

Monographs on Bilingualism No. 3

Bilingual Family Case Studies (Vol. 1)

ある家庭におけるバイリンガリズム (その1)

by Laurel D. Kamada

10 case studies of bilingual families in Japan and an analysis of factors that can lead to success in a bilingual upbringing.

Produced by the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of
the Japan Association of Language Teachers.

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過去3年間鎌田ローレル氏は日本に住むバイリンガル家族にインタビューし彼らの言語や文化の経験を全国語学教育学会のバイリンガリズム研究部会のニュースレターの中でケーススタディをシリーズで報告してきました。このモノグラフにはそのシリーズの最初10ケースとそれに加えてバイリンガリズムの発展を促進するように(またはその反対のように)思われる要因の分析が入っています。

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the Japan Association of Language Teachers.

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1. Meet the Becker Family

第一言語はいま、第二言語は後で

When I first called up David Becker and asked him if I could interview him as a bilingual case study family, he replied that I shouldn't bother, because he is not bringing up his two boys bilingually. As he went on to speak, revealing that he himself didn't learn English until age 13 in middle school English classes, and that he felt his boys would learn a second language without trouble later, I realized what an interesting case study he would present. He also revealed that he had made early attempts to teach his older son Dutch, but later gave up.

The native language of the father, David Becker, is Dutch, but his use of English as his first second language is perfect from what I can perceive – not only his communicative capability, but he is an accomplished translator (Japanese to English first, Japanese to Dutch secondly) in his own right. As mentioned above he first learned English in middle school English classes where he also learned German, French, Latin and Greek. He came to Japan in 1975 at the age of 28 and began to learn Japanese which he considers his third foreign language after English and German. Japanese is the language he now uses to communicate with his children.

David's wife is Japanese. She was a middle school English teacher until after the birth of their second child. Now she tutors English part time at home, She's been to Europe several times and even speaks a little Dutch. At home, Japanese is used between the parents and the children.

The oldest son, Hans Shinji, whom I will mainly talk about in this case study, is nearly 8 years old. The younger boy, Eugene Kenta, is nearly 6 years old.

When Hans was born, the mother took a one year leave from work. At the end of that year Hans was placed in *hoikuen* and the father took most of the responsibility and home care of the child

during the next year or two. During this period, the father used Dutch with the child at home all the time. Hans was beginning to speak in Dutch as his main language due to the dominance of the daily contact with the father over the Japanese input from the mother after work.

In the home there was a lot of foreign language input with Dutch and English video, English TV programs and cartoons. Occasionally foreign relatives and friends came to visit.

At age three, the father and Hans went to Holland, just the two of them. At that time, Hans had no problems communicating in Dutch with the grandparents. He went again twice later. The last time Hans went to Holland in summer, 1991, he switched over a lot, but was able to pick up phrases. He could understand, but was not really speaking.

There was a turning point when Hans began to attend *yochien* at around age four. He began to exhibit problems explaining things in Japanese. The father described Hans as shy and introverted with poor verbal abilities. "He can't express himself well. He had problems communicating in the new environment at *yochien*." The lack of Japanese language skills made it difficult to communicate. He didn't have enough vocabulary. It was at this time that the wife resigned her job to take care of the children at home. From then on Japanese became dominant. When the father went to read a Dutch story to the child as usual, now the child responded in Japanese saying, "No, not that one." Hans would no longer answer back in Dutch and didn't want to be told stories in Dutch. Japanese became important. The father describes it as a natural process where Japanese became dominant. The child came to prefer Japanese. Because the boy had a shy and introverted personality, the parents felt that Japanese speaking proficiency was important.

Another reason cited by the father for not teaching Dutch at home is that there is simply too much homework assigned at school, so he doesn't want to over-burden the children with teaching Dutch.

The father said, "I'm not going to teach Dutch really until I think they're ready for it. I'm not going to force it. I don't want to create aversions. I'll wait until they feel interested. My goal for right now is to take them so that they're not afraid of foreigners and foreign languages." It should be a natural process. The children often hear their father speaking English which is sometimes used as a secret language of the parents.

The father who learned several foreign languages in school, feels that foreign languages are not so difficult to learn. Without learning, one can pick up languages without effort. They just need exposure. But a lot of it depends on innate ability. It's like dyslexia.

The younger child is very gifted verbally unlike the older shy boy. However, he refused from the beginning to learn Dutch, even in play. The language between the siblings was Japanese from the beginning, although in the early stages sometimes the older child would speak in Dutch, with the younger child answering in Japanese.

The father admits that he gave up with trying to teach his child Dutch. What started out as idealism, turned to the realism of the difficulty of the task. Now the father says that the second language of his children is going to be English when instruction begins in middle school.

Thus there is no longer an attempt at conscious teaching of Dutch at home. The father is waiting until the children show motivation on their own to want to learn it. Then the father is always happy to teach it if they want to learn. Most importantly, for right now the parents want the children to develop a good command of Japanese, both spoken and written even beyond the curriculum. Where Japanese children do not learn to write Japanese composition properly in Japanese schools, the parents want to teach the children at home, if necessary so they will be good writers of Japanese. The father wants his children to also become enthusiastic readers in their "first" language (Japanese, that is) first. The father

wants them to be able to express self competency in their own language first, before they attempt to do so in a foreign language.

The first foreign language of the children, English, is to be learned in middle school. Motivation to learn English would be partially stimulated by school pressure, but reinforced by travel overseas and the practical use of spoken English abroad. The father takes a very relaxed attitude about second language acquisition for his children.

2. Nita Amano -- A Three Year Old Bilingual

3歳児日本語、英語共に上級

Nita Amano, born in Japan, an only child to an American mother and a Japanese father, is a successful balanced bilingual at three and a half years old. The mother has taken Nita to America on four occasions for a total of 14 months: 0:2 - 0:6 (4 mo.), 1: 2 - 1:4 (2 mo.), 1 :1 0 - 2:1 (3 mo.), and 2 .11 - 3:4 (5 mo.).

Nita's Japanese language input is mostly acquired through contact with her Japanese grandparents and cousin several times per week and also from *yochien* (day care) which she started attending at one year old three times per week. Her father speaks Japanese with her outside of the house only, and the language at home and between parents is English.

In interviewing the mother, I attempted to uncover the reasons for Nita's success. Aside from long periods spent in America, it should also be noted that Nita is linguistically gifted. Her need for communication became apparent around her first birthday as she developed very elaborate pantomime to communicate her thoughts. At about one and a half she produced sounds not only for animals such as "bow-wow", but also a specific sound for each person important to her. Her grandfather was a coughing sound; Mommy was a kissing sound; her baby cousin was a crying sound - all of which she would produce when asked for example, "What is Daddy's sound?"

It should be noted here that Nita exhibited very early and total left-handedness and perhaps that fact is correlative not only to her early language development, but also contrarily, her mother reported that Nita appeared to be late in ability to put together puzzles. The mother is a very outgoing, verbal type of person herself who loves social encounters. This too must be a significant factor, whether it be biological or environmental, of influence on Nita's linguistic development.

Aside from exposure in an English environment and a natural gift, her mother consciously contributed greatly to Nita's linguistic development. Since birth, every day, the mother has read books or retold stories with or without the use of books to Nita and later with Nita's assistance providing details of the story when cued. An English children's song or rhyme tape was always played while driving in the car. Japanese television is never watched in the home. Instead English children's videos of songs, music, *Sesame Street*, Walt Disney and so forth are watched daily. At night, the mother sings off-key English songs and lullabies. During the day, all activities are done together with mother and Nita. For example, while cooking, the names of foods and utensils are used repeatedly.

The mother says she consciously does not use baby talk, rather she speaks using simple words and sentences with correct grammar. Sometimes she will vary the words to increase vocabulary, for example, shin, thigh, or calf instead of leg. To reinforce time consciousness, the words "earlier," "before," and "this morning" would be used in three sentences consecutively to strengthen the meaning.

I, myself, was surprised at Nita's sophisticated vocabulary when at 3:4 she told me that her grandmother "had surgery." I also noted Nita's great capacity to remember and use words and phrases which are only said to her one time. In this way, I heard her say that the reason my baby was crying was "because he was frustrated." Also at 2:6 she demonstrated remembering something I had

mentioned to her once when she blurted out, "Grandma's friend is a girl, and Laurel's friend is a boy, but they are both named Pat."

Not only is Nita's vocabulary sophisticated, but so is her understanding of the world, including past and future concepts. Another thing that Nita started doing early in her second year was demanding explanations for what was being said by others around her. While I was talking with her mother, Nita heard me say with some emotional tone in my voice, "Oh my God, really? That's terrible." Nita immediately cut in, "Mommy, Mommy, what happened? What's terrible?" Her request for detailed explanation was patiently answered by her mother.

At 2:11 when Nita went back to USA, at first she used Japanese. But later as she started refreshing her English intake, she came to resent using Japanese even to Japanese friends in America as she gradually shifted over into total English use. By the end of that 5 month sojourn, she returned to Japan totally fluent in English but had seemed to forget her Japanese. The mother was not concerned at all with this and within a month Nita's Japanese came back while her English was maintained.

In America during this last trip. Nita attended day care. The teachers there commented that Nita was advanced linguistically. The mother made the observation that Nita's English is more sophisticated and adult-like whereas her Japanese is more childish and includes many nasty words such as うんち and はなくそ which she picked up at *houikuen* and of which she has no English equivalent.

In conclusion, the mother notes that everything she does is in play or in real activities. Nothing is formally taught, although learning is constantly ongoing. The tools are always at hand.

3. Mary: New Zealand mother speaks Japanese to child

ニュージーランド人母子供に日本語で対話

I felt that Mary (7/2/89; age 3: 9) would be an interesting case study when I heard her New Zealand mother speaking Japanese to her. The Japanese father, who works until very late at night, uses Japanese with Mary during his days off when they can see each other. I felt it was somewhat unusual for a foreign mother living in Japan to use Japanese as a dominant language in the home. But then, for a number of reasons, Mary, is a unique and special child.

Mary is a beautiful, delicate child, sick with a life-threatening disease which has kept her in and out of hospitals ever since she was 1 year and 5 months old. Her mother says it has been quite traumatic for the last two years. It is basically for this reason that her mother feels it is most urgent that Mary understands and can respond to what is said to her by doctors and nurses in Japanese. And she feels she is the only one able to accomplish this task as the busy father spends little time with Mary. Also Mary's mother wants her to be able to speak Japanese with the other children in the hospital so that she can make friends. Mary has spent very little time going outside of her home or playing with other children except for with one linguistically precocious American/Japanese bilingual friend her age whom she adores. The problem is that when the two girls get together, Japanese, not English is the language usually spoken between them.

When Mary is not hospitalized, other than occasional visits from her bilingual friend, she is virtually isolated in her apartment from the outside world. Although she has some English video tapes of children programs, most of the time she watches Japanese cartoons and children's programming on television. Her mother says that Mary picks up a lot of Japanese from the television and knows some Japanese words that she doesn't.

The mother has taken on the role of teaching both English and Japanese to her child at, the same time. She says that she tries to

balance the use of both languages. When she catches herself, for example, using too much English, she switches to Japanese for a while. When I asked her how she separates the two languages, she could not really answer, "I don't really know." She said that she uses both languages sometimes at the same time. Sometimes she even mixes them in the same sentence, sometimes she speaks first in one language, then repeats in the other. She admits to mixing languages when speaking with her husband, but says she tries not to mix when she speaks to Mary, but that she probably does it unconsciously a lot of the time.

The mother says that after age two, Mary mixed the two languages a lot, but recently has begun to differentiate them. Mary always starts off speaking in Japanese to strangers as most of the people in her world understand Japanese and not English. However if they answer in English, then Mary will switch to English. When I asked the mother which language she starts off with in conversations with Mary, she answered that it is interchangeable and without pattern. Sometimes Mary will mix up the grammar by using English grammar with a Japanese sentence or the other way around. The mother admits to making grammatical mistakes herself occasionally.

Although the mother's spoken Japanese is fair, she cannot read Japanese, and thus reads to Mary only in English. The mother says that she tries to read a story nightly when possible. Mary realizes that the mother cannot read in Japanese and expects to be read to in English by the mother. The father, when he is around, occasionally reads to Mary in Japanese.

Mary's mother met and married the father, a seaman at the time, in New Zealand where Mary's older sister, now 15, was born and raised until the age of ten. Then the family moved to Japan and the Japanese grandmother came to live together with them until Mary's sickness forced them move. Mary was born in Japan and has lived all of her life here except for about two months just before her

first birthday when the family visited New Zealand. Until Mary became ill, the mother used English with the girls. Besides the several European friends whom the mother used English with, her Japanese friends spoke English when visiting as well. The mother states that during this time, although Mary wasn't yet speaking, her understanding of English was dominant. When it was discovered that June was sick, at 17 months, the older sister was sent back to New Zealand to be cared for by her grandmother and shortly thereafter the mother began to use Japanese with Mary.

Mary appears to be ambidextrous. The mother says the reason is that during her hospital stays, the drips would alternately be administered to the right or left hand, temporarily disabling its use and thereby requiring Mary to develop dexterity in both hands.

The mother says that Mary has gotten to the point now where she can understand that there is a difference between English and Japanese. However, Mary still often mixes the two languages especially when conversing with the mother, as that is also the mother's speaking style with her. Although the mother feels that Mary's speaking ability is probably about average in both languages for her age, she also admits to being biased in that mothers can always understand whatever their child says no matter how incoherent.

4. "English Only" for a 'typical' Japanese family

日本人両親子供に英語のみで話す

Keiko Mizuguchi's exceptional family was introduced in a previous issue of *Bilingual Japan* in an article written in Japanese by Keiko about the question of brain effect and language confusion of bilinguals. Keiko describes her family as a typical Japanese family - Japanese father, mother, son and daughter - as opposed to an international marriage with one spouse being foreign. However, there is one aspect of Keiko's family which perhaps is not so typical - that is that both (English (teacher) parents use English only with

their children even while living in Japan. Keiko says that she has never heard of other such couples and thinks her family may be the only such family in Japan - a bold venture indeed for a country apt to hammer down the protruding nail.

The son, Akihiro (6:3, born 3/87), first went abroad to Hawaii from age 0:4 to 1:5. During this time the parents had not yet begun to use English in the home. Akihiro was watched by a Korean baby-sitter who spoke little English, for about four hours a day, five days per week. Upon return to Japan, the parents decided to use only English with him and during this period his English became stronger than his Japanese. He was watched by his Japanese baby-sitter from age 1:6 to 2:5 for about 4 hours per day, 4 days per week. However, from the ages of 2:6 to 5:6 he attended a Japanese preschool and especially at around four and a half years old his Japanese became stronger. Because of this the parents hired a British man to stay with them for six weeks while they spent the summer in England. Then for four months (5:6 to 5:10) Akihiro went back to Hawaii and attended elementary school (kindergarten) there. It was during this time that he stopped speaking Japanese, as English was used at home and at school. Japanese was used only on Saturdays with the Japanese baby-sitter. The family returned to Japan two months before Akihiro turned six and he was put into a Japanese preschool and then an elementary school. English use at home has been continued ever since.

The daughter, Yoko (3:2, born 4/1 990), heard only English being used from birth in her first year at home. At one year old she was put into a Japanese preschool. Although she never left Japan except for a three-week vacation in Hawaii at age 2:9, she became a balanced bilingual. When Yoko went to meet her brother in Hawaii who had been staying there prior to her arrival, she spoke Japanese at first with him. But then after 2 or 3 days, she chased after mimicking him constantly, enabling her to pick up new English words very quickly.

The children speak Japanese outside of the home, in school and with friends and also in communication with relatives and Japanese friends of the family. Besides communication with both parents in English, the siblings use English to converse with each other and with the occasional foreign guests who come to the house.

Although, of course, the parents want their children to fit in with Japanese society, they feel that English language socialization has its good aspects and that English is an international language which should not be strange for a Japanese to speak. Keiko states that language development is not only linguistic socialization, but also includes socialization in how to adapt and survive in the culture of that language. She feels that when using English, transmitting Americanisms and cultural identity cannot be avoided. In modern day Japan, the notion of raising a child "purely Japanese" is no longer possible or even desirable. Keiko and her husband, having both lived abroad have internalized a mixture of cultures and they desire to hand down what they think is good of both cultures. As Japan is now open to the world and so many multicultural types of people come to exist in Japan, they hope that their children will not be ostracized.

When I presented the question, Keiko came to realize that she does use some unavoidable Japanese words (concepts) which are not established in English but which she feels cannot be omitted. She uses those Japanese words embedded in English sentences. "O.K., Let's eat, *itadakimasu*." The use of the term *oniichan* to address the elder brother to show respect while at the same time to receive care from the responsibility placed upon the elder to protect the younger, weaker sibling is another word which only the Japanese language can convey and which the Mizuguchis cannot discard.

On the other hand, there are English words and concepts not used in Japanese, which Keiko and her husband heard, observed and finally came to internalize while living overseas, that they would feel unnatural not using. For example, Japanese people don't

usually verbally express praise or show joy. But Keiko says she likes to say to her children, "I love you," or "I'm so proud of you." She feels that due to this her son has become a very affectionate, lovable boy who compliment others. "Mom, I love your curry. I think it is the most delicious in the world."

The Mizuguchis have some 400 or 500 English books in their home of which they read two or three daily to each child. They also have about 50 English videos. As far as literacy is concerned, Akihiro can read and write *hiragana* but seems to have forgotten his ABC's. The parents feel that the children are too busy at this point with their Japanese literacy to concentrate on English literacy. At any rate, plans are already in the making for another extended overseas stay in Europe in the near future. Putting the children in an American school there where they will learn English literacy is now a viable consideration.

5. The Watanabe Family: Bilingualism as it Comes

帰国子女日本で英語を維持

When I first asked my friend, Sonoko Watanabe, if I could interview her about her children's bilingualism, she replied, "Oh, but they aren't bilingual." But I knew this not to be true at all, but reflective of Sonoko's easy going attitude towards her children's success. Sonoko's two children have become functional bilinguals without the use of English in the home and with no real goal on the part of their parents, other than to give their children the tools and opportunity to do as they choose. The children's enthusiasm for English learning was initially born and nurtured out of a two and a half year stay in America when the girl, Mamiko, was age 6-8 and the boy, Kaoru, was 5-7, and terminating over two years ago (July 27, 1991).

For the first three months abroad, both children attended a private kindergarten. After this, Mamiko attended first and second

grade, while Kaoru attended kindergarten and first grade at a public school. I think it was due in large part to their very positive experiences in American schools alongside their English speaking peers, coupled with high innate aptitude for language that set in motion the paths to their success.

It should also be noted that Kaoru and Mamiko are highly motivated children who learn quickly, with higher than average intelligence. Yoko could read *hiragana* at two years and *katakana* at three years, taught, for the most part, at day care. Kaoru could do the same along with some *kanji* reading, and the ability to read and recite ABC's by three. Now in the third grade, Kaoru can read sixth grade *kanji*. When asked how he learned them, his mother replied with a chuckle, "He was interested in the dictionary." To this, Kaoru, sitting nearby, nodded.

The mother reports that Kaoru was number one in the class in the USA in general questions testing - knowing, for example, the capital city of Florida, or specific math questions. English reading, spelling and mathematics were easy for Kaoru, but in social studies, where understanding of American society was called upon, Kaoru has more difficulty. Composition was also more difficult for him although his reading was better than the average American child's. The mother attributes both children's reading success to the kind help of the neighbor in eliciting correct oral reading. In spite of Kaoru's reading smoothness, however, he often had problems with the comprehension of what he had read. Whereas -Kaoru is stronger in reading and writing of English, Yoko is better at expression and speaking.

Since returning to Japan two years ago, both children have been taking English lessons with a native speaker teacher. at first once a week and later increased to twice. At home, there are few good English videos for children that the Watanabe family does not have - everything abounds from Disney movies to sing-along to Dr. Seuss. Countless English books, computer and other games and

other learning tools fill every nook and cranny of their living space.

During their first year back in Japan, having forgotten a considerable amount of Japanese, the children spent much time watching English videos which they found more entertaining than Japanese television. Although they read a lot of English books while in America, more recently, with Japanese school homework and after-school activities, there is no longer time available for such leisure activities as reading.

Mamiko's week includes English lessons twice, *shuji* and swimming once. She also attends occasional *juku* to brush up on her Japanese reading missed while in the USA. But as this problem has already corrected itself for the most part, *juku* is not necessary any more. Kaoru attends all of the above as Yoko does, plus abacus once weekly. The mother explained that it was Yoko's decision not to attend abacus, so she doesn't. The same goes for all the other classes: they study English only because they chose to.

What about English language attrition in these last few years? "Yes," Yuko explains, "They've forgotten a lot. Kaoru and Yoko used to write such nice poetry and stories in English." Fortunately, however, recently a change in English teacher, a three-week trip back to the USA and a visit from two cute, active American boys helped ameliorate any previous downswing to a considerable extent.

When I asked about their English writing ability now, Yuko answered, "Only their English teacher knows that," again reflecting her relaxed attitude which has somehow brought success in nurturing very self-motivated children, with excellent English speaking skills, well on their way to fluency.

6. Three Generations of Japanese/English Bilinguality

2カ国語共に流暢な父親に両方の言語で話す

Toshiyuki Tedatsu, who has been using the name Ted Metcalfe since he started teaching English at age twenty, is a pioneer bilingual, raised at a time when there were few other bi-cultural

role models around in Japan. Ted's American grandfather first came over to Japan in 1945 and a few years later brought his wife, two sons aged 14 and 6, and a 17 year-old daughter (Ted's mother). For the most part this family was to remain in Japan permanently. Ted's mother became bilingual both in speaking and reading Japanese which was mainly acquired while working on her MA in Japanese literature at Waseda University. She began teaching English to Japanese and ended up marrying one of her better students. Shortly thereafter a son, Ted, and then 2 years later a daughter were born. Dual-nationality was never considered: the father decided early that the children would have Japanese nationality

Ted, now 29 years old, has lived all of his life in Japan except for three years in Canada from ages 6 to 9 and for six months at age 10 when his father's work brought the family overseas. Although Ted describes his father as an average Japanese salary man, he also reveals that his father never spoke Japanese to him. With the mother also having spoken English in the home, Ted came from an all-English home in Japan. There are several unique features of this family affecting the identity development of these bi-cultural children attending Japanese schools a generation ago when "half" or *gaijin* children were rarely seen in Japan.

When the family returned to Japan after 3 years in Canada, Ted was put in the third grade of a public school in Yokohama. For the most part he was never treated specially or differently. Although his classmates were friendly and Ted had a lot of friends, there were some kids he didn't know who teased him about being a *gaijin* or looking different. Ted says that he really hated being teased for being different and that he did not see himself as being any different. He felt shocked that others perceived of himself as a *gaijin* and hated to be called so. However, eventually he got used to it, realizing that indeed his mother was American and was called the same things.

During elementary school, when Ted's parents spoke to him in English, he would answer in Japanese. This became especially strong when Ted was a teenager. He rejected English. As he says, 'English just wouldn't come out.' However, English class at school was one area where Ted could feel very confident. English class was easy. His sensitive English teacher allowed him to read English properly without the *katakana* readings of English which Ted detested (whereas many junior high school English teachers feel threatened when students pronounce English better than them). But outside of English class, speaking English was a pain. His American mother's friends were mostly Japanese and foreigners were seldom around. It was only with the grandparents that Ted felt compelled to try to speak in English, until the age of 14 when the grandfather died and the grandmother subsequently returned to America. Eventually the teasing decreased and was only from a small group. Instead students would approach Ted to receive help with English. Sporting a shaved head and school uniform in middle school, the *gaijin* look was not to be found anyway and the *gaijin* catcalls abated. At around the age of 17 or 18 Ted began to notice the importance of English and it was then that he started to speak English. If you spoke to Ted over the telephone in English today you would never imagine that his language skill is impeccable in Japanese as well--a perfectly balanced bilingual without pronunciation or accent inflections.

The second part of this case study follows with Ted's marriage to a Japanese woman and the bilingual development of their four year old daughter, Hannah. Hannah was born and lived her entire life in Japan except for a very short trip overseas when she was very young. The mother, who can speak a little English, but doesn't feel confident and only uses it when she has to, uses only Japanese with Hannah. Ted uses half English and half Japanese with Hannah. He states that he used to always use English when she was younger, but when his wife and in-laws cautioned him that she would get

confused, Ted stopped using English only. He's not sure he did the right thing. Ted describes Hannah's language ability as less than bilingual, "She's totally fluent in Japanese, but as far as English is concerned, she understands, but doesn't speak so much." His attitude now is not to push anything on Hannah: When he speaks to her in English, he allows her to answer in Japanese. Ted reads to Hannah in English sometimes and he has some 20 to 30 English videos at his home-English school available to Hannah who loves to watch them.

As his daughter was refusing to speak and answer in English to him, Ted decided to place her in one of the kids classes at his school with another native-English speaking teacher. Perhaps this was the turning point. Recently she has started getting interested in speaking English. She has a need and desire to communicate with her teacher. This recent change is revealed to the father with her questions posed in both languages, "What do you call this in English?" Although in her English class, as yet she still doesn't produce a lot, she tries very hard to speak--whereas in front of her father she appears more shy. Ted evaluates her English production to be about 30% of the same age monolingual English child.

His future idea is perhaps to stay for a year or so in USA if possible when his daughter is 15 or 16 so that she can hone-up on English as well as to experience life in USA. His hopes or goals are that Hannah be able to communicate in English; to be able to talk with people. However, reading and writing skills are not so important. There is enough to be done getting through the problems with *kanji* and education in Japanese. Ted says that he is not planning to teach English to his daughter, however, when she learns reading in school or if she picks it up naturally, of course he will encourage her.

As far as an evaluation of his own dual self, Ted states that although he never has lived in America, he has somehow intrinsically internalized how Americans think. He doesn't really

know where he picked it up, but naturally he has it. His wife says that he is different depending on which language he uses: He is quiet as a Japanese speaker and somewhat boisterous as an English speaker--the volume goes up. Ted says that he can see things both ways--two points of view. But the bottom line for understanding another culture and language, he says, is to have experience living overseas.

7. Rapid Language Acquisition & Attrition of a Trilingual Child

一人の子供と三つの言語

Although the trilingual proficiency of John Matthews's elder daughter at two years and 11 months is still a bit early to be quantitatively assessed accurately, the strength of the foundation being established now is what will effect future results. John is American, married to a Mandarin-speaking Chinese woman and residing in Japan with their two children. The younger daughter is only 11 months old. The subject of this case study will be the elder daughter, Wuhei.

Wuhei was born in Japan and began attending Japanese day care from 6 months old for 6 days a week from 9 AM to 6 PM. Both parents work outside of the house. The language spoken between the parents is English. The mother speaks Chinese to Wuhei occasionally, but mostly imperfect Japanese or English. Wuhei produces Japanese and English, but does not speak much Chinese although she can understand a lot of what is spoken to her. John says that he admonishes his wife to speak Chinese or English rather than Japanese to Wuhei. But the mother says that she only finds herself using Chinese when she is tired or not in a hurry to communicate quickly. It is hard to be consistent when the fastest means to communicate a point is most expedient, and what naturally comes out in most cases is Japanese for the mother. John says that he hears his wife mixing all three languages sometimes in one sentence.

When interviewed two months earlier, John expressed the teaching of his native language as “a battle with English”, but now having even forgotten making such a remark it seems clear that the problem has been fully mitigated and Wuhei is producing English when spoken to. John uses almost exclusively English with Wuhei with occasional Japanese and even some Chinese. For example, if Wuhei can’t understand his English, he may say the word in Japanese and then back in English. There are some phrases which are always expressed in a certain language, as John puts it which “just roll off the tongue.” For example, “Time to eat” is always said in Chinese. “Take a shower” is always said in English, and “That’s really bad (*zettai dame*)” is always said in Japanese. He says that he talks as much as he can to Wuhei, even more than the mother does. Most of the mother’s friends who visit the home are Chinese speaking. By two years old Japanese, non-native to both parents, has become the dominant language spoken by Wuhei attained through exposure at day care. English takes the place as the second language, although it dominated at one point (mentioned below) and Chinese is the third language although it too dominated for a short period. Although the mother feels that the Japanese is significantly stronger than the English, John feels that the English and Japanese levels are nearly equivalent now.

Concerning home teaching home teaching tools, John mentioned that three English videos were available at home which Wuhei enjoys watching. As for teaching reading. John put forth some efforts to teach the ABC’s although the task of teaching reading will I be put off for some time with the hope that he can teach her to read before she enters school.

The first half year of Wuhei’s life was spent in the presence of her Chinese speaking grandmother who came over to Japan to help care for her. As an infant Wuhei spent a month in America. Last spring she spent 2 months in China with her mother, sister and grandparents. Then in the summer she went back to the USA for 5

weeks. The rest of the time she has resided in Japan.

What John found to be most extraordinary about Wuhei's language development was the speed with which she picked up a new language and also the suddenness in which the language was lost without reinforcement. After only two months in China she came back speaking almost all Chinese. But once outside of the Chinese environment, within a week, her Chinese began to vanish and had totally disappeared after two weeks. A few months later, after 5 week in USA she was speaking English mostly and it appeared that English was her dominant language. Once back in Japan, the same problem occurred once again where English attrition started after one week and the language had disappeared for the most part by 2 weeks, replaced now by Japanese. Recently, however, her English speaking ability has increased due to John's efforts to speak with her in English as much as possible. She tries to speak Japanese to Americans and when she sees a blank look sometimes she switches to English. According to her father what stands out most in Wuhei's development is the malleability and flexibility of language acquisition at this early age. The surrounding environment is the main significant factor in John's eyes. He says he is fascinated with Wuhei's learning process, and continues to be amazed at her linguistic ability. Even though all day long at day-care she hears and uses Japanese, when her Papa comes to pick her up she exclaims in English. "Papa, where are my shoes?" Now Wuhei is beginning to understand that there are different languages in which different words can all mean the same thing

8. Shifts of Language Usage among Siblings: The Multi-Lingual Kaluha Daughters

状況変化とともに1つの言語が別の言語に取って代わる

Susan Kaluha has kept very detailed notes and video documentation of her two daughters' linguistic development, chronicling an extremely complicated multi-lingual process of

acquisition by her children. This case study is not only interesting from the standpoint of multi-lingualism, but also from the standpoint of multi-culturalism. I will attempt to summarize and analyze the linguistic development of her two daughters, Kiki (9; 4) and Mona (7; 7) who were born in Samoa, resided in America for over two years and are presently living in and attending school in Japan.

The mother, Susan, is American, and the father is Samoan. The older child, Kiki, was an adopted child from a totally Samoan-speaking environment at the age of 6 months and entered the English-speaking, bi-cultural home of Susan and her Samoan husband in Samoa. Also, a Tongan-speaking girl cared for her and later for Mona during the daytime until they left Samoa when Kiki was almost 3 and Mona was 1;1. The children were thus exposed to Samoan heard extensively outside of the home and the father's native language, Tongan, during the day and English in the presence of their parents.

Then the girls were immersed in total English in America over the next 2;7 years. From the beginning, the girls communicated among themselves in English. Then the family moved to Japan and within two weeks of their arrival, at the ages of 5;5 and 3;7, the girls entered Japanese pre-school and became immersed in a Japanese-speaking environment during the daytime. The father didn't arrive in Japan until a year later. During this time the girls developed the ability to communicate in Japanese and began using Japanese as the language of communication between themselves after a very short period of time, about a few months. Then at 4;5, the younger girl, Mona, went with only the father to Samoa and they were joined by the mother and Kiki 8 months later. After another month, the family was off on a one-month vacation in America before returning to Japan.

During these 8 months alone with the father in Samoa, Mona was totally immersed in Samoan and rarely used English. When the

mother and sister arrived, Mona had trouble using English with the mother and could not communicate with Kiki in Japanese as she had done previously in Japan. However, within a few weeks the mother reports that enough English had returned that they were able to carry on reasonable conversations. Japanese was no longer used during this period and now the siblings went back to using English as their language of communication.

After a month interlude in America and then back to Japan, Mona again had problems with Japanese attrition. Mona's loss of Japanese is well described in her own words, "I can't find my Japanese" revealing the sense of still having something rather than that of something being totally destroyed. After a period of searching, not without efforts, that lost Japanese was found for Mona. The mother employed a clever technique to try to quicken the recovery that appeared to have a significant effect. She showed Mona a video recording taken about a year earlier of the family members talking about themselves, especially of the siblings using Japanese together. Mona's mother received confirmation when she asked if Mona could understand the long sentences spoken by her in the video which she had recently stopped producing. A few days later a note was sent home from school in which the teacher remarked on how quickly Mona's "fluency" in Japanese had developed, not realizing that at an earlier point she had already had near Japanese fluency.

At the present time English is used in the house between parents and between parents and daughters. However, the sibling language is for the most part Japanese unless English is specifically asked for. Japanese is used by the girls outside the house. Although the girls do not suffer from a rejection of the use of English which is sometimes the case with bi-cultural children attending Japanese schools, they do nevertheless suffer some frustration when they find that their English vocabulary is not sufficient to match their Japanese. The mother has evaluated their English to be less than

native-speaker peer ability, but she feels that they are able to function well under most circumstances. She did mention a bit of concern regarding their ability to function well if they were placed in an American classroom. It is partly for this reason that they plan to spend the following summer in America, enrolling the girls in a school to enable them to acquire American culture and possibly to begin ESL. Kiki can read some 5-letter words and some simple books, but for the most part the parents feel that it is not good to try to teach literacy in two languages at once and are not aggressively trying to teach English literacy at this time.

Samoa is no longer being input and much of Mona's ability to use it has probably been lost. However, the mother feels that because during an early base-period Samoan was once sufficiently acquired that even if it is forgotten now, the brain has already developed the pathways necessary for quick retrieval necessitating only a short silent period. Perhaps this will be seen some time in the future if they go back to Samoa.

As far as the evaluation of the girls' spoken Japanese is concerned, the mother feels that it is equivalent to their native-speaker peers and the teachers evaluate their proficiency as fluent. As the girls have gone through the Japanese schools from the beginning they seem also to have acquired peer literacy of Japanese reading and writing. In spite of this, however, the mother feels that there is a black box which doesn't totally reveal the real gaps in cultural acquisition and that having non-Japanese parents has left some areas of cultural comprehension fuzzy for the girls.

The mother remarked that she felt her and the father's inability to learn Japanese may have contributed to the children's maintaining of their English. The children were forced to search for ways to express themselves in English to communicate with the parents instead of just relying on the known Japanese way to express it. But the mother also stresses the downside of this too: much thought was uncommunicated because it could not be

sufficiently expressed in English. When the feelings of a child are much more mature than the means available for expression to their closest caretaker, frustrations occur for both child and parent, as indicated in the following quote from the mother's diary:

“Topics are not always fully explored and conversations are sometimes cut short, even by myself, as I struggle to understand their message as it is incomplete based on primary word meaning. Communication can become impatient as I wait for, or try to help K to find, the missing vocabulary word in English. There are many instances when Kiki is willing to let go of the subject under discussion simply because she is having trouble communicating in English.”

This brings mind a question in bilingual child-raising that we may all try to consider. What about the family who can communicate in two languages, but wants to reinforce the non-dominant language at home, for example English? Should we sacrifice communication on occasion to force the children to search for ways to express something in English, or should we let the children express themselves in the language which communicates best at the risk of not allowing them to develop the strategies necessary to attain bilinguality? The success of Kiki's and Mona's bi- or multi-linguality was due in part to a condition of coincidence, a situation in which the parents could not control all of the variables. Should all potentially bilingual families rely simply on the coincidence of their situations or should families apply rules to achieve individual goals? Different families will have different answers to these questions and different reasons for maintaining them. These are only some of the issues that we must consider as bilingual families.

Bilinguality Across Generations: Nurture over Nature - The Miho MacBride Nonaka Family

バイリンガリズム、母と子供を行ったり来たり

Miho MacBride Nonaka was born in Okinawa as the second daughter of an American father and a Japanese mother who had taken American citizenship. Miho and her sister held dual citizenship until adulthood when Miho chose American citizenship and her sister chose Japanese. The language at home when the father was present was English although the mother used Japanese in communicating with the girls when the father was not involved in conversation. When Miho turned 7 the family packed up and prepared for a complete and permanent relocation to America. The father went ahead to America to arrange things but a sudden and traumatic event happened when the father collapsed and passed away at the San Francisco airport on his way back to pick up the family. The family never went to America. From this point on English was no longer used at home and Miho stopped speaking English and appeared to lose her bilinguality. However, she never gave up the idea of wanting to go to America. Although she had hoped to spend her high school years in America, her mother was concerned about the growing drug problem in the States and it was decided that Miho would go to America upon graduation from high school. It was because of this decision that Miho and her mother decided that she should attend Japanese schools so that her Japanese language base would be solid enough for her to be bilingual after she went to America.

Miho started attending English *juku* from the 5th grade of elementary school and continued through the 10th grade. In Miho's junior high school English class she found it impossible to use the Japanese English pronunciation that her teacher used for English words. Miho could only speak with the proper English pronunciation that she had learned early in life. She visited her English teacher to apologize for the inconvenience it caused.

During high school, in preparation for her university life in America, Miho started visiting an American family at a nearby military base to practice English and baby-sit. She would visit them a few times per week and stay for 2 to 3 hours. The wife was a school teacher and would ask Miho questions to help improve her English speaking skills. Then at age 17 Miho set off for America where she was to reside for the next decade.

She spent the first two years at a junior college where she received an AA degree in Business before transferring to the University of Colorado where after another two years she received a BA degree from the business school in 1979. Less than a year later she married a Japanese man who was also studying at the same university. He has also acquired bilinguality and spent a total of 8 years in America.

After graduation Miho started working for a travel agency in Colorado during which time their first child, Maki, was born in June, 1981. Maki began to attend day care from 6 months old. The mother spoke and read books both in Japanese and English at home with Maki. Miho continued to work in America until she and Maki returned to Japan when Maki was 3:7. At this time Maki was a perfect bilingual although Miho describes Maki's ability in both languages as being slightly below peer level in terms of vocabulary. The father remained another year alone in America to finish up his studies.

Back in Japan, busy with a new job and frustrated by not having any friends yet, worried about how Maki would adjust to a new life and living with in-laws who could not understand English it became very difficult for Miho to continue using English at home. Miho also felt that as she herself didn't become bilingual until her late teens it was not so important to try to force Maki to speak English now. It would be better for her to just be happy and get adjusted.

Similar to the experience that Miho had as a child, upon

return to Japan, Maki was unable when speaking Japanese to Japanize the pronunciation of English loan words: *toneru* was pronounced as the English "tunnel", *tenisu* was "tennis" even in Japanese sentences. This caused some problems when communicating with the grandparents. Maki began attending *yochien* almost immediately upon return to Japan. Due to the above mentioned mitigating circumstances and lack of English input, within a year or so Maki's English speaking ability was completely lost although Miho states that she could still understand a lot of English when spoken to.

The second child, Kenta, was born in September, 1986, five years after Maki. A few years later Miho started her own English school with another Japanese woman partner. From the ages of 3:7 until this time, at almost 8 years old, Maki had little English input other than that of some books, videos and sometimes from the mother. Now she began taking lessons once a week at the new school with the partner as her teacher. But she felt resistant to speak English because there was too much pressure on her to be a good speaker as the school owner's child. The fact that Maki held an American citizenship also pressured her to want to retreat. When Maki was eleven, in order to spark some intrinsic motivation for English, the family went to America for a month during which the children attended an American elementary school for two weeks. It turned out to be a very valuable experience for the Nonaka children. The school was just then doing a study about Japan and the presence of the Japanese children made the exchange deep and meaningful for both sides. After this experience Maki changed her attitude towards English study. She began to really want to speak English and over-acted like she was fluent in English. Back in Japan, she started to read books in English through her lessons at her mother's school where she now began taking lessons twice weekly from a native speaker teacher as well. Maki has kept up a correspondence with a Japanese bilingual boy in America who

writes to her in English, while she writes in Japanese so that both sides can practice reading the second language. She also tries to practice writing in English at the school.

For a while Miho tried to have the family use English during dinner time, but found it to be too difficult as often guests were present and also the grandmother could not understand. They tried switching the English speaking time to before bed-time, but the children were too busy with homework and other things and that did not work out either. Sending Maki to school in America was considered, but it was felt that she was still too young to go there alone.

Presently, at almost 13 years old, Maki can not speak English and the mother says that sometimes she regrets not being able to continue the English speaking at home when they returned to Japan. However, Miho also feels that Maki can become bilingual if she goes to summer school for English practice in Misawa or Tokyo or America. Perhaps Maki can be described as a budding bilingual who just needs more experience. "It's OK to start now."

Although Kenta was born in Japan, Miho feels that he may be the one who is closer to being bilingual than Maki. Miho feels that it is significant that while she was pregnant with Maki in America her job entailed speaking Japanese daily with Japanese customers, whereas when she was pregnant with Kenta in Japan, she taught English, using English in a loud, clear voice. From the beginning, Kenta showed a great interest in English. While the grandmother watched baby Kenta upstairs, Miho would be teaching English downstairs. The grandmother reported to Miho how Kenta would put his ear to the floor to listen to his mother's voice. Before one year old he said his first English word, "look", a word that Miho doesn't remember saying to him, but a word she always uses with her students.

Miho used a lot of clapping and action songs when teaching her children's classes. From 2 to 3 years old, Kenta would learn those

songs through the floor, absent the hand and feet movements. When he started attending kindergarten at 3:6, his teacher commented that, "He teaches us all English." When he saw the cherry blossom at school he exclaimed, "so beautiful." Miho says that Kenta's pronunciation is better than Maki's. Last year Kenta began English lessons at Miho's school.

Kenta being the baby of the family is the one who sleeps with Mommy and thus the one whom Miho speaks more to in English and reads English books to into slumber nightly. Now at 7 years old, he can read some easy words as he is self motivated.

Two years ago Kenta also went to American school for two weeks and liked it very much. He learned how to say the months of the year in his second day. His mother says he has a good memory and English just seems to stay in his mind.

Presently Kenta is also not bilingual and he cannot speak English. However the mother feels that he has a lot of potential. Kenta also tries to act like he knows more English than he really does, indicating an inner desire and motivation to accomplish that goal.

Miho started earlier in being consistent with Kenta and says that she can see the difference between the two children. Nonetheless, she is still not sure that starting earlier like this with Maki would have been significantly advantageous in the long run. After all, Maki lived in the USA for over 3 1/2 years from birth; Maybe that will come back to her later, Miho asserts. The lesson that Miho wants to share with us, however, is that parents of potential bilingual children have to speak the non-environment language at home or else it will be more difficult later. She didn't force Maki because of the circumstances at the time, but when Kenta came along, Miho had more time and definite ideas.

10. The Returnee Dilemma: This planet is not only Japanese

ある帰国子女の話し

The Mori family went to America in 1989 as a typical Japanese family in which the parents had only school and university English ability with some conversation practice for the father before departure. The two boys, Nobuo, 5:6 at the time of departure and Daisuke who was only 4 months old, had never had any English input. Upon return to Japan nearly three years later, both parents had gained enough confidence and ability in English to converse and communicate complex ideas. Daisuke although not bilingual, had acquired basic English understanding. Nobuo had acquired bilinguality, albeit with Japanese dominance. Aside from this, the entire family had acquired something the mother describes as “a different feeling.” What is meant by this? What was the process that brought this about and what problems were met along the way? This case study will focus on the older boy, Nobuo.

The mother, Michiko, attributes Nobuo’s success with the coincidence of the timing in his age and schooling. Before going to USA, he had spent 1 1/2 years attending a Japanese *yochien*. From January, 1990 until the end of the school year he began attending kindergarten in L.A. for 5 days a week, 3 hours per day for the first few months which soon increased to 6 hours per day. The following September, he started First Grade and continued through the completion of Second Grade. These three years are perhaps the most impressive years for language acquisition and certainly for learning basic literacy.

It was hard for Nobuo only at first when he couldn't understand anything. After 6 months, Nobuo made a special American friend and his world opened up. He was very friendly and outgoing with American children enabling him to catch on to English very quickly. Nobuo's self-motivated inner drive and willingness to exert effort were certainly also significant factors in his success. The teacher was surprised how quickly he was able to

surpass the American children in school work. His English compositions were better than other American children.

As Nobuo started learning English reading and writing on a par with his other classmates he was never at a disadvantage and his school work in all subjects was above average. He never did any English study at home; instead, at home he studied Japanese (*kokugo*) from textbooks received from the Japanese government. Nobuo liked his teacher and friends in America very much and had very positive school experiences there. At the time of leaving USA at age 8, his literacy level was above the average American his age, although his English speaking level was somewhat less than peer ability. Without question, this was the success story of a boy who had had a happy, meaningful experience in a foreign culture where he was able to adapt and learn the language quickly.

But, now back in Japan! Culture Shock! It is a sad story that we have all heard before: Why does all this wonderful newly acquired insight have to be unlearned upon return home to Japan? What happened when Nobuo began attending Japanese school?

Although Nobuo had completed Second Grade in June in USA- he entered Japanese Second Grade in August, during the mid-year and continued through March. As he had kept up with Japanese reading and writing at home with his mother's help in America, he was only slightly behind his Japanese peers upon return and this did not create a problem. However, right away Nobuo encountered language and cultural problems in school. Although he could converse without any problem with family and friends in Japanese, he found that he couldn't understand his school lessons very well. He also encountered behavioral problems at school. What had been considered permissible behavior in American schools was now suppressed. He was not permitted any longer to express himself in the free way he had become used to. He felt that his personal privacy was infringed upon when he was forced to show his fingernails for inspection. Swimming in America meant having fun,

but now it was a graded subject. Nobuo used to enjoy art and music time in his L.A. school, but now those subjects were checked and graded and he could no longer enjoy them. Whereas lunchtime had previously been his own free time to do as he liked in America, now he had to fear losing points if all of his food was not properly consumed. This brought out feelings of rebellion and then withdrawal leading to his inability to want to eat lunch at all. Some of the students started to tease him.

To compensate for his handicap, motivated by his own inner drive and dislike for failure, he woke himself up every morning at 5:00 AM to study *kanji* and practice piano for the tests at school. In order to maintain their English, the mother had enrolled both boys in an English class once a week with a foreign teacher who could not speak Japanese. Nobuo was not too fond of the class, but it gave him the opportunity to show off his bilingual usefulness when he became the class translator for the other children.

In March, Nobuo completed Second Grade and a fortuitous event occurred when due to the father's job, the family relocated to another city. The mother took the opportunity at this point to make a request at the elementary school attached to a university to get Nobuo enrolled specially as a returnee. The school agreed, and the previous problems were soon resolved Nobuo became more outgoing and there was no more teasing.

Once established in the new city, again both boys began attending a private English conversation school where they were taught by an American teacher for an hour, once a week at first. After about four months, Nobuo decided on his own that he wanted to attend twice weekly. These days he wakes himself at 7 AM to watch NHK's English conversation lesson with his mother for a half hour every weekday. After that, if he has time he watches video tapes of cartoons and movies in English before going to school. Now having become so busy with his school and soccer club, he doesn't have much time in the afternoon or evening to watch much

English television. He's so tired he just wants to relax and watch Japanese cartoons if anything. However, his mother says that aside from the mornings, he probably spends about 3 hours per week in the evenings watching American movies or cartoons on satellite.

Although Nobuo returned to Japan as a bilingual, now his mother laments, only a quarter of his English has remained. However, he can carry on simple conversations with good pronunciation. And best of all, he is interested and still motivated to learn and to use English. Sometimes the mother and Nobuo speak in English for fun. The family tried to start an English day once a week but it was hard to keep it up. Recently the parents started attending a weekly adult English class to which they sometimes take Nobuo when he is not too tired to attend.

When I asked Michiko what was her goal for Nobuo, she told me that she often tells her son that he learned English and it is something that he should treasure. It was because Nobuo internalized this that he decided on his own to increase English conversation lessons to twice a week. But Nobuo's life also includes playing, studying Japanese and other subjects, and soccer practice. He is so busy. Who can decide what is best? Choices do have to be made.

But above all else, Michiko says that her purpose in becoming bilingual for her family is not just to speak English, but to try to understand and touch others on the same level. The most important thing to convey to her boys is that many people live on the planet, not only the Japanese. While living in the United States, they were able to make many friends from all over the world. Through this experience, the family came to internalize that the world is bigger than Japan and that there are not only Japanese people on this planet.

The following is a summary of the above ten case studies conducted by this author up to this point. In five of the families two siblings were assessed and in two of the families a balanced bilingual parent was also included and evaluated on the same basis. The following results are based solely on this small sample of seventeen individual cases from these ten families reported above and may not represent statistically significant findings. From this analysis, however, it is possible to form a working hypothesis for the basis of further research. Please refer to Figure 1 for a diagram of the factors affecting each case. The following factors have been assessed: sex; age at interview; for each parent of the case in question - nationality, language(s) spoken, bilingual or not, the language used with the child and the language used by the child to that parent; language(s) used between parents; language(s) used between siblings; residence in minority language culture; child input languages (languages that the child hears/heard from parents); bilinguality previously acquired (but now lost) or not acquired; presently bilingual or not; character or special points of each case. Figure 2 presents a breakdown of linguistic features of families and languages used, as follows: both parents are Japanese, one parent is of dual nationality and the other is Japanese, the mother is from the minority culture and the father is Japanese, the father is from the minority culture and the mother is Japanese, both parents are from the minority culture, both parents use the minority language at home (regardless of nationality), returnees in whom the minority language is reinforced immediately, returnees in whom the minority language is not reinforced immediately. At the bottom of Figure 2 is a further breakdown of attrition or loss of either or both languages, indicating: total loss of minority language, partial loss of minority language, loss of minority language followed by re-acquisition, and loss of majority language followed by re-acquisition.

Where both parents, regardless of their nationality, speak to the child in the minority language of the society (for the most part English in these studies, and hereafter MiL), the child will generally gain bilinguality. This is the case where the MiL is enforced in the home and where the majority language of the society (Japanese, and hereafter, MaL) is learned in social situations, school and parents' use outside of the home.

Where the mother speaks MiL to the child, but the father speaks the MaL to the child, that child will usually become bilingual. However, where the father speaks the MiL to the child, but the mother speaks NL to the child, that child often does not gain bilinguality, or more difficulty is encountered.

In Japanese returnee families where parents speak the MiL at home or the MiL is reinforced at private schools upon immediate return to Japan, bilinguality is maintained. However, it becomes lost progressively over time if it is not reinforced. If a significant time lag elapses, such as a year, before the MiL is reinforced, often attrition will be great or total. Even with immediate reinforcement outside of the home, some attrition is to be expected over time.

Significant factors contributing to the development of bilinguality

There are several factors which were felt to significantly contribute to the development of bilinguality. The mother's use of MiL with the child in the home was considered to be significant, but of even greater significance was the additive result of both parents using MiL to the child in the home. MiL used as the language between siblings was also seen as a significant factor.

Although it was not possible to scientifically measure IQ or first language ability in this study, it appears that children who demonstrate a propensity to be naturally linguistically gifted in their native language also carry this propensity over to second language learning. Thus a significant factor in development of bilinguality appears to be early and well developed first language

proficiency including advanced verbal skills. Furthermore, this appears to be particularly significant when the first language is the MiL.

Mothers (or other caretakers) who consciously employ good techniques to increase MiL acquisition, as well as MaL acquisition techniques appear to contribute significantly to their child's bilingual development. This includes making MiL home tools readily available and often using them, such as MiL videos, music and rhyme tapes, books, etc.

Perhaps one of the most significant differences between those who attained bilinguality and those who did not was the factor of ample time spent overseas residing in the culture of the MiL. It appears that the more time spent overseas the better, that is up to a point of approximately 50%.

In the case of returnee bilingual children, those who were given immediate reinforcement in the MiL immediately upon return to home country in private schools or in the home by the parents showed significant results. Other significant factors affecting returnees was the age of the child when overseas and type and level of schooling acquired. It appears that those children whose overseas stay included kindergarten and first grade or first and second grades fared better, as those are the grades where literacy skills are introduced. It also appears that at least two years residing overseas significantly contributed to bilinguality.

Factors which do not particularly contribute to bilinauality

Just because one of the parents is of dual culturality (*haafu*) and is herself/himself bilingual, does not particularly assure that the child will also attain bilinguality -- even in the case where the parent sincerely hopes for that result. In two out of two such case studies, bilinguality did not occur in offspring, although the long-term results of these children may later reveal otherwise.

Just because the father is from the culture of the MiL, this

does not insure that the child will necessarily learn this MiL. Often the child's exposure to the MiL through only the father is inadequate.

If a child has at one point attained total bilinguality (such as a returnee or where the MiL parent tried with some success, but later gave up), there is no guarantee that the child will be able to maintain that bilinguality without constant reinforcement of the MiL. Also where a child has attained MiL proficiency, reproduction (speaking) may be lost due to such factors where a child comes to reject the MiL due to social stigma, teasing in school, conformity, and other such problems

Factors contributing to less-than-peer level bilinguality in either or both languages

When the MiL speaking parent mixes the two languages and there is not clear separation of the two languages in the home, the resulting language or languages of the child will often be less-than-peer level. When the child's dominant language is a MiL to both parents it is likely that this child's language or languages will be less-than-peer level. This would be the case where, for instance, the child of both non-Japanese nationality and non-Japanese-speaking parents spoke Japanese as his/her main language. Another instance of the attainment of less-than-peer level bilinguality might occur in the case where both Japanese parents of a returnee child have nil or less than the child's MiL ability.

In summary, most at risk of not attaining or losing bilinguality are returnee children, children of MiL speaking fathers married to MaL speaking wives and those who seldom get the chance to reside in the MiL society. Thus parents of those from within these groups are advised to take heed to beat the odds to instill bilinguality in their children by paying attention to the above mentioned significant factors.

Figure 1: Factors Affecting 17 Case Study Subjects From 10 Bilingual Families in Japan

Fam. No.	sex	age at interview	Mother Nationality (languages)	Mother Biling?	Mother to child	child to mother	Father national	Father Biling?	Father to child	Child to father	Language between parents	Language between siblings	residence in Mil, culture	Child input	Child prev. Biling?	Child Biling. now?	character of child / special point
1a.	m	8	J (J, e)	N*	J	J	H (D, J, E, G)	Y	J	J	J	J	3X (short trips)	J, Jd	Y	N	Shy. Father, tried & gave up. Rely on schools
1b.	“	6	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	1X, a few weeks	J, J	N	“	Outgoing, verbally precocious

2.	f	3:5	USA. (E, j)	N*	E	E	J (J,e)	N*	J, e	J, e	E		4X, total 14 mo.	E, Je		Y	Verbally precocio us, tech. & tools, MiC resid.
3.	f	3:9	NZ (E, j)	N*	E/J	E/J	J (J)	N*	J	J	J			EJ, J		Y, j,e	Child ill: mom mixes 2 lang. for hospital surv. J

4a.	m	6:3	J (J, e)	Y	E	E	J (J, E)	Y	E	E	J/E.	E/J	3X, total 13 mo.	E, E		Y	Returne e: unique Engl home-ref fort, courage
4b.	f	3:2	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	1X, total 3 wks.	“		“	
5a.	f	10:4	J (J, e)	N	J	J	J (J)	N	J	J	J	J	2X, 2.5 yrs. + 3 wks.	J, J		Y, e	Returne e: immed. MiL outside home

5b.	m	9:2	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	Dual J/USA (ハーフ) rejected Engl. at first
6a.	m	Adult	USA (E, ,J))	Y	E	E/EJ/ EE	J (J.E)	Y	E	E/EJ/ EE	E	E/EJ	2X, ages 6-9, 6 mo. At 10 yrs.	E, E	Y/E N/E Y	Y	English learned outside of home, no push
6b,	f	4	J (J)	N	J	J	USA /J (E, J)	“	E/EE/ J	J, e	J		1X, total a few weeks	J, Je		N	3 lang. Domina nt lang. is parents' L2

7.	f	2:11	C (c, j, e)	N*	J, e, c	J	USA (E)	N*	E	E, J	E, c		2 mo. C, 5 wks. USA	Jec, E		Y, e	Multilin guality, parents don't speak J.
8a.	f	9:4	USA (E)	N	E	E	S (S/E)	Y	E, s	E	E	E/EJ/ EE/EJ	4X: 0-3 yrs S, 2.5 yrs. USA	E, Es	Y	Y, e j	
8b.	“	7:7	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	“	4X: 0-1:1 S. 2.5 yrs. USA	“		Y, e j	

9a.	f	adult	J (J, e)	Y	E/EJ	E/EJ	USA (E)	N*	E/EO	E/EO	E/EO	E/EJ	from ages 17 - 27 in USA	Je. E/EO		Y	When 7, USA father died, 17 -27 resided in USA
9b.	“	13	J/USA (J, E)	“	“	“	J (J, E)	Y	E/EJ	E/EJ	E/EJ	J	2X: 0-3:7 USA, 1 mo. At 11 yrs.	EJ, EJ		N	Returne e, bil. mother: Engl lost 1 vr of return

9c.	m	8	“	“	J/e	J	“	“	J	J	J		1 mo. In USA	J, J	N	“	Biling. mother w/Eng. School, bil. In process
10.,	m	8	J (J, e)	N*	J	J	J (J)	N*	J	J	J	J	1X: ages 5:6 8 yrs. In USA	J, J	Y	Y, e	Returne e: outgoing , driven. K-2 grades in USA

Capital letters indicate language dominance; lower case letters indicate secondary language(s):

J, j = Japan, Japanese

USA = United States of America

E, e = English

NZ = New Zealand

C, c = China, Chinese

H = Holland

D, d = Dutch

G=German

Y = yes; N = no.

f = female; m =male

MiL = minority language; MiC=minority culture

* = not bilingual but having some non-native language ability

X = times, occasions

0 = cessation of language input

e- = less-than-peer level English

j- = less-than-peer level Japanese

Figure 2: Breakdown of Cases by Linguistic Features of Families & Languages Used

	Unique features	Case #'s (no. of cases)	Biling. acquisition Yes/No	Balanced languages (number of)	J. dom.	E. dom.
A.	both parents Japanese	4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 10 (5)	Y = (5) N = (0)	(2)	(3)	
B.	one parent dual (), one parent Japanese	6b, 9b, 9c (3)	Y = (0) N = (3)			
C.	mother from MiC, father Japanese	2, 3, 6a (3)	Y= (3) N = (0)	(3)	(1)	
D.	father from MiC, mother Japanese	1a, 1b, 9a (3)	Y= (1) N = (2)	(1)		
E.	Both parents from MIC	7, 8a, 8b (3)	Y= (3) N = (0)	(3)		

F	Both parents use Mil	4a,. 4b, 8a, 8b (4)	Y = (4) N = (0)	(4)		
G.	returnee, Mil. reinforced immediately	4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 10a (6)	Y= (6) N = (0)	(6)		
H.	returnee, MIL not reinforced immediately	9b (1)	Y= (0) N=(1)			

		MiL totally lost	MiL partially lost	MiL lost and regained	MaL lost and regained
I .	lost former bilingual ability (H) case #'s (no. of cases)	1 a, 8b, 8b, 9b (4)	5a, 5b, 10 (3)	6a, 7, 8b (3)	8b (1)

MiC = Minority Culture; Mil = Minority Language; MaL = Majority Language

Laurel Kamada has been researching language acquisition in Japan since 1982 while working as a Ph.D. candidate at Osaka University. Since January of 1993, she has submitted case studies of bilingual families in Japan to every issue of *Bilingual Japan* of which this monograph includes the first ten. She is presently an associate professor at Hirosaki University where she is working on a larger survey to investigate the relationship of bilinguality of children in Japan to the development of various affective factors.



Laurel with her own bilingual family: husband Kotaro and son Jonah, age 4.

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バイリンガリズム部会とその出版物に関するさらに詳しい情報がお知りになりたい方は、<http://www.bsig.org> を見てください。

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