

## Book Reviews

### **Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition)**

By David C. Pollock and Ruth E. Van Reken

London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing (2009) xiv + 308 pages

In today's globalizing society, the number of highly mobile people is rapidly increasing. It is now relatively common not only for diplomats, missionaries and soldiers (and their families) to be stationed in far-flung reaches of the globe, but also for educators, athletes, artists, and businesspeople of all types to seek a life for themselves outside the country of their birth. Children of these global nomads often experience unconventional and socio-culturally complex upbringings. Such circumstances are explained and explored in *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds* (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

I was drawn to an earlier edition of this book as a parent of "third culture kids" (TCKs), recognizing my own children's situation in Pollock and Van Reken's definition:

A Third Culture Kid (TCK) is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background. (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001, p. 19)

Having been born in Japan to Canadian parents, my own children fit this characterization of a TCK. Unfortunately this 2001 definition excludes both children born to one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent, as well as returnee (*kikoku shijo*) children attempting to re-integrate into their native culture. Thus it was with great interest that I found the revised 2009 edition to include a broader category of "cross-cultural kids" (CCKs), who are defined as people who "[are] living or [have] lived in – or meaningfully interacted with – two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during childhood (up to age 18)" (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009, p. 31). This broader category encompasses biracial/bicultural children as well as TCKs and *kikoku shijo*, acknowledging and legitimizing their many shared experiences and accepting them all as members of the "third culture" of people whose sense of self contains elements of multiple cultures. Thus, the current incarnation of *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among*

*Worlds*, which also includes a new appendix by Momo Kano Podolsky comparing TCKs and Japanese *kaigai-* or *kikoku-shijo* children, is likely to be of particular interest to families with CCKs.

The book is organized into three parts, with two appendices. Part I, “Understanding the World of TCKs,” carefully defines the terms TCK and CCK, specifying that TCK’s lives are characterized both by deep involvement in more than one culture and by high mobility. The authors contend that a TCK differs from an expatriate in that an expatriate typically moves to the host culture as an adult, having spent her formative years in her native culture. TCKs, on the other hand, learn cultural norms, values and even basic thought processes from their cultural surroundings during the formative years, with those surroundings being a unique blend of the host culture(s) and that of their parents’ culture. Mobility is also an important component of the TCK experience – TCKs are accustomed to traveling back and forth between the host culture and their “passport culture” (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009, p. 22) or even changing host cultures with continued international postings. Many TCKs are also used to a mobile community whose members frequently change as they repatriate or move on.

The authors’ research builds on the work of social scientists Ruth Hill Useem and John Useem, who first coined the term *third culture* in their research on expatriate children (Useem, 1999). Pollock and Van Reken’s surveys of CCKs and their international experiences indicate that their multicultural upbringing and high mobility leads to characteristics shared by many CCKs (including TCKs), both positive and negative. For example, many CCKs, in addition to being bi- or multilingual, are more independent, have a greater awareness of the world and are better able to adapt to new cultural and social situations than their non-CCK counterparts. On the other hand, they may struggle with identity issues, experience unresolved grief at losing their host culture community when the family repatriates or moves, or have difficulty forging long-term friendships. It is observations and conclusions such as these that will likely interest parents of CCKs and TCKs seeking to understand how their own children perceive themselves as they find a balance between their own multiple cultures.

Part II, “The TCK Profile,” delves deeply into these commonly-observed TCK characteristics. The “benefits and challenges” of the TCK/CCK lifestyle are explored in this section, highlighting the benefits of being a CCK. These include the development of a broad view of the world, the ability to adapt to new and challenging situations, the ability to live in the present, cross-cultural sensitivity, social maturity, as well as the obvious linguistic benefits. The second half of this section focuses more carefully on the serious challenges of TCKs /CCKs when it comes to patterns of relationships and issues

of development, including self-identity. The effect of unresolved grief as TCKs suffer the loss of treasured people, places and things due to high mobility is afforded a whole chapter, indicating the importance of acknowledging this aspect of the TCK experience in striving to mitigate such effects.

Part III, “Maximizing the Benefits,” offers practical advice for parents of TCKs/CCKs who wish to make the TCK/CCK experience as beneficial and painless as possible for their children. Advice for undertaking international moves, exploring educational options, building roots and memories that contribute to a child’s sense of self, and strategies for smoothing the process of repatriation when/if the time comes is covered. Consequently, this section will be of interest to most parents of CCKs, including those who may not have the high mobility characteristic of many TCK families, but who are striving to develop minority-language skills with children immersed in majority-language education.

Appendices A and B cover material relating to two different research projects. The former details the findings of the authors’ study investigating the familial separation patterns experienced by former TCKs who grew up between 1920 and 1961 (termed “adult TCKs” or “ATCKs” at the time of the 1986 study). The results of this research highlight the indelible, negative effect of cyclical separation from family on TCKs, usually due to boarding school attendance, during the child’s formative years. The loss/grief cycle experienced by these children is again highlighted in this appendix.

As mentioned above, Appendix B, “Comparing Third Culture Kids and *Kaigai/Kikoku-Shijos*,” showcases Kano Podolsky’s research on the historical change in status of these children in Japanese society. While it is clear that Kano Podolsky finds many parallels between *kaigai/kikoku-shijo* children and the CCK models constructed by Pollock and Van Reken, she suggests that “the societal factors unique to each country of return, and how these can produce tremendous variations in the experience of those children” (p. 286) need to be taken into account in further studies of TCKs/CCKs.

This revised edition is an improvement over the 2001 edition with its inclusion of the broader CCK model and the acknowledgement that a description of the TCK/CCK experience resonates with a much wider variety of people than earlier editions recognized. However, readers keen for deeper insight into the sociocultural experience of biracial/bicultural children may be unsatisfied with the cursory discussion offered. Similarly, readers looking for a more in-depth discussion of Japanese *kaigai/kikoku-shijo* children may wish to refer to Kano Podolsky’s more extensive writing on the subject (see, for example, Kano Podolsky 2004 and 2008). Furthermore, while Van Reken’s introduction to the new edition suggests that the text has been updated “to

reflect the reality of changes globally nomadic children experience in today's world" (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009, p. xiv), some of the anecdotes, situations, and indeed all of Appendix A have become somewhat dated in their relevance to the experience of many modern-day TCKs/CCKs.

These criticisms notwithstanding, *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds* is a book that will appeal to a wide array of people. Indeed, the continuing popularity of the new edition reflects the ever-increasing number of internationally mobile people and the families they raise along the way. The book is written in an easy-to-read style and is peppered with the personal anecdotes and observations of the authors' TCK and ATCK research participants that will resonate with readers intimately familiar with the TCK/CCK experience. The authors have worked to identify for TCKs and CCKs a specific culture to which they can claim full membership and to give them the language to describe their unique experience. Equipped with these tools, families will be better able to seek out resources (many of which are noted at the back of the book) to make the most of the benefits of their TCK/CCK experience and to overcome particular challenges. I recommend this book without reservation to parents, teachers and researchers of TCKs/CCKs seeking to understand their experience from a new perspective.

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## **Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective**

By Ofelia Garcia

Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell (2009). 481 pages

In Japan, where the myth of monolingualism remains entrenched in public discourse, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that, worldwide, bilingualism is far more common than monolingualism. Ofelia Garcia's excellent book, *Bilingual Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Global Perspective*, goes beyond simply demonstrating the benefits of bilingual education for both the individual and society by also emphasizing its necessity. We live in a multilingual and multicultural age and many of the policies and practices of monolingual education are no longer pedagogically appropriate or socially just. One of the distinctive contributions of Garcia's book is that it not only makes a clear and cognizant *theoretical* argument for the benefits of bilingual education, but also supports this with detailed *practical* explanations of how to implement bilingualism in school curricula.

This *theory/practice* approach is reflected in the structure of the book. First, Garcia begins with an overview of the often contested processes that shape bilingual education at both the individual and social levels. She then continues with a comprehensive overview of the various frameworks, models and programs of bilingual education from all over the world. Finally, the practical necessities of deciding what approach to undertake, the resulting pedagogical implications and the oft-overlooked area of bilingual assessment are comprehensively dealt with in the final section of the book.

The book consists of 15 chapters in five parts, each chapter beginning with a brief overview and ending with a stimulating set of 'Questions for Reflection' and suggestions for further reading. Although clearly aimed at advanced undergraduate and post-graduate students, Garcia's passionate advocacy for bilingual education would appeal to the non-specialist too, particularly in her thought provoking comparisons of bilingual programs around the world.

Part I of the book is comprised of a single introductory chapter in which Garcia maps out the content and approach of her book. It also sets the authoritative one for what is to follow. From the outset Garcia clearly differentiates between the broad goals of bilingual education, which she proposes are to educate generally, meaningfully, and equitably, as well as to promote tolerance and an appreciation of diversity; and the narrow, constrained goal of second language education which teaches the target language as a subject. What is particularly refreshing about Garcia's approach is her unabashed partisanship. For her, "bilingual education is the only way to educate children in the twenty-first century" (p.5), proclaiming that "monolingual schooling seems utterly

inappropriate" (p.16).

In Part II (Bilingualism and Education) Garcia details how the hitherto monoglossic approach to bilingualism (the simple sum of two discrete monolingual language practices), needs to shift towards a hetroglossic orientation which perceives bilingualism as the pairing of two interrelated languages. To further her argument she introduces the concept of 'linguaging' by which she means the complex and dynamic ways in which people use language in different situations (see Swain, 2006 for more on the notion of linguaging). For bilinguals Garcia extends the concept to 'translanguaging', the bilingual discursive processes they undertake as they interact with the sociolinguistic world(s) in which they live. This notion of bilingual 'translanguaging' underpins many of the ideas that are developed throughout the book and represents a key contribution to the field by Garcia. A further notable characteristic of this section is how the concept of 'translanguaging' enables her to broaden the traditional subtractive-additive model of bilingual education to include two additional models, recursive and dynamic. These latter two models, she contends, more accurately reflect the way in which children learn and use language. The section ends with a chapter in which Garcia lucidly reviews and summarizes the many benefits - cognitive, social, economic - that bilingualism confers.

Part III (Bilingual Education Policy) is a comparative study of how different countries undertake different bilingual education programs. In particular, Garcia focuses on those programs that exhibit the practical characteristics of the recursive and dynamic models she introduced in the previous section. What is especially impressive is the global reach of her survey. She details bilingual and multilingual programs in areas as diverse as the United States, Europe, South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Australasia. Her comprehensive analysis of what works (and what doesn't work) in these programs offers a rich resource for anybody, be they policy-makers, schools, or communities, interested in developing their own bilingual education program.

This practical approach is developed more fully in Part IV of the book (Bilingual Education Practices), where Garcia narrows her focus from the country to the classroom level, analyzing how the various programs are actually implemented. This is essentially a 'how to' section: how the use of languages can be allocated (e.g. 50:50, 80:20 configurations); how languages can be 'placed' in the curriculum (e.g. separated by subject, or teacher); and how languages can be used in the curriculum (e.g. oral and literacy programs). It is to her credit that Garcia does not let her evident passion for such programs over-determine her advocacy. She is only too aware of the contingencies enforced by context and remains mindful of the effects that mandated educational policy, assessment requirements, learner abilities, and the wider community can have on bilingual

education programs. Nor, it should be noted, is Garcia proposing anything too radical in terms of actual pedagogy. Her favored methodologies, including communicative teaching and an emphasis on bi-literacy, will be familiar to those working in the area of second language acquisition. Indeed, it is this very specificity of her practical methodological examples of how and when 'translanguaging' can be used in the classroom that offers both an inspiration and a rebuke to those who alternatively favor or oppose bilingual education.

The final section, Part V (Bilingual Education for the Twenty-First Century) consists of a single, six page concluding chapter that reiterates the main points of the book. Again Garcia emphasizes that "bilingual education should be the only option to teach all children in the twenty-first century" (p. 387). She wisely eschews prescribing one particular method or program to achieve this, instead stressing the importance of local contexts and how they should determine the policies and practices of bilingual education. Following the concluding chapter there is a concise appendix which clearly refutes—based on research—various myths surrounding bilingual education; along with substantive notes to the text, an extensive list of references, and a user-friendly index.

This book is both passionate in its author's emphatic commitment to bilingual education, and powerful in its reasoned arguments as to why bilingual education should be the pedagogical standard for children the world over. Of particular note is Garcia's instructive insistence on shifting the terms of the ideological debate from a monoglossic to a hetroglossic perspective, one that considers "bilingualism and language differences ... the norm" (p. 384). Her comprehensive overview of bilingual education programs around the world show just how widespread that 'norm' is becoming.

Unfortunately, this is not the case in Japan. The very factors that make this book such a stimulating and inspiring read inadvertently cast a pall over the seemingly entrenched monoglossic approach to bilingual education in Japan. Whereas in chapter ten Garcia provides instructive examples of bilingual education practices in such Asian countries as the Philippines, India, Hong Kong, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam, her omission of Japan is no doubt a reflection of an educational system that, in its approach to bilingual education, seems to be resolutely stuck in the twentieth century. Although there are progressive developments at the grassroots level (see Kanno, 2008), at the policy level, the monolingual myth (Gottlieb, 2008; Maher, 1995; Noguchi & Fotos, 2001;) still exerts a pernicious influence. One can only hope, however vainly, that texts like *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective* will continue to chip away at such a needless myth, and that perhaps a future edition of Garcia's wonderful book will contain a welcome example of progressive bilingual education in Japan.

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## Thinking and Speaking in Two Languages

Edited by Anita Pavlenko

Bristol: Multilingual Matters (2011). ix + 267 pages

Reading Anita Pavlenko's *Thinking and Speaking in Two Languages* is an invitation into the complex world of research in language, cognition, and second language acquisition. It provides an informative and detailed look at current research on language, thought, and bilingualism. The contributing authors set out to show through their research how "the application of a bilingual lens reveals new facets of the interaction between languages and cognitive processes in the human mind" (p. ix).

*Thinking and Speaking in Two Languages* is one volume in the multidisciplinary series *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, a collection intended to inform contemporary discussion and debate. Prior to this volume, there was a striking lack of studies in English that used bilingual participants to investigate the relationship between language and cognition. Thus, the contributors were asked to discuss their work, much of which has already been published in peer-reviewed journals in other languages. In this way, relevant research on thought and bilingualism from diverse fields and languages has been consolidated to "create a scholarly dialog" (p.4) in which the reader can be involved.

The book is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter, and introduction by the author/editor, Pavlenko, gives a brief overview of research into language and thought in the twentieth century. It highlights the fact that only in the past decade has a systematic inquiry of the subject included bilinguals.

Chapter Two considers the possibility of cognitive restructuring in bilinguals. That is, the question of whether or not bilinguals, in learning a second language, see and evaluate the world differently to monolinguals. The author, Panos Athanasopolous, studied the effect of the grammatical domain of number and the lexical domain of color on cognitive patterns. His results indicate that while it is unlikely bilinguals keep two representations of language specific concepts in their minds, learning a second language might lead to “genuine cognitive reorganization” (p. 53). With grammatical number studies, language proficiency in the L2 was seen to be the salient indicator of restructuring, but in color studies, length of stay in the L2 country was thought to be more influential. The author of this chapter argues that the study of bilingual cognitive processing has the potential to reveal much more about human cognition than the majority of previous studies which have ignored bilinguals.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five investigate the relationship between thinking, seeing, and gesturing when speaking. In Chapter Three, Schmiedtová, v. Stutterheim, and Carroll found that grammatical aspect languages, which express ‘ongoingness’ through verb morphology, guide L1 speakers’ visual attention to certain features when describing goal-orientated motion events as well as content for verbalization that is different from non-aspect languages which express ‘ongoingness’ lexically. Regarding L2 speakers, the researchers found that some subjects exhibited restructuring to partially acquire the L2 perspective of encoding ‘ongoingness’, but most continued to use L1 specific patterns. Next, in Chapter Four, Bylund evaluated cross-linguistic differences in choosing ‘what to say’ and ‘how to say it’ between speakers of aspect languages and speakers of non-aspect languages. He found that bilingual speakers’ languages converged when segmenting events but demonstrated conceptual co-existence while linking events temporally. In Chapter Five, Gullberg examined thinking and speaking about voluntary and caused motion. She explains that gestures can give more detailed information about the types of spatial information the speakers consider for expression. Concurrently, her data suggested a more “fluid and permeable relationship between representations and systems than is typically assumed in the traditional L2 literature” (p. 160). These studies indicate that although learning a typologically different language proves to be difficult and that L1 influence on verbal performance may persist, with time and experience L2 structures can be internalized and even come to influence the L1.

Chapters Six and Seven examine word-to-referent mapping, that is, the process of connecting a word and its meaning to its external referent. In Chapter Six, Malt and Ameel found that speakers of different languages sort human-made objects by properties similarly implying that there are not any deep differences in understanding of the objects. However, speakers of different languages display distinctly different patterns when dividing human-made objects by name. The researchers found that L2 learners take many years to come close to displaying native-like naming patterns even when they have the appropriate words in their vocabularies and are immersed in an L2 environment. In addition, they found that bilinguals raised with the two languages do not match monolingual naming patterns in either language. In Chapter Seven, Pavlenko uses narrative elicitation with visual stimuli to study word-to-referent mapping and translation equivalence in a series of studies. In one study, English monolinguals were shown to use the terms ‘violation of privacy’ and ‘invasion of personal space’ to describe events in a short movie. These concepts are not encoded in Russian. Therefore, the Russian monolinguals in her study either did not perceive these concepts or did not think they were important enough to mention. The Russian L1/English L2 bilinguals who had resided in an L2 environment used the terms ‘privacy’ and ‘personal space’ as monolingual speakers of English do; however bilinguals who had acquired English as a foreign language were unable to do so even though they knew the definition of the words. These studies indicate that foreign language instruction may not be adequate when learning translation non-equivalents.

Chapter Eight includes an overview of the field. The first section of the chapter provides a very short and simple summary of six areas of inquiry found in recent studies of thinking and speaking in two languages. This information creates a context in which to better understand the research presented in the book, and would perhaps have been more effectively positioned as an earlier chapter. Nevertheless, the second section of the chapter aims to analyze the research findings and proposes a new set of hypotheses with which to approach the relationship between language and cognition in bilingual minds.

It is easy to understand why bilinguals have been historically left out of the research into language and thought. The complex nature of bi- and multilingualism brings so many factors to the playing field that research design, finding appropriate participants and controls as well as interpreting data can be particularly daunting. Consequently, researchers and research methodologies have had to advance to account for the ‘messiness’ of including bilinguals. The result is very interesting and a more realistic and empirical look into the human mind. Considering that “the majority of the world’s population uses more than one language in order to communicate” (p. 61),

research including bilinguals is highly relevant. *Thinking and Speaking in Two Languages* could be considered a call for more such research. It also could be used in an instructional context. In each of their chapters the contributors have included in-depth introduction and discussion sections as well impressive lists of references. This volume would make a fine addition to any course on SLA or bilingualism. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in a scholarly examination of language, thought, and bilingualism.

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### **Language Management in Contact Situations: Perspectives from Three Continents**

**Edited by Jiri Nekvapil and Tamah Sherman**

**Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (2009). xiii + 255 pages**

The research contained in this volume builds on the work of J.V. Neustupny, one of the founders of Language Management Theory (LMT). Neustupny and his colleagues used the word ‘management’ to refer to ‘behaviour toward language’, and made an important distinction between *simple* management, which goes on between individuals, and *organized* management, which is carried out by institutions or the state.

Simple language management is the sort of linguistic accommodation that takes place in conversations between speakers of contrasting proficiencies. It usually begins when a speaker deviates from the norm. The listener then notes the deviation and may also evaluate it, such as by saying, “How quaint.” When this sort of evaluation occurs, a language problem arises: “This phase is essential for LMT, for it provides a clear opportunity to define a language problem – as a negatively evaluated deviation from a norm” (p. 5). The final phase of management is the design of an adjustment, which may or may not be implemented. This broad-ranging collection of LMT research offers some fascinating insights into how bilingual people and language learners deal with such language ‘problems’ in their daily lives.

Neustupny conducted his research in Prague, Melbourne, Osaka and Tokyo, and, accordingly, the studies discussed here are set in Eastern and Central European, Japanese and Australian contexts. The book is divided into three parts featuring research that has come from each of these regions, and each of these sub-sections is reviewed below in turn.

In the first section, which focuses on behaviour toward language in East and

Central Europe, the authors take up the theme of power, both at official and personal levels. Marian Sloboda, for example, discusses the simple language management of Belarusian and Russian in Belarus. In particular, he examines attempts to promote the use of Belarusian, highlighting how the choice of Belarusian over Russian is perceived by listeners as a political one.

Next, Istvan Lanstyak and Gizella Szabomihaly outline the role of LMT in solving difficulties experienced by the minority group of Hungarian speakers in Slovakia. Lanstyak and Szabomihaly argue that bilingualism should be regarded as a valuable resource to overcome problems arising from the prevailing ideology of “one state-one language” (p.70).

Finally, in the third chapter in this section, Tamah Sherman discusses the sociocultural, communicative and linguistic norms of native English speakers in the Czech Republic. Sherman analyses how these speakers discuss their difficulties learning Czech in posts on an Internet discussion list in which they attempt to resolve language contact difficulties. Sherman summarises the issues succinctly: "Issues of power, often economic, political and cultural power associated with different languages, particularly the use of English as a hegemonic practice, are intertwined with the norms for both accommodation and politeness" (p. 94). Sherman's insights are, of course, applicable to other contexts. Native English speakers who reside in non-English speaking countries such as Japan may encounter resistance to their attempts to use the local language due to the status of English as a global *lingua franca*.

Part 2 shifts the focus to behaviour toward language in Japan, particularly in new or first contact situations. In this section, Sau Kuen Fan first discusses the host management of Japanese among young native users in contact situations. Fan distinguishes between the *language host* and the *language guest*, the former term referring to a speaker who is using her L1 and the latter to a speaker using her L2. Fan's study concerns young Japanese in the role of hosts, and guests comprising three Americans, one Vietnamese and two Chinese. Deviations by the guests and adjustments by the hosts were recorded. Interestingly, “less deviation than expected was noted” (p. 106), an observation attributed to the guests' high proficiency in Japanese. This study indicates how language choice is managed between speakers with contrasting dominance in their languages, and hence will be of particular interest to researchers of language selection.

Next, Lisa Fairbrother investigates the application of contact norms in interactions between native and non-native speakers of Japanese. Contact norms refer to conversational features which appear in native/non-native conversations but not in native/native conversations. Fairbrother analyses conversations between native Japanese

speakers and foreigners of different backgrounds, namely, Han Chinese, Japanese-Brazilians, and those she labels ‘Caucasian native English speakers’ (p. 126). Fairbrother notes deviations from the norms of conversations between members of the internal group, including sociocultural, sociolinguistic and linguistic differences. The native Japanese speakers in Fairbrother’s study had expected the non-native speakers to produce linguistic deviations more frequently than they actually did, and thus evaluated the non-native speakers positively. Fairbrother argues that this “suggests undertones of condescension and signals a power differential between the participants” (p. 147). Interestingly, the contact norms applied by native speakers to the non-native speakers differ depending on the non-native speaker’s background. The English speakers were regarded as having “the highest degree of foreignness” (p. 147) and their deviations tended to be tolerated accordingly. In contrast, the Brazilians tended to receive less tolerance for deviations. Contact norms may be viewed either positively, because native speakers can demonstrate intercultural awareness, or negatively, because they can also underestimate the non-native speakers’ linguistic and sociocultural competence.

In the third chapter in this section, Hidehiro Muraoka discusses language contact in Japan, particularly within the context of the rapid global expansion of the 1960s and 1970s. Muraoka divides contact problems resulting from foreignness into three categories: solvable problems; unsolvable problems; and problems which can be evaluated positively. Muraoka argues that as the number of foreigners in Japan has increased, multicultural coexistence has become more desired (p. 163).

The third and final section looks at behaviour toward language in Australia, especially in academic contexts. Helen Marriott begins this section by exploring how Japanese speakers residing in Australia manage the transfer of English expressions to Japanese (or what is frequently referred to as code-switching). Marriott discovers variation both in the extent of transference and in people’s attitude towards it. Some speakers in Marriott’s study defended their frequent transfer use. For example, certain participants expressed their preference for using a Japanized version of the Australian-English word for ‘kindergarten’, *kindaa*, rather than *youchien* even when speaking Japanese with other Japanese mothers. Other speakers appeared to resist the use of transfers claiming that they wanted to speak what they perceived to be “correct” Japanese. This is an important study for anyone investigating how Japanese speakers’ native language use may change to accommodate a higher frequency of transfers after living abroad, or for researchers who are interested in the individual variation in this process and how it reflects speakers’ identities.

In the next chapter, Yuko Masuda analyses Language Exchange Partnerships

(LEPs) involving Australian students of Japanese paired with Japanese learners of English. Masuda compared the word counts of both Japanese and English in these exchanges, and discovered a discrepancy between the students' perceived use of Japanese and English and the actual language practices that were taking place. This imbalance reflects the interlocutors' competing needs to speak in their respective second languages. Nevertheless, Masuda argues that LEPs enrich the opportunity for students to practise their L2 outside the language classroom.

In her chapter, Kuniko Yoshimitsu discusses the difficulties experienced by Japanese students in an Australian university. Yoshimitsu divides these students into two categories: *local* and *international* students. Local students are defined as second generation, long-term Japanese residents as well as mixed-heritage Japanese born in Australia. International students, on the other hand, were defined as those who originally came to Australia to study, even if they later took up residence. Local students were found to experience difficulties when English was not their preferred language. One such local student based her subject selections on her desire to avoid having to write essays in English. International students acknowledged that their study difficulties stemmed from inadequate English literacy and tertiary study skills (p. 211). Academic difficulties were found to be related not only to just linguistic proficiency, but also to socio-cultural competence in the academic community. Local students were able to solve these difficulties through careful subject selection, while international students were observed withdrawing from subjects, accepting underachievement, and obtaining help editing their essays. Yoshimitsu recommends improved monitoring of future international students by the university during the first year of their tertiary studies.

Finally, Hiroyuki Nemoto discusses the conflicts between target and native academic norms by documenting the experiences of six Japanese students studying at an Australian university on a yearlong academic exchange. Nemoto highlights some of the difficulties experienced by these students in attempting to learn the norms of academic discourse. In particular, he cites the case of some students who focused excessively on grammar and word count at the expense of rhetorical style, text structure and the organization of their writing (p. 231). A further difficulty occurred when one student wrote the first draft of a paper in Japanese using L1 resources and then translated it into English, producing a text which did not conform to English language norms. Nemoto describes differences between host and target academic norms pertaining to exam preparation, class participation, referencing, and rote-memorization: "the students' application of their native norms and strategies tended not to be useful as an emergency measure to manage their participation" (p. 234). Nemoto calls for universities to provide

improved support to enhance intercultural academic participation and autonomous management. This chapter is essential reading for parents of bilingual children who transfer from Japan at the tertiary level, and will also be of interest to educators in Japan preparing students for study abroad.

These discussions of language contact and management have wide applications to the study of Japanese bilingualism both in and outside Japan. Furthermore, some interesting comparisons can be made between the Japanese/English contexts and those studies set in East and Central Europe. The volume merits particular attention from scholars of language maintenance and shift, language selection, transference, and academic contact situations.

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