

## **Recent Japanese Returnees: An Easier Re-Entry?**

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Differences between the recent generation of returnees and Japanese who came back to the country earlier are often noted, but to date, this change in the character of returnees has not been documented, nor have the reasons for such a change been explored. This study tries to fill in this gap by investigating the circumstances and abilities of Japanese children who have recently returned to Japan. Interviews and a questionnaire, as well as English and Japanese vocabulary tests, were used to elicit data from 36 Japanese children (18 boys and 18 girls) who had recently come back to Japan after spending two or more years in North America.

The study suggests that the Japanization of education overseas has affected recent returnees psychologically, making them different from the previous generation of returnees. In an effort to ensure smooth re-entry into the competitive Japanese education system, Japanese children living abroad today are often given Japanese education,

and this deprives them of many opportunities for cross-cultural experiences and interaction with English speakers of their age. Thus, only eight out of the 36 participants in this study reached a level of native proficiency in English.

This emphasis on Japanese education while they are overseas means that for many recent returnees, re-adaptation to Japanese society is not a serious problem. Rather, their main concern is re-entering mainstream Japanese education and preparing for entrance examinations after they go back to Japan. Even after their return, they have to make up for their loss of Japanese schooling, and this takes up so much of their time and energy that only a few of the participants had made efforts to maintain their English. Moreover, only a few schools were found to recognize their bilingual ability and bicultural characteristics.

Thus, the uniformity and closed nature of Japanese society appear to have deprived returning children of their "returnee-ness". There is a danger that the increasing homogenization of returnees will lead to a complete disappearance of the unique characteristics born of an overseas living experience.

### <最近の帰国生徒：日本の社会に溶け込みやすくなっているか？>

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最近海外から帰国してくる子どもたちは以前の帰国生徒と違うという指摘があるが、その違いをもたらした原因については十分な研究があるとは言えない。本研究の目的は次の問いに答えることである。最近の帰国生徒は以前の帰国生徒とどう違うのか。その違いをもたらしているのは何か。また、帰国生徒を取り巻く環境や帰国生徒の言語力は最近はどのようなものなのか。北米に2年間以上滞在し、最近帰国した36人の帰国生徒が本研究に参加した。面接、質問紙、英語と日本語の語彙テストを使ってデータを収集した。

その結果、日本の子どもたちの海外の教育が日本化していることが以前とは違う点であり、このことが最近の帰国生徒に大きな影響を与えていることが判明した。北米では現地校の勉強に加えて、補習校、塾、そして通信講座による勉強で子どもたちは忙しい。海外に生活しているながら日本にいるかのように受験の準備にあけくれている状態である。従って、日本の学校や環境に適応することはもはや帰国生徒にとって問題ではなく、帰国後、いかにして日本の学校への受験に成功するかということが大きな関心事となっている。また、現地での異文化間体験をする機会が減少しているのだろうか。ネイティブ並みの英語力に達していたのは36人中、8人しかいなかった。その上、帰国してからも日本の学校にいなかった空白を埋めるための努力が必要とされ、英語力を保持できない状態にある。一方、帰国生徒を受け入れる学校では、帰国生徒のバイリンガル・バイカルチュラルな面を認知している学校はまだ少ないようだ。

日本社会の画一性や閉鎖性が帰国してくる子どもたちから以前の帰国生徒の特徴であった「帰国生徒らしさ」を奪っているようである。帰国生徒特有の強い個性はいつしか消えてしまう危険性がある。日本の教育をさらに多様化し、日本の社会を言語的にも文化的にも開かれたものにするには帰国生徒の海外経験を豊かなものにすべきであろう。

## INTRODUCTION

### My Story

In 1972 my mother, my sister and I went to live in Ethiopia, joining my father, who had been sent to work there. I had just finished 6th grade of elementary school, and my sister Yuko had just finished 5th grade. We stayed there until 1975. While we were in Ethiopia, Yuko and I went to an American missionary school called Good Shepherd School (GSS). We lived in the GSS dormitory in order to be immersed in English all day long.

At first we were not able to understand what was really going on in class because of our lack of proficiency in English, but gradually our English improved after we started living in the school dormitory. In our third year at GSS, we didn't have any particular problem in understanding classes, though we were

not confident in speaking up in the classroom or in writing perfect English in papers.

During my three-year stay in Ethiopia, I did not study Japanese as a language. There were no Japanese schools or *hoshuko* (supplementary schools for Japanese expatriate students) in Ethiopia. The only Japanese I read was some novels which I brought to Ethiopia. I did not write any Japanese except when I wrote letters to friends and relatives in Japan. During vacation when I was at home, I spoke Japanese with my family and English or Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia, with servants. At school, I had to speak in English, and when I was thinking, I used both English and Japanese. However, I never felt that my Japanese had deteriorated.

When we came back to Japan, I was a first-year high school student. My parents were shocked to learn that there were no public schools in Tokyo that accepted students who had lived abroad. We sought advice at the Japan Overseas Education Services (JOES), an institution supported by the Ministry of Education which gave counseling to returnees and their parents. JOES introduced us to two private girls' schools which accepted "returnees". This was when I first learned that I was labeled a "returnee." One of the schools said that they were ready to accept us, so we took some tests and we gained admittance. Thus, about a month after we returned to Japan, I entered a girls' high school and Yuko entered the girls' junior high school which was attached to it.

I soon noticed that the Japanese my classmates spoke was different from my Japanese. They used lots of slang that I did not know. They looked like adults to me, which made me feel inferior. My classmates told me that my Japanese was too polite. I found that my Japanese vocabulary was limited, so to increase it, I began studying Chinese characters about two hours every night. I was not given any special help in English, Japanese, or any other subject. My school accepted many returnees like me, but they did not provide any special treatment.

Yashiro (1995a) argues that returnee children belong to mainstream Japanese society ethnically, but linguistically and culturally they have a kind of minority status (p. 227). Cummins & Swain (1986) have pointed out that schools often reflect the societal power structure by eradicating minority students' language and identity and then attributing their school failure to their inherent deficiencies.

Even though I did not like my school, I knew I had to be thankful to it, because it had accepted a person like me who had not received a "proper" Japanese education in Japan. I felt "inherent deficiencies" in myself because I did not qualify as a "standard Japanese." At first, I used English and Japanese, but after my first three months back in Japan, Japanese took over. I was so busy trying to catch up with everyone in other subjects that I did not have time to notice that my English was becoming rusty.

The school I attended put strong emphasis on discipline and expected the students to follow school rules strictly. They even prescribed what hair style the students should have. Though the school rules seemed ridiculous to me, I did not want to be scolded for not keeping them, so I behaved well so that nobody could find fault with me.

Because Yuko and I did not have school uniforms, we naturally stood out at school. Everyone knew we were new students from Ethiopia. During our first two months there, Yuko was bullied. She was isolated. Some girls pulled on her hair and she actually lost some of her hair. I was furious, and went to a teacher and he told what had happened to my sister. Yuko's classmates finally stopped bullying her when they found out that she got the best marks on tests.

I personally was never a target of bullying, though I am not sure why. There is a Japanese proverb which says that a nail sticking out is hammered down. Maybe I was a nail sticking out so much that nobody dared to hammer me down.

I quickly learned that the English taught at school was not what I had learned at GSS. There were lots of translation drills and grammar exercises. English teachers never asked us to speak in English nor write our opinions in English. I was quite confident in English class because English was the only subject I could understand without preparation. However, my confidence was shattered when I tried the English questions in university entrance exams. Exam English was different from the English I knew. I began studying English grammar from scratch and relearned English.

Everybody around me was talking about entrance examinations to universities. I came to believe that in Japanese society, you would not be regarded as a decent member of society if you were not a university graduate. Yet I found that my ability in math and science was way behind the other students. Three years of absence from Japanese education put an unbearable burden on my shoulders. I burned the midnight oil every night to make up for the loss. University entrance examinations were a wall that blocked me from looking into my future. I felt that unless I crossed over or broke through this huge wall, I could not be able to see what I really wanted to do in the future.

At the same time, I hated Japan and Japanese people. I even hated my identity as a Japanese. I kept asking myself questions: Why do I have to study like crazy to pass entrance exams? Why do I have to live as a Japanese? I was ambivalent: I wanted very much to be recognized as a full Japanese instead of being seen as a returnee who lacked something Japanese because of a stay abroad, but I did not want to be a member of a society which excluded people who did not fit in. Being different and being yourself were values that I had learned while I was at GSS. Back in Japan, I wanted to be like other Japanese, but I wanted to be different from others, too.

Kanno (in press) reports that some returnees refuse to identify with the society they live in, and this



increases the possibility that they will become isolated. I did not want to identify with Japanese society, but I wanted to be recognized as a member of that society. I wanted to pass the entrance exams to universities so that I could say that my absence from Japan helped me in a positive way. If I did not pass, I would have to say that my stay in Ethiopia and my education at GSS were meaningless, because they denied me the opportunity to be re-admitted to Japanese society.

This ambivalence still exists in me today even though more than 20 years have passed since I came back to Japan. My background as an old returnee prompted me to be interested in other returnees' stories.

## **Conceptual Framework**

### **Changes in the Treatment of Returnees**

Until about 1985, Japanese children who returned to Japan after living abroad were regarded as academically handicapped, and a negative image was attached to the label "*kikoku shijo*", or "returnee". Little attention was given to helping returnees maintain their second language, and re-assimilation into Japanese society was heavily stressed. Returnees had to throw away not only their second language, but also some part of their personality to fit back into the rigid model set by Japanese society. Yashiro (1987) states that "high proficiency in Japanese is a foremost objective, while proficiency in a foreign language is of distinctly minor importance and possession of a 'second language' could be actually detrimental to one's acceptance as a true Japanese" (p. 1). Thus, returnees as well as many kinds of ethnic or cultural minority children were subject to *ijime* (bullying) and *iyagarase* (harassment) by mainstream Japanese children because of their differences (Goodman, 1990a).

There were reports of severe bullying or harassment of returnees (e.g., Osawa, 1986; Kobayashi, 1991). A new term, "*kakure kikoku*," (hidden returnee), was coined to describe returnee children who tried to hide their identity as returnees for fear of being bullied by classmates at Japanese schools. These *kakure kikoku* students intentionally read English with a Japanese accent when asked to read passages aloud in English classes, even though their English pronunciation was similar to a native speaker of English. Intolerance for language other than Japanese and insistence on cultural assimilation deprived returnees of their basic human rights to be accepted for what they are.

From the latter half of the 1980s, however, the image of returnees started to change. The second language ability of returnee students came to be valued as a commercial asset by the business world, and the Ministry of Education started to promote education for international understanding. A number of steps were taken by the Ministry of Education to help returnee children adjust to school life in Japan, such as setting up classes for returnee children at schools. Yashiro (1990) reports that while the opportunities

for enhancement and maintenance of returnees' foreign language are somewhat limited, they do exist. Around this time, universities started to offer returnees special privileges, such as separate quotas for entrance examinations. This move, however, was criticized by teachers and educators as reverse discrimination against non-returnees (Yashiro, 1995a).

Gradually, however, the image of returnees improved. Rather than being regarded as a group of "academically handicapped" children or "strange Japanese", they came to be seen as a group of "new elite." Goodman (1990a) referred to them as "a new class of schoolchildren," and actually argued (1990b) that they were too privileged, because schools that were set up for them enabled direct access to top universities, and the amount of money spent on each returnee was far more than the average spent on other Japanese children.

Yet this change in image had a big impact. Many Japanese educators and some returnees themselves began to realize the hopes the society placed on them to advance the "internationalization" of Japan. By being bilingual and bicultural themselves, returnees were expected to act as a catalyst for making Japanese society open to a linguistically and culturally diverse range of people (Yashiro, 1995b).

#### **Differences in Returnees Themselves**

Takeuchi (1997) reports that those who have been involved in the education of returnees point out that returnees are no longer what they used to be. Returnees in the past had different values and ideas, and they were not afraid to speak out about what they thought was right. It was easy to tell whether a student was a returnee or not. They had an aura around them that showed they were different. However, recent returnees appear so like other non-returnee students that it is difficult to tell the difference between them. Kanno (in press) expresses her surprise at the gap between her image of returnees and what she actually saw at a supplementary school for Japanese expatriate students in Toronto; the Japanese students there were far more "Japanese" than she had anticipated. Cunningham (1988), a psychologist working with Japanese expatriate children in New York, reports that their English acquisition is becoming a slower process every year. It seems recent returnees have higher ability in the Japanese language and other subjects, but they have lower proficiency in foreign languages and fewer cross-cultural experiences than those in the past.

Sakata (1992) argues there are two reasons to explain the differences in the generations of returnees. One is that Japanese families living abroad today tend to live in overseas Japanese communities. The other is that today's Japanese parents tend to place priority on Japanese education rather than on the education their children receive while abroad. Japanese parents who are transferred overseas these days tend to think first about what kind of education awaits their children when they come back to Japan. They want to make sure their children will be able to compete against their peers when

they get back.

Rose and Fujishima (1994) report the results of a small-scale questionnaire and interview study which mainly addressed the issue of providing separate English classes for returnees in a new program for university students. They found that views of both returnees and non-returnees were mixed on the issue of separate classes, with a larger percent opposed to separate classes for returnees. They also found that social and psychological damage is created with separation into proficiency levels. They argue that the results of their interviews suggest that while returnees do have readjustment problems, these problems may not be as serious as believed, and that they are certainly not common to all returnees.

Sato (1997) reports that the image of returnees which was created by the mass media influences the way returnees adapt themselves to Japanese society. The term "*kikoku shijo*", or "returnees", is generally used to refer to children who went to local or international schools in the United States or in Europe, are fluent in English, and have positive and self-assertive attitudes. Some returnees try to identify with this image and call themselves "returnees". However, some returnees do not want to be labeled as such. Those who do not match the image created by the mass media, especially those who went to Japanese schools while they were abroad or who lived in developing countries, do not think of themselves as "returnees". Sato argues that whether returnees try to identify themselves with the media-produced image of returnees or not, they are all influenced by the social image created by the mass media.

## **STUDY**

### **Research Questions**

As explained above, the differences between recent returnees and earlier returnees have been noted; however, the reasons for these differences have not been documented. This study therefore tries to explore answers to the following questions: Are recent returnees really different from the earlier generation of returnees? If so, how are they different from my case as a returnee in the past? What caused these differences? What are the circumstances and abilities of recent returnee children?

While the voices of adults such as mothers and teachers have been heard often in returnee research, the voices of recent returnee children have not been sufficiently heard. This study therefore sought to find the answers to these questions by listening to the returnee children themselves.

### **Approach**

For three reasons, a qualitative approach seemed most appropriate for this study. First, a qualitative

approach fits with my philosophical assumption that inquiry is the "never-ending" and uncertain process of interpreting the interpretation of others (Wilson, 1993). Second, individual differences are more valued in a qualitative approach than in a quantitative approach, and it was felt that descriptions of individual returnees could suggest pedagogical implications for teachers and educators who are involved in the education of returnees. Third, a qualitative approach not only focuses on the participants but also on the contexts they live in. Reality is a complete set of interrelationships which cannot be separated for study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

## **Participants**

In selecting participants for this study, I tried to focus on those who would be most representative of recent returnees. According to a survey by the Japanese Ministry of Education, there were 49,740 Japanese children studying abroad at primary or middle schools as of May 1, 1996. Every year, approximately 10,000 children return from overseas and enter Japanese primary and junior and senior high schools; in 1995, this number reached 12,567.<sup>1</sup> According to the Ministry of Education (1999), although the proportion of returnees coming back from Asia is increasing (31.1%), the largest number of children returning to Japan these days are coming back from North America (36%). The Ministry of Education (1999) also reported that 63% of the children who came back to Japan reside in the Kanto area. I therefore decided to focus my study on participants who had lived in North America and were currently living in the Kanto area. In North America, especially in the U.S., there are two main groups of Japanese children: those who go to Japanese schools in large cities and those who go to local English-speaking schools on weekdays and *hoshuko* (supplementary schools for Japanese expatriate students) every Saturday. To better compare the experience of recent returnees with my own experience, I decided to look at those who went to English-speaking schools on weekdays. Children who went to only Japanese schools in North America were therefore excluded from this study.

I also needed to set a minimum length of overseas experience for my participants. According to Cummins, Swain, Nakajima, Handscombe, Green, and Tran (1984), second language learners can acquire everyday social communicative competence in around two years, but take between five to seven years to reach academic parity with their monolingual peers. Nakajima (1998) argues that it takes about four years for Japanese children to reach academic parity with their monolingual peers. However, Wong Fillmore (1989) points out that for children with motivation and a need to learn a second language, there are differences equivalent to as much as five years between the fastest and slowest learners. Ellis (1994) also argues that there are considerable individual differences in rates of acquisition and styles of development. Nonetheless, Minoura (1984) found that for the majority of Japanese children, English

becomes the dominant language after two to four years of stay, and for children aged under six, English becomes dominant over Japanese within one and a half years. Thus, although individual differences exist, it appears that two years of residence in an English-speaking country is generally sufficient for children to at least acquire everyday social communicative competence in English. It was therefore decided that two years would be the cut-off point for participants in this study.

The age of the participants was also considered an important factor because of previous findings on a possible critical period (Long, 1990, Johnson & Newport, 1991, Singleton & Lengyel, 1995). Children were classified as falling into one of three groups: those between the ages of six and eight, those between nine and 12, and those from 13 to 15 years old. The second group needed to have the largest number of participants because previous studies indicate returnee children between the ages of nine and 12 have greater individual differences in language proficiency.

Another important factor was the participant's incubation period, that is, the amount of time that had elapsed between when the child had come back to Japan and the time of the data collection. Returnee children with a zero incubation period are ideal for assessing the level of L2 knowledge attained. However, since it usually takes several months for children to settle down, and their teachers prefer that returnees adapt themselves to Japanese schools as soon as possible, there was resistance to having returnees participate in this study right after they came back. Thus, to make the study feasible, returnee children with an incubation period of up to eight months were accepted.

To locate children who satisfied these requirements, I contacted three *ukeireko* (schools which accept returnees) in Tokyo, three *ukeireko* in Kanagawa, one *kyoiku zaidan* (a foundation which coordinates overseas and returnee education for Japanese children) in Tokyo and another in Chiba, and one organization for mothers of returnee children in Tokyo, and asked them to introduce me to returnee students who had lived in North America for two or more years and who had recently come back to Japan. In this way, I was introduced to 36 youngsters, 18 boys and 18 girls. Thirty-four had lived in the U.S. and two had lived in Toronto, Canada. Seven of the participants were between six and eight years old, twenty-two were between nine and 12, and seven were 13 - 15.

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviation, maximum, and minimum of age of return to Japan (AOR), length of residence in North America (LOR), and incubation period (INCU) of the 36 participants.

**TABLE 1: Participants' Age of Return, Length of Residence Abroad and Incubation Period**


Mean	Standard	Maximum	Minimum
		Deviation	
Age of Return	123.7 months (10 yrs., 3 mos.)	25.88	179 months (14 yrs., 11 mos.) 75 months (6 yrs., 3 mos.)
Length of Residence in North America	63.3 months (5 yrs., 3 mos.)	26.83	141 months (11 yrs., 9 mos.) 24 months (2 yrs.)
Incubation Period	4.8 months	2.7	8 months 1 month

\* Total number of participants: 36

The participants selected in this way were total strangers to me. Before I met them, the informed consent of their parents was obtained. I also got permission to conduct the survey from the principals and teachers of the participants' schools. I visited 18 families at their homes and met 31 returnees (26 of them were sisters and brothers), 18 mothers and 9 fathers. I also met five returnees and three of their mothers at an institution where they went to learn English. I administered the tests and questionnaires and conducted the interviews at the participants' home or at the educational institution where I met them.

### Procedure

Interviews and questionnaires as well as English and Japanese vocabulary tests were used to elicit data from September, 1997 to May, 1998. Three types of measurements were used in the study: the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III (PPVT-III, Dunn & Dunn, 1997), the Expressive Vocabulary Test (EVT, Williams & Wang, 1997), and the Japanese Vocabulary Test (JVT, Ono & Hayashibe, 1989). The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III, which is designed to measure receptive vocabulary over a wide age range (2-1/2 through 90 years) using a very nonthreatening approach, was used to check receptive L2 lexical knowledge. The Expressive Vocabulary Test, which is conormed with the PPVT-III, was used to examine productive L2 lexical knowledge. The EVT measures expressive vocabulary knowledge with two types of items, labeling and synonyms. It contains 190 items, and the participant proceeds until s/he chooses five consecutive incorrect answers. All the participants were also given the Japanese Vocabulary Test (JVT), with each age group taking a different set. The JVT has 40 multiple-choice items for the first two age groups and 30 multiple-choice items for the oldest group.

The participants and their parents were asked to fill in a questionnaire, written in Japanese, which was developed by the researcher and is reproduced, with an English translation, in the Appendix. The written questionnaire was skipped in the case of younger participants who could not write answers to the

questions. The questionnaire asked how they learned their L2, their age of arrival in the L2 community, length of residence there, the kind of school they went to when they were abroad, the English ability of their parents, what language they used at home, whether they had more Japanese friends or non-Japanese friends at school abroad, what kinds of efforts they have made or would make to maintain their L2, and to what extent they now have contact with other returnee children.

The mothers and the returnees who were old enough to write were first asked to answer the questionnaire at their home or the educational institution where we met. Then, interviews were conducted to confirm what was reported in the questionnaires. Both English and Japanese were used during the interviews with the returnee children. The interviews were all videotaped and recorded on audiocassette. In interviewing the parents, I used Japanese. If there was anything unclear after the interviews, I checked the information by phone. For triangulation of the data, I met five educators who were involved in the counseling of returnees for many years, and one elementary school teacher who had been involved in the education of returnees for 10 years.

## **FINDINGS**

### ***Hoshuko, Juku, and Correspondence Courses***

Analysis of the data revealed that during their stay in North America, the participants of this study were busy preparing themselves for life after returning to Japan. All of the participants went to *hoshuko* (supplementary schools for Japanese expatriate students) in the U.S. every weekend except Mika<sup>2</sup> and Masahiko, who lived in a rural area in North Carolina where there were no *hoshuko* nearby.

There are 81 *hoshuko* scattered across North America (Ministry of Education, 1999). They are partly financially supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education and Japanese companies, and in some cases, the Japanese teachers are sent by the Japanese government, although some are hired in North America. The curriculum of *hoshuko* varies from place to place. Most *hoshuko* teach Japanese and math mainly on Saturdays to help Japanese students keep from falling behind their peers in Japan. Teachers of *hoshuko* generally try to teach what is taught in a week in Japan in one class on Saturdays. Since they usually they can not cover everything, they give a large amount of homework every week. Friday nights are called "blue Friday nights" by Japanese children and parents, because they have to finish the homework given by the *hoshuko*.

In addition to their studies at *hoshuko* on weekends, 10 of the 36 participants went to after-school *juku*, or cram schools, during the week. This was often the case for older students, who went to cram schools to prepare for entrance exams. Nine participants said that they were going to cram schools after

school in Japan: Their ordeal had not ended even after they got back to Japan.

The following stories of three of the participants may be considered a representative sample.

Michi, aged 10 at the time of the interview, lived in America between the ages of four and nine, residing in New York for three years, and then moving to San Jose, California, where she lived for two years. She went to local schools on weekdays and to *hoshuko* every Saturday. In New York, where many Japanese people live, she did not make much progress in English, but as there were no Japanese at the school she attended in San Jose, her English improved greatly. It was hard for her to cope with the homework given by two schools: a local American school and a *hoshuko*.

Chizuo, aged 13 at the time of the interview, lived in New York for three years and three months. He went to a *hoshuko* every weekend during his first year in New York, but he quit after a year and went to a *juku*, or cram school, instead. Chizuo knew he had to face the entrance exams for high school when he went back to Japan, so he decided to go to a *juku* on weekdays rather than go to a *hoshuko* on weekends. He goes to another branch of the same *juku* chain in Japan now. Chizuo's mother said that many Japanese students in New York change from American schools to Japanese schools when they become junior high school students because many are worried about lagging behind their Japanese counterparts in Japan. She said she wanted Chizuo to go to a Japanese school in New York, but it took 90 minutes to get there, so she put him in a *juku* instead.

Mitsuko, aged 12, lived in New York for four years and then in Florida for three years. While she lived in New York, she went to a *hoshuko* every Saturday and to a *juku* on weekdays, but as there was no *hoshuko* or *juku* near her home in Florida, she used a correspondence course to maintain her Japanese. In the correspondence course, a set of drills and tests were sent from Japan every month, and she had to do them and send them back to Japan by the end of each month. Her work was then returned to her after a month or so with corrections and feedback.

I called a cram school in Japan which has branches in big cities in the U.S. and Europe and talked with a person in charge of the "international division" of the cram school on the phone. He said that the *juku* has three schools in New York that were started 10 years ago. Both Chizuo and Mitsuko went to one of the branches of this *juku*. The man I spoke to said proudly that the branches in New York maintain the same quality offered by the branches in Japan.

I also contacted a person at a cram school which has a correspondence service for Japanese children abroad, and found that they have the same correspondence course for Japanese children abroad as the one offered to those in Japan. The number of children who go to cram schools and use correspondence services is increasing. Mr. Yaezawa<sup>2</sup>, a counselor for education of returnees at Kanagawa Education Center, said "Japanese children in the U.S. used to have 'triple ordeals' consisting



of an American school, a *hoshuko*, and a cram school. But now they have 'four ordeals' with correspondence courses."

According to a survey of more than 5,000 Japanese children living in the New York area which was taken by New York Nihonjin Kyoiku Shingikai Kyoiku Bunka Center (1997), the greatest fear the participants have concerning their return to Japan was anxiety about entrance examinations, and 56.7% answered that the system for receiving them back in Japan was not adequate. It is no wonder that they believe that they have to prepare for the day when they return to Japanese schools in Japan.

### **Adaptation to Schools in Japan**

Most of my participants said that they had no particular problems at schools in Japan. Twenty-eight were attending public schools at the time of the interviews, and the other eight were going to private schools. Some were going to schools which accept many returnees, but most said that they do not have returnee friends. Some of them didn't even know if there were returnee students like them at their schools. I talked on the phone with teachers and principals of schools which are designated for returnees by the Ministry of Education (*ukeireko*), and they said that as much as possible, they try not to differentiate between returnees and non-returnee students.

Mr. Yaezawa, a counselor for returnees, also commented that he has not been asked for advice on bullying problems at school by returnee children in the past two years. According to him, recent returnee children know how to behave like other Japanese students and how not to stand out as returnees. Ms. Suzuki, a former teacher of Japanese and currently an educational counselor for returnees at Chiba Overseas Education Center, said that in the past many returnees sought advice as to how to cope with bullying at school, but now there are no returnees who come to her because of bullying problems. She said most returnees come to her to seek advice as to what schools will accept them or what school they are qualified to enter as returnees. Mr. Yaezawa and Ms. Suzuki both seemed to feel that it is disappointing that recent returnee children give priority to mainstreaming into Japanese society rather than valuing what they learned abroad.

In any case, adaptation to Japanese schools seems to be not so difficult for recent returnees, compared to those in the past, because they have ample information about what is going on in Japan through *hoshuko*, *juku*, and correspondence courses. The only problems that were detected in the interviews were a few interpersonal problems, as illustrated in the following accounts.

Seiko, aged seven, and Shunya, aged 11, lived in Los Angeles for three years and then in Ohio for the next three years. Their mother sent them back to Japan for about one month every summer to

experience Japanese schools. However, Seiko said that she is scared of Japan because there are many scary people here compared to Ohio, and that she sometimes cries at school because her friends are sometimes not nice to her.

Kazuko, aged 14, lived in Chicago for five and a half years. Her mother said that Kazuko's junior high school teacher may be envious of her English proficiency and that they are not on good terms.

In a similar vein, I noticed Chizuo spoke English with a Japanese accent when I was testing his English vocabulary, but when I asked him simple questions in English, his pronunciation changed dramatically: his pronunciation became like that of a native speaker. I suppose he uses his Japanese accented English at school, where the emphasis is often on grammar. I was amazed at his flexibility in changing his pronunciation.

Despite these incidents, serious adaptation problems to Japanese schools were not detected in the interviews.

### Language Acquisition and Maintenance

As Table 2 indicates, eight participants were found to have vocabulary knowledge equal to or greater than that of their counterparts in North America, and all were early arrivals, that is, they went to North America before the age of seven. The other 20 participants who were early arrivals did not reach age norms on the two standardized vocabulary tests and thus could not be considered bilingual. None of the eight late arrivals were found to have enough L2 lexical knowledge to be considered bilingual, and all tended to prefer Japanese to English. These findings may partially support the critical age hypothesis, but other variables besides the age of arrival (AOA), such as age of return to Japan and length of residence in North America, also seemed to affect L2 proficiency.

**TABLE 2: Participants' Age on Arrival (AOA) and English Proficiency at Time of Interview**

			Early Arrivals * Late Arrivals

\*\*

No. who reached native-like proficiency

8

0

\* Arrived before seven years old;  $n = 28$

\*\* Arrived after seven years old;  $n = 8$

If the returnees in this study did not all acquire native-like proficiency in English, they also faced difficulties in maintaining their Japanese in North America. Moreover, they now face difficulties in maintaining their English after they have returned to Japan. In general, little linguistic support is given by their schools, so they have to find their own ways to maintain English and learn Japanese.

All of the participants said that they used Japanese at home when they were in North America, but Takeo was the only participant in this study who had the experience of going to a Japanese school in the U.S. Aged 11 at the time of the interview, Takeo had lived in New Jersey for seven years and seven months. His mother said that she was shocked when, at the age of 10, Takeo's Japanese intonation became strange and he started codeswitching to English when he was speaking Japanese. She immediately made him quit the American school he was going to and put him in a Japanese school, which he attended for a year before he came back to Japan. Takeo now goes to both a cram school, where he is studying to pass entrance exams to a junior high school, and to an English class once a week to maintain his English abilities.

Another child whose mother mentioned concern about her Japanese was Tsukako, the 11-year-old younger sister to Kazuko (mentioned above). Tsukako's mother said she was happy to be back in Japan because Tsukako's Japanese had just started to deteriorate. Both Tsukako and Kazuko now go to a cram school after school. Tsukako is going to take entrance exams for a junior high school next year, and Kazuko is going to take entrance exams for a high school around the same time. Kazuko complained that she does not have time to maintain her English and she feels she is losing it. She said she feels irritated because she cannot do anything about it, but she also said that she has to wait until she passes the exams.

Kanae, Chizuo's younger sister, aged 10, said that she has been forgetting more and more English since she came back to Japan. She says she reads books which she brought back from the States and makes up English songs to maintain her English. Her mother said that during her first year in the U.S., Kanae didn't speak a single word of English. Kanae may have experienced a silent period. However, Kanae said that English is easier than Japanese for her now, and the Japanese vocabulary test showed that she has a very limited Japanese vocabulary. I found it a little shocking that she could not even write

her name in Chinese characters, but her mother didn't seem to notice Kanae's problems with Japanese.

In fact, several returnees said that they have problems with Chinese characters. They don't know how to read them or how to combine characters to make words. Like Kanae, their Japanese problems seem to go unnoticed by their parents and by the returnees themselves. Moreover, they were not given any special help in Japanese at their schools.

On the other hand, all participants and mothers expressed their desire to maintain English except Mitsuko, who said she did not care about keeping up her English because her goal was to become a pianist. Special classes or tutoring were offered at private schools to maintain the returnees' English ability, but not at the public schools. Out of the 36 participants, 25 said they go to English conversation schools or have English tutors. Some mothers said that they cannot decide whether they should send their children to English maintenance classes because they believe it is almost impossible to maintain English in Japan if the children are very young.

### **The Mother's Influence**

According to Cunningham (1988) and Osawa (1986), it is almost always mothers and not fathers who control the education of Japanese children abroad. Japanese fathers tend to work as "corporate warriors" outside the home, while mothers are usually in charge of everything at home, including the education of their children. Fathers in general have nothing to do with their children's education, and this makes mothers mainly responsible for their children. It seems, then, that the mothers' values in education reflect how and what their children learn, as we see in the examples below.

The longer Japanese children live in an English-speaking environment, the more difficult it is for them to maintain Japanese. This is especially true for younger children. All the mothers in this study rated their ability in English as below average or poor, and all of them seemed to believe that speaking in Japanese at home in North America would help their children maintain Japanese. However, like the mothers of Kanae and Yoshio, some mothers didn't seem to notice the deterioration in their children's Japanese ability.

One mother, however, played a crucial role in her children's Japanese maintenance. Mika, aged 12, and Masahiko, aged nine, lived in North Carolina for eight years and three months. Since they lived in a rural area, there were neither *hoshuko* nor cram schools. They spoke in Japanese only at home and they had no Japanese friends there. However, to my surprise, the Japanese vocabulary test showed their Japanese ability was equivalent to children their age who have lived in Japan all their life. Mika, especially, seemed to be a balanced bilingual. I asked their mother how they maintained their Japanese. She said she taught the Japanese language and other school subjects in Japanese at home.

Another case did not appear to have gone so well. Ms. Arisato<sup>2</sup> allowed me to interview her daughter Sachi, aged seven, but not her brother Yoshi, aged 11. Ms. Arisato said she didn't want Yoshi to be exposed to English any more. They lived in New York for about 10 years. Sachi was born there and the first school Yoshi experienced was an American private school which emphasized the inner ability of individual children and downplayed the input of knowledge by teachers. Ms. Arisato said that she had made a big mistake in educating her son there, because he mixed Japanese and English, and even though he'd lived almost all his life in the U.S., not only was his Japanese poor, his English was worse. She said that as her son was Japanese, it was most important for him to acquire Japanese and a Japanese identity. Ms. Arisato showed distress and confusion during the interview. There was a possibility that Yoshi might be "semilingual".

I was worried about her and her son, so I went to meet Yoshi's elementary school teacher to find out how he was really doing at a Japanese school which he had started attending about three months earlier. His school was one which was designated to accept returnees by the Ministry of Education. Ms. Tsukahara, who had been involved in the education of returnees, met me. Every elementary school teacher usually has a homeroom, but Ms. Tsukahara was an exception. She worked in a room called the "World Room," where I met her. In this room, she gave special lessons to meet the needs of returnees and gave advice to them and their mothers.

She already knew about Ms. Arisato's problem. Ms. Tsukahara told me that it was Ms. Arisato's decision to send her children to the American school and she must have felt she was responsible for the poor achievement of her son. Ms. Arisato did not think her son would improve in that school, so they came back to Japan. Ms. Tsukahara had talked with Yoshi's homeroom teacher, and they found that Yoshi has a high ability to understand the subject matter. She said at first they were overwhelmed by his mother's distress, but they decided not to hurry in helping Yoshi.

Ms. Tsukahara said that she always tells worried mothers not to show their anxiety to their children, because it has a big influence on them. She said, "I have to educate mothers before they educate returnee children, because mothers tend not to notice the reality of their children." She added that she often had meetings with mothers of returnees so that they could share their feelings. Networks of mothers of returnees, like the one organized by Ms. Tsukahara, are still rare. Ms. Tsukahara said how much a child can grow as a person depends on what kind of life his or her family had abroad. If they believe they had a good life abroad, their children will grow, but if they don't believe so, their children will face difficulties at school in Japan. Like returnee children, mothers also struggle in their lives abroad and at home.

## **Age Differences**

Some differences between the participants in the three age groups were revealed. The youngest group, aged six to eight, expressed difficulties in maintaining English, but no problem in adapting to Japanese schools. The only exception was Makiko, who said in the interview that she felt her English was "shrinking" and that she wanted to go back to her American school. Keiko, aged six, said she wanted to be an "English person," but according to her mother, she started to dislike English just before she came back. Her mother said that she was relieved to be back in Japan and to see Keiko adapt herself quickly to a Japanese school.

Minoura (1984) argues that children start to acquire their cultural identity from age nine and that it is determined by age 15. The oldest group of returnees in my study, aged 13 - 15, seemed mature enough to know how to behave and how to improve their English and Japanese abilities. It was the 22 participants between the ages of nine and 12 who showed the greatest individual differences in language proficiency and the most problems in adaptation, cultural identity, and language maintenance. For example, Shigeo, aged 10, lived in Washington, D. C. for three years and was proficient in both English and Japanese, but Reiji, also aged 10, was born and raised in California but was less proficient than Shigeo in both languages. Michi, Kanae, and Yoshio, all aged 10, all identified with Americans and performed poorly on Japanese vocabulary tests. However, their English ability was not as good as Shigeo's, either.

It seems those who went to live in North America when they were around the age of four and stayed there for about six years had the greatest chance of losing their first language and their cultural identity as a Japanese. On the other hand, Reiji and Masahiko seemed to identify with Japanese culture even though they stayed in the U.S. longer than Michi, Kanae, and Yoshio. This may be because Reiji lived in a Japanese community and Masahiko was influenced by his mother, who taught him all the school subjects in Japanese at home while in the U.S. Thus, the mother's values in education and age of arrival in the foreign country seem to be the keys which determine the cultural identity of returnee children.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study attempted to answer the following questions: Do recent returnees differ from earlier generations of Japanese who came back to Japan after living abroad? If so, how are they different from my case as a returnee in the past? What caused the differences? And what are the circumstances and abilities of recent returnee children?

The fact that returnee children face many problems both while abroad and when they come back to

Japan has not changed since the word "returnee" was introduced into academia in Japan. However, the types of problems faced by returnees have changed. The biggest problem for returnees of the previous generation was how to overcome reverse culture shock and adapt themselves to life in Japan, as shown in my own case. In contrast, this study suggests that for recent returnees, adaptation is generally not a serious problem anymore. The participants in this study appeared to be more flexible and able to adapt to Japanese schools more easily than returnees of the past. The biggest problem for them seemed to be re-entering the mainstream of Japanese education after they got back to Japan.

Yuko and I never thought of Japanese education while we were in Ethiopia. We were content with what we experienced at GSS. Moreover, there was no *juku* that had special courses for returnee children when I came back to Japan. Now, there are many *juku* with special courses for returnee children both in Japan and overseas. In fact, Japanese children today receive Japanese education even though they are not in Japan, and this may deprive them of many cross-cultural experiences and chances to interact with English speakers of their age. Their exposure to foreign culture may therefore have far less influence on them than overseas living experiences had for earlier generations of returnees like myself.

What caused these differences? The competition among students to enter prestigious schools in Japan, known as "examination hell", appears to have been exported to North America, spawning the establishment of *hoshuko*, *juku* and correspondence courses for Japanese students there. The vast majority of the participants in this study attended *hoshuko* on weekends, and more than a quarter also attended *juku* after school during the week. The education of Japanese children in North America reflects their mothers' values. It seems the participants' mothers aspire to mainstream their children into Japanese society by preparing them to pass entrance exams, even though they are outside Japan. To keep up with the Joneses in Japan is their first priority.

The Japanization of education abroad seems to have affected recent returnees psychologically, making them different from previous generations of returnees. These children try to live up to the expectations of their mothers, so during their stay in North America, they think of what they will have to do after they get back to Japan and start preparing while abroad. They have far more exposure to the Japanese language and educational system at cram schools or at *hoshuko* in North America than returnee children did 20 years ago. However, the vast amount of information about Japanese education available to them seems to make returnees and their parents more anxious about their education abroad. There may be a gap between the reality and the difficulties perceived by returnees and their parents, and as Goodman (1990a) argues, they may be arming themselves for a "war" that does not in fact exist.

How does this affect the abilities of recent returnee children? Many of the participants in this study

did make efforts to keep up their Japanese and to acquire English while they were in North America. However, not many returnees in this study had been successful in becoming bilingual. Only eight out of 36 reached the level of native-like proficiency in English. Moreover, after they came back to Japan, they had to make up for their loss of Japanese schooling, and this took up so much of their time and energy that only a few of the participants had made efforts to maintain their English. Most of them said that they just tried to read or listen to English as much as possible whenever they had a chance to. Thus, the participants were not highly motivated to maintain their English.

Also only a few schools appear to recognize returnees' bilingual ability and bicultural characteristics. Usually, returnee children are not given special care. Even some of the mothers in this study did not seem to understand their children's weaknesses and strengths in the languages they use.

Returnees today seem to try to conform themselves to Japanese education because their diverse cultural characteristics are still not fully recognized and understood. The uniformity and closed nature of Japanese society appear to have deprived returnee children of their "returneeeness". There is a danger that this increasing homogenization of returnees will lead to a complete disappearance of the unique characteristics born of an overseas living experience, making the status quo of the Japanese education system even more solid and unchangeable.

It is the responsibility of educators, teachers, and parents to enrich the experiences of returnee children abroad and to recognize their bicultural and bilingual characteristics if they really hope to introduce diversity in education and make Japan open to linguistic and cultural diversity.

## NOTES

1. Summarized in "Efforts Continue for Returnee Students", *Daily Yomiuri*, June 2, 1997, p. 18.
2. The names appearing in this paper are invented to protect the anonymity of the participants.

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## APPENDIX

*The questions on the questionnaire used in this study are shown below, followed by an English*

translation in parentheses.

## アンケート調査 (Questionnaire)

- 1 あなたのお名前 (Name): 性別 (Sex): 男 (Male) 女 (Female)
  
- 2 生年月日 (Birthdate): 年 月 日 (満 歳)  
学校名 (Name of School): 学年 (Year in School):
  
- 3 今までの滞在経験について (Overseas Living Experience)  
滞在国 (国名・都市名)(Country, City) 滞在期間 (Length of Residence)
  - 1 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age) から (to) 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age)
  - 2 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age) から (to) 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age)
  - 3 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age) から (to) 年(Year) 月 (Month)( 歳)(Age)
  
- 4 日本に帰国して何ヶ月または何日たちましたか。(How many months or days since your return to Japan?)  
ヶ月 (Months)( 日)(Days)
  
- 5 外国で通っていた学校について (Schools Attended)  
あなたの学校は現地校 (現地)、日本人校 (日本)、それともインターナショナルスクール(インタ)、その他のどれですか。○をつけてください。その学校に通学したのは何年何ヶ月間ですか。(Write in the name of each school you attended while overseas and then mark whether it was a local school, a Japanese school or an international school, and fill in the blanks for the amount of time you attended that school.)  
学校名 (School Name) 1 現地、日本、インタ、その他 年 ヶ月  
2 現地、日本、インタ、その他 年 ヶ月  
3 現地、日本、インタ、その他 年 ヶ月
  
- 6 あなたの学校には日本人の生徒は多かったですか。(Were there many Japanese students at the school you attended?) 全体の何パーセントが日本人でしたか。(What was the percentage of Japanese students?)  
学校 (School)1 % 学校 (School)2 % 学校 (School)3 %
  
- 7 外国の学校での友達はどんな友達を中心でしたか。  
(Who were most of your friends at your school overseas?)  
日本人 (Japanese) %  
英語を母語とする人達 (Native speakers of English) % その他 (Others) %
  
- 8 あなたの学校にはESL (第二言語としての英語)のプログラムはありましたか。(Was there an ESL program at your school?)  
学校 (School)1 はい (Yes) いいえ (No)  
学校 (School)2 はい (Yes) いいえ (No)

学校 (School)3 はい (Yes) いいえ (No)

9 「はい」と答えた方へその学校でのESLについてあてはまるものに○をつけてください。

(If you answered "yes" to question 8, circle the appropriate response below.)

ESLを受けていたが修了しなかった。(I took the ESL program but did not complete it.)

ESLを受け、修了したので、普通の英語クラスに入った。(I completed the ESL program and entered a mainstream class.)

10 外国でのあなたの英語力について以下の事柄について、

(Rate your proficiency in English while you were living abroad...)

1完璧である (Perfect)

2だいたいできる (Basically all right)

3もう少し努力が必要 (Needed to work on it) 4自身がない (No confidence in it)

の4段階で教えてください。

(...by picking one of the 4 levels above for each of the activities listed below.)

1.日常会話 (Daily conversation)

2.友達との遊びの会話 (Playing with friends)

3.学校の授業を理解する (Understanding school classes)

4.教科書の内容を理解する (Understanding textbooks)

5.授業中に発言する (Speaking in class)

6.レポート、作文を書く (Writing reports and compositions)

7.手紙を書く (Writing letters)

8.教科書以外の本を読む(小説・新聞等)(Reading English other than textbooks [novels, newspapers])

英語検定やTOEFLを受けたことがある方はその級やスコアをお書きください。

(If you have taken the STEP test or TOEFL, write down the level STEP test you passed or your TOEFL score.)

英検 級 TOEFL点 その他

11 あなたの英語力をさらに伸ばすためには、あなたの英語のどの部分をのばしたいですか。伸ばしたい順に番号をつけてください。

(Rank the following language skills in terms of your desire to strengthen them.)

読むこと (Reading) 聞くこと (Listening comprehension) 話すこと (Speaking)

書くこと (Writing) 文法 (Grammar) 語彙力 (Vocabulary)

12 現在のあなたの言語使用について 次のような場合、どちらの言語を用いますか。

(Which language would you use these days to talk to the following people or in the following situations?)

1.ほとんど日本語 2.日本語のほうが多い 3.同じくらい

(Almost All Japanese)

(More Japanese)

(Half Japanese, Half English)

- 4.英語のほうが多い (More English)      5.ほとんど英語 の5段階でお答えください。  
(Almost All English)

- |                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1.父親と話す時 (Father)                 | 2.母親と話す時 (Mother)           |
| 3.兄弟姉妹と話す時 (Brothers and sisters) | 4.親しい友達と話す時 (Close friends) |
| 5.帰国生と話す時 (Other returnees)       | 6.学校の友達と話す時 (Schoolmates)   |
| 7.けんかをする時 (When arguing)          | 8.驚いた時 (When surprised)     |

13 英語と日本語ではどちらが楽ですか。(楽に使えますか)

(Which is easier for you to use, English or Japanese?)

日本語 (Japanese) 英語 (English) 両方とも楽 (Both are easy)

両方とも楽でない (Neither is easy)

14 英語と日本語ではどちらが好きですか。(Which do you like better, English or Japanese?)

日本語 (Japanese) 英語 (English) 両方とも好き (I like both.)

両方とも好きでない (I don't like either.)

上の質問で○をつけた理由を書いてください。(Why did you chose the answer you did?)

15 あなたの日常生活についてうかがいます。次の事柄に関して、

(For each of the activities listed below, write the number corresponding to how often you normally do it.)

1.よくする (Often)    2.ときどきする (Sometimes)

3.あまりしない (Not very often)    4.しないの (Never)    4段階でお答えください。

- |                                 |                                                                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 日本語のテレビやビデオを見る               | (Watch Japanese TV or videos)                                         |
| 2. 日本語で書かれた本を読む                 | (Read books written in Japanese)                                      |
| 3. 日本語で書かれた漫画を読む                | (Read comic books written in Japanese)                                |
| 4. 日本語の歌を聴く(歌う)                 | (Listen to [Sing] Japanese songs)                                     |
| 5. 英語のテレビやビデオを見る                | (Watch TV programs or videos in English)                              |
| 6. 英語で書かれた本を読む                  | (Read books written in English)                                       |
| 7. 英語で書かれた漫画を読む                 | (Read comic books written in English)                                 |
| 8. 英語の歌を聴く(歌う)                  | (Listen to [Sing] English songs)                                      |
| 9. 日本人の友達と遊ぶ                    | (Play with Japanese friends)                                          |
| 10.日本人の友達の家へ行く                  | (Go to Japanese friends' homes)                                       |
| 11.日本人以外の友達と遊ぶ                  | (Play with non-Japanese friends)                                      |
| 12.外国にいる友達に英語で手紙を書く             | (Write letters in English to friends overseas)                        |
| 13.地域の活動に参加する<br>(ボランティア、スポーツ等) | (Take part in community activities)<br>(Volunteer activities, sports) |

16 保持教室について今現在、通っていますか。あてはまるものに○をつけてください。  
(Are you currently attending English maintenance classes?)  
通っている (Yes) 通う予定 (I'm planning to) 通っていない (No)

17 英語を伸ばすために努力していることは何ですか。具体的に書いてください。  
(What are you doing to improve your English skills? Be concrete.)

18 日本語を伸ばすために努力していることは何ですか。具体的に書いてください。  
(What are you doing to improve your Japanese skills? Be concrete.)

ご協力ありがとうございました。(Thank you for your cooperation.)

## **Language Transfer Between English and Japanese: A Case Study of a Simultaneous English /Japanese Bilingual**

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As part of a longitudinal case study of the language development of an English/Japanese bilingual child, this paper examines the subject's language use between the age of 7;2 and 8;3, just after he moved from an English-speaking community to a Japanese one. To investigate the effects of language environment change on language transfer, the data from this period is compared with data from an earlier study when the subject was between 6;2 and 6;10 and living in an English-speaking community. The focus is on syntactic development, especially sentence subject omission and responses to negative questions, using data collected through regular audio recordings of spontaneous speech, story-telling, and elicited speech. Instances of language transfer were analyzed with data from follow-up testing. Comparisons were also made with data from monolingual subjects, both English- and Japanese-speaking.

A two-way transfer effect was observed. The subject made both interference errors and developmental errors; however, not to a crucial degree. Moreover, the subject's language confusion or delay seemed to be of short duration. During the current study period, the language transfer experienced by the subject decreased as a whole except in one area. In some cases, the subject acquired correct language systems or rules even though the quantity of English input decreased and some language attrition was recognized in his English utterances. The rapid acquisition of the subject's ability to answer negative questions correctly in both languages during the same time period suggested that he may have acquired the differences in his two languages rather than learning the rules of each language separately. These findings suggest that although the process of bilingual acquisition may involve some influence between the two languages, the duration of such negative language transfer is not necessarily long.