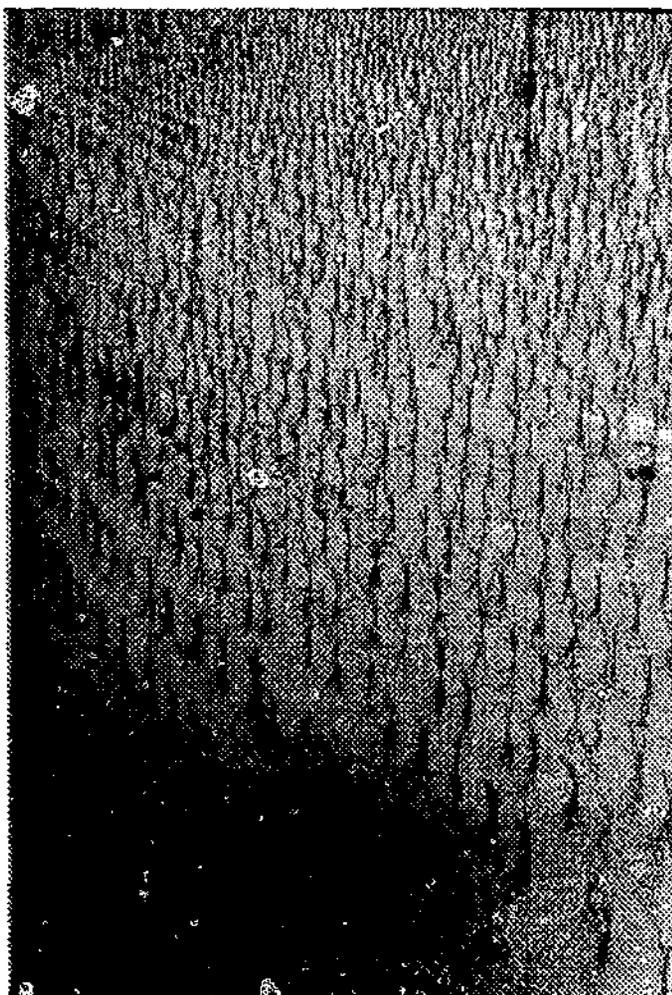
*omawari san* (policeman)



*daiiku san* (carpenter)



(o) *koto* (Japanese musical instrument)



*tambo* (rice paddy), *ine* (rice plant)



*(o)shiro* (castle), *sakura* (cherry blossom)



*(o)tera* (temple)



*torii* (gateway of shrine)



*(o)haka* (grave), *(o)jizoo*(san)



*(o)matsuri (festival), happi (happi coat)*



*yatai / demise (stail at a fair), (o)men (mask)*



*shichi go san* (shichi go san ceremony)

Task 4: Describing facial expressions

