

## BOOK REVIEWS

***Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern.* Edited by Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki. Cambridge University Press, 1996. 296pp.**

This collection of papers brings together the powerful tools of historiography, archaeological evidence, linguistics and postmodern critical theory to demolish the modern nationalistic ideology of a monocultural Japan that has been projected back into the past. It was commissioned in connection with a 1993 academic conference on Japanese identity at ANU in Canberra. The book is therefore best understood as a conference proceedings. That takes away the expectation of systematic or exhaustive treatment of themes along with the suitability of the collection as a textbook. Readers are expected to have a basic understanding of Japanese time periods, but otherwise specialist jargon is used sparingly.

These proceedings would not serve well as an introduction to Japanese culture, for the overall findings of these authors can be rather devastating. They expose the tendentious attempts of Japanese archaeologists to read a distinctive Japaneseness into the nation's roots, as when they make unfounded assertions that the Jomon period people were identical to the Japanese today. For this collection shows that when the Yayoi people walked in from the Asian mainland with rice cultivating and metalworking technologies, it is most likely that the New Stone Age Jomon people did most of the assimilating. Then again with the Kofun Period there was apparently a large migration from the Korean peninsula, so each new prehistoric era represented a cultural or ethnic change in a multicultural archipelago. Among the resultant ironies, the authors believe that the decultured Ainu and the marginalized Okinawans are closest to the original inhabitants of this archipelago. When there was finally a Japan to speak of, it was apparently united in response to mainland trends, and the authors believe that Imperial tombs are closed to investigation to hide the Korean origins of the Imperial family. These papers thus expose the official self-image of Japan as riddled with historical ironies.

The book is divided into five parts: Part 1 "Archaeology and Identity" (Chapters 1-4), Part 2 "Centre and Periphery" (Chapters 5-7), Part 3 "Contact with the Outside" (Chapters 8-11), Part 4 "The Japanese Family" (Chapters 12-13), and Part 5 "Culture and Ideology" (Chapters 14-16).

Gavan McCormack provides the "Introduction" as well as the last paper, "Kokusaika: Impediments in Japan's Deep Structure," neither of which offers much realistic hope for change. The soft post-war treatment of the Imperial institution combined with assimilationist policies ignoring minority aspirations have allowed deep-rooted assumptions about Japaneseness to survive intact. A recent worldwide trend to identity politics in Japan's case has moreover led to ambivalence on whether to open or to close the country, with internationalization so far losing out to renewed insularity.

In Part 1, Chapter 1 ("The Japanese as an Asia-Pacific Population," by Katayama Kazumichi) provides the most essential data about the land bridges from the continent and the people who crossed them, beginning with homo erectus from China 500,000 years ago. He traces the Jomon people to southern China and the taller Yayoi people to northern China or northeast Asia. East Asians

and Malaysians are very close in body form and genetic makeup, whereas Jomon/Ainu and Taiwanese aborigines resemble some Polynesian and Micronesian groups. Since Pacific islanders are closer to Japanese genetically than are Native Americans, Katayama argues they also probably originated in the vicinity of southern China.

Chapter 2, "North Kyushu Creole: A language-contact model for the origins of Japanese," by John Maher, is the only paper in the volume focusing on (socio-)linguistics. Maher accounts for the conglomerated quality of the Japanese language by concluding that it was originally a lingua franca or pidgin between Austronesian-based (Malayo-Polynesian) Jomon languages and the dialects of the powerful Yayoi immigrants. Creolization or pidginization, a form of speech accommodation, explains the fact that Japanese resembles Austronesian languages in some ways and Altaic ones in other ways.

In Chapters 3 and 4, respectively, Simon Kaner and Clare Fawcett cover the first eras of nation-building from Yamato to Asuka, now subject to much nostalgia and used politically to cement a national identity. But the authors point out the co-existence of diverse ethnic groups and regional cultures throughout those periods and beyond.

In Part 2, Chapter 5, Tessa Morris-Suzuki shows how the Chinese way of thinking of one's own nation as the center was taken on in Japan, so peripheral areas including Ainu lands and the Ryukyus were considered foreign until the modern era, when the Western-introduced idea of civilization (文明) allowed the periphery to be reinterpreted not as foreign spatially but merely as backward temporally. In Chapter 6, Richard Pearson examines the role of Okinawa since humans arrived there over 30,000 years ago, while in Chapter 7, Hanazaki Kohei outlines the history of the downtrodden Ainu up to their recent revival from the brink of cultural genocide.

In Part 3 on foreign contacts, Derek Massarella provides some regional perspective in Chapter 8, not so much as he purports on 18th-19th Century East Asian identity formation itself, as to rectify Eurocentric perceptions and historical terminology thereof. Chapter 9 by Ishii Yoneo provides a very brief account of premodern contacts between Japan and Siam. In Chapter 10, Goto Ken'ichi focuses on Japan's colonial attitudes, particularly its designs on Indonesia's resources, while in Chapter 11, Utsumi Aiko details the wartime internment policies for civilians as well as enemy soldiers, noting that the Japanese public knows less about this than about Auschwitz.

Part 4 begins with Chapter 12 by Ueno Chizuko, who shows that the patrilineal extended family system (*ie*, 家) was a tradition invented by the Meiji government. Ueno also finds Japanese femininity a modern construct, with romanticism trapping women into internalizing the patriarchal social norm. In Chapter 13, Nishikawa Yuko traces the concepts of household, house and home from Meiji to the present. The patrilineal (*ie*, 家) system was Constitutionally abolished after the War, with the household (*katei*, 家庭) supposedly moving to the center. But to this reviewer the primacy of the eldest son still has the force of custom.

Part 5 provides a powerful conclusion. In Chapter 14, Amino Yoshihiko finds that the Emperor system and rice have been lent exaggerated importance since the Yamato era by an official Confucian



agricultural fundamentalism insisting on rice as a currency for taxation. In Chapter 15, Nishikawa Nagao criticizes the commandeering of culture as a national culture, in Japan's case embodied in an extensive genre of Japanese culture discourse (*nihonjinron*, 日本人論). Amid static, nationalistic notions of pure origins, a view of culture as interactive and transformative remains unorthodox. Yet in a global age one has to change oneself in order to understand and accept a foreign culture. On such a note of biculturalism, let this review conclude.

*Reviewed by Steve McCarty, Kagawa Junior College*

***Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective.* By Elizabeth Lanza. Oxford University Press, 1997. 397 pp.**

Insights from vast research over the past ten years have challenged the conventional wisdom that children can not contextually codeswitch before the age of three. This new book by Elizabeth Lanza explains how language mixing is influenced by social factors such as language mixing by the parents, hence invalidating the claim that mixing languages is a sign of language confusion.

*Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism* is an extension of the author's Ph.D. thesis. The first part gives an extensive history of research on language mixing. Lanza provides a separate analysis of each major study of infant language mixing and also makes some comparisons between these and the results of other studies where it is possible. However, as she points out, it is often difficult to compare results of many of these studies because of their different design, environment, and other uncontrollable factors.

In addition, Lanza discusses issues of metalinguistic awareness. The main issue she addresses is whether a bilingual's language, as a whole, can best be described within the framework of a strictly innate system where the two languages function separately, or in a developmental system where the second language develops only after the first language has developed. Relating this question to language mixing in infant bilingualism, she notes that rather than asking if language mixing supports the one-system or two-system hypothesis, it might be better to ask what factors promote language mixing.

Then Lanza moves on to her own study, which asks just that question as it describes the process of language socialization for two young bilingual children in families that use different communication strategies. The families have Norwegian fathers and American mothers, but Siri's family claimed to use the one-person, one-language strategy in addressing their daughter, while Tomas's mother engaged in codeswitching with her son, using Norwegian with him if he did not respond to something she said in English. The social setting is in Norway.

Once Lanza lays the groundwork for her study, she gives a detailed account of some formal aspects of language mixing in the two children. The first aspect she examines is the differences in the children's use of lexical and grammatical morphemes with the individual parents. She finds that

there is not only a relationship between the number of lexical and grammatical morphemes and the parent the child addressed, but a relationship between the type of activity the parent and child are involved in. The two activities she finds a difference in are free conversation and book play. Furthermore, the degree of dominance in one language, a key factor for language mixing according to Lanza, is based on the relationship between lexical morphemes and grammatical morphemes as well as the main language used with each parent. For example, when Siri used English lexical morphemes, she combined them with Norwegian and English grammatical morphemes. However, when she spoke using Norwegian lexical morphemes, she only combined them with Norwegian grammatical morphemes. Lanza maintains that Siri's mixing of English lexical morphemes with Norwegian grammatical morphemes is due to the child's dominance in Norwegian and thus can not provide evidence that language mixing of infants is different from adults.

Once the formal aspects of language mixing are described, Lanza then analyzes the discourse strategies of the parents. She maintains that the degree of bilingual context provided by the parents will determine the degree of language mixing. Many parents claim the one-parent, one-language communication strategy encourages the child to use only one language with them. However, Lanza's study analyzes the degree of enhancement of one language or language mixing on a quantitative scale to determine the actual amount of monolingual or bilingual context provided by the parents. Her study shows that even Siri's parents, who claim to be using this language strategy, provide a certain degree of bilingual context. However, she finds that the father in this family provides more of a bilingual context than the mother. Furthermore, she finds that Siri mixed more with her father than her mother. This suggests that mixing is a result of the degree of bilingual context in language input. Hence, mixing can not be invoked as evidence for a single underlying system.

This book provides us with an insightful view of bilingual language development of infants from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is an excellent reference for researchers of code mixing in infants; especially those interested in phonetic and prosodic detail. However, the section on formal aspects could seem drawn out for a non-linguist. But, if a non-linguist skims over the formal linguistic section and doesn't try to analyze all the conversations, s/he will find that the chapters on form and function provide quite intriguing evidence regarding lexical and grammatical mixing. The discussion of parental discourse strategies seems to be the most applicable section for parents who wish to learn about strategies they can use with their children. Lanza's analysis of the parents' discourse strategies and the children's language mixing implies that if parents want their children to mix languages with them, they should use strategies that enhance a bilingual context. However, if parents want their children to strictly separate their languages, they should use strategies that enhance a monolingual context.

*Reviewed by Peter Wanner, Kyoto Institute of Technology*



***Educating Andy: The Experiences of a Foreign Family in the Japanese Elementary School System.*** By Anne Conduit and Andy Conduit. Kodansha International, 1996. 232 pp.  
***Japanese Lessons: A Year in a Japanese School through the Eyes of an American Anthropologist and Her Children.*** By Gail R. Benjamin. New York University Press, 1997. 253 pp.

The Western fascination with Japanese schools extends far beyond those of us with children who attend them. Since the early 1980s, elementary schools in particular have played host to a series of professional observers from the West eager to analyse their otherness and write up their findings for audiences, both professional and popular, back home.

Anne Conduit and Gail Benjamin, the authors of these two books, take the observation of Japanese elementary schools one step further. Not only are they professional observers, Conduit and intercultural communication adviser and Benjamin an anthropologist, but they are also mothers of children who have actually attended such schools: Andy Conduit for two years in 5th and 6th grade and the Benjamin children, Ellen and Sam, for one year in first and fifth grade, respectively.

Both writers recount their experiences with the school, compare them implicitly and explicitly with schools back home (Australia for Conduit, the U.S. for Benjamin), attempt to construct a theory of Japanese schooling and offer advice for improving schools. Conduit's advice focuses on Japanese schools and Benjamin's on U.S. schools.

They give clear descriptions of what it is like to be the mother of a child at a Japanese school, especially a foreign mother who does not quite understand all that is expected of her. Benjamin's admissions of mistakes and frustration are particularly appealing in their honesty and certainly ring true with this foreign father. Conduit also explains her dealings with other mothers, an important element in the role she is playing, and one surprisingly missing from Benjamin's book.

They also offer analyses of documents brought home from school. Conduit actually reproduces in translation a number of timetables, menus and official forms. Benjamin's comparison of her children's textbooks with ones used in the U.S. is particularly enlightening.

The writers, however, take very different approaches to solving the central problem with this kind of "insider" research: namely, that the view that parents have of the inside of their children's schools is very limited. It is the children who are inside the system, not the parents.

Conduit solves the problem by including extensive quotations from Andy's journal and transcripts of interview-like conversations she held with him about school events. His comments are always lively and often hilarious: his explanation that the lesson called "Ethics" is in fact the time for catching up on bits of other lessons missed when the teacher got mad is a classic. Indeed, I found myself wishing that Conduit had included more such comments from her son and fewer transcriptions and detailed explanations of messages brought home from school.

Benjamin's solution is to borrow heavily from existing studies of life in elementary and pre-school classrooms available in English (notably Lewis, 1995; Peak, 1991; Stevenson and Stigler, 1992 and Tobin, Wu and Davidson, 1989, all of which I can recommend to those with an interest in this topic). She uses books and papers from other authors not only as a source of telling anecdotes but also

(one assumes) to construct her explanations of the assumptions and values inherent in classroom practices. Her theory of Japanese education is detailed, profound and, mostly, convincing, and certainly could not have been constructed from the few peeps inside the classroom she is allowed on "parents' observation days."

The gap between the quality of her understanding and the empirical data she offers to support it is quite startling. What she appears to have done is to combine into one book the telling experiences she had as a mother of children in a Japanese school and a thoughtful reading and synthesis of existing literature on Japanese elementary and pre-school practice. There is nothing inherently wrong with doing this, but it may have been fairer from the outset for her to explain that this is what she was doing.

Conduit writes as a mother with an interest in how school is done in Japan. Although at times she may give us more detail than we want, she and Andy paint as full a picture as possible of what they experienced. Her excursions into theory-building and advice-giving are less convincing.

Benjamin claims to be something more: Her sub-title announces her as an anthropologist. Yet there is none of the rigour we would expect from a work of anthropology: no careful explanation of methodology, no detailed accounts of what brought her to her conclusions and, most surprisingly, no self-analysis (or even self-presentation) of the anthropologist. We learn quite by chance that she has studied Chinese, but she declares none of the other personal and professional baggage she brings with her to the study.

If you want to know what it's like to be mother to a school-child here in Japan, with occasional insights into the child's world, too, read *Educating Andy*. If you want a thoughtful exposition of the principles of elementary education here, read *Japanese Lessons*, but by all means, do so critically.

#### References

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*Reviewed by Stephen M. Ryan, Osaka Institute of Technology*



『バイリンガルはどのようにして言語を習得するのか』山本 雅代著。1996。明石書店。

本書は主としてこれまでの「バイリンガリズム学」の主な研究成果を概観しながら、国際結婚をし子どもをバイリンガルに育てた著者自身の経験と研究から得た貴重な数々の知見を紹介している。現在の時点でのバイリンガリズム研究課題も同時に明らかになっており、この分野に興味を持つ者や研究者にとっては学ぶべきことが多い。

まず第一章では「バイリンガルと母語」が論じられている。この章で著者は、バイリンガルにとって母語は可変的で、言語環境の変化に伴い変わり得る、という考えを強調している。複数の言語を話す個人の母語を判定するには、「起源、能力、機能（使用頻度）、態度（内的同一、外的同一）」の四つの基準がよく使用されるが、Skutnabb-Kangas (1981)は、彼女自身の場合、それぞれの基準で違った言語が母語と判定され得るし、また、二語以上の言語が母語と考えられる場合も出てくると述べている。この例は、「母語は唯一不変」というモノリンガルの発想ではなく「母語は複合体」と捉える見方の必要性を示している。起源母語のみが母語であると捉えてしまうと、その母語が適切に把握されることが妨げられて、その母語を媒介として測定される他の知能、認知能力や学力などに不当な評価が下される可能性がある。また移民や先住民の場合、日本のアイヌ語を例に挙げて、この起源母語が「言語交替」によって喪失されてしまう傾向があることを歴史的に検証している。

第二章では「国際結婚とバイリンガル」の関係を論じているが、第三節の三、「親と子どもの間の言語使用形態」は、『日本のバイリンガリズム』（ジョン・マーハ、八代京子編著、研究社出版、1991）で著者が執筆した第五章「ファミリーバイリンガリズム」がもとになっている。本書のこの章ではさらに日本語・英語の国際結婚家庭に絞り、著者自身の調査結果をもとに親同士や兄弟姉妹間の言語使用を分析し、また外国の研究成果も参照して子どものバイリンガル能力との関連を考察している。

日本においては、英語の社会的評価が高いことが英語習得により影響を及ぼし、子どもを日英語のバイリンガルに積極的に育てる親も多い。調査では両親間で英語を使用している場合が多いが、子どもとの言語使用については、日本人の親は半数以上が、英語を母語とする親は7割近くが自分の母語を使っている。Billings (1991) は家庭内で両親が共に少数言語を使用している家庭では子どもが100%能動バイリンガルになり、親が一人一言語使用（各親は自分の母語を使用）の場合はその割合が53%なので、それぞれの言語使用形態と子どもの能動バイリンガル能力の発達に正の関係があるとしている。しかし、著者は一人一言語使用の場合は53%でほぼ半数にしかすぎないので正の関係があるとは結論できないと主張している。これに関連して、一人一言語使用からはむしろ受動バイリンガリズムが生じるというRomaine (1989)の考えを紹介している。著者の1985年の調査では、英語を母語とする親と子の英語使用、また子ども同士の間での英語使用、および学校の教授言語が英語であるという三要因が能動バイリンガル能力を促進することを示唆する結果が出たが、少数言語を母語とする親がその母語で子どもと話すことは、バイリンガル能力を発達させる上での必要条件の一つではあっても、十分条件とは認められないと結論づけている。

第三章、「バイリンガルの二つの言語」は、同時バイリンガルの初期言語体系として現われる一語文出現段階からの二言語混合を説明するのに、統合言語仮説と即時分化仮説を紹介している。前者は同時バイリンガルの言語習得過程には、二つの言語が分離独立した体系ではなく一つの体系と捉えられる時期があり、この時期に混合が起きるとするもので、後者は認知能力的には二つの言語は識別されているが、言語能力の限界のため混合するというものである。

また、獲得されるバイリンガルの言語能力の二つの側面として、Cummins (1979)の基本対人伝達能力 (BICS)と認知・学習言語能力 (CALP)を紹介している。この区別については多少の批判があるものの、BICSの方が先行して発達し、CALPは後になって発達するので、表面的には流暢になっていてもCALPの発達以前に子どもの言語能力全体を判断することは避けるべきであるとする。

第四章の「バイリンガルの言語習得と言語貯蔵」では、語の意味の貯蔵に焦点を合わせて、バイリンガルの言語知識の貯蔵形態を説明する三つの代表的な仮説を紹介している。二つの言語の意味情報が一括して蓄えられる単槽説 (共通貯蔵仮説)、別に蓄えられると考える双槽説 (分離独立貯蔵説)、そしてその折衷説 (重複分布記憶貯蔵仮説)である。同時バイリンガルの初期の言語体系を考えた場合、著者の二人の子どもの4才頃までの著者自身による音声録音との日記による記録をもとに、初期には二言語の体系が未分化の統合言語期があって共通貯蔵槽を持つと論じ、二言語が認知されてそれぞれ独立して言語体系が構築される段階になると恐らく重複分布記憶貯蔵仮説のような折衷的な仮説が考えられるだろうとしている。

第五章、「バイリンガルと知能」では、知能検査によってバイリンガリズムは知的混乱を招くという結論を出したSaer(1923)やYoshioka(1929)などの研究例を紹介し、一連の研究の問題点、例えば被験者集団間の社会経済的地位や二言語の能力差などの変数が統制されていないことなどを指摘している。そして1962年のPeal & Lambertの研究で初めてバイリンガルの知能が優れていると検証されてからはバイリンガリズムの肯定の時代が続いているとする。しかしこれらの研究でも被験者が結果として均衡バイリンガルのみに限定されていたり、動機、親の態度、学校や文化などの他の変数統制が不十分であるという点を指摘している。

最終の第六章「バイリンガルと脳」ではこれまでの失語症の研究と脳の言語処理をみる実験研究の成果を総括している。まずLenneberg (1967,1977)は、失語症からの言語回復の研究から、2~3才までは完全な言語習得ができ、4~14才では大部分が完全回復するが、思春期以降に左半球に何らかの損傷があった場合、何らかの言語障害が残ることから、思春期に入る頃までには脳の機能がそれぞれの半球に一側化されて言語機能は左半球に依存するという結論を出した。しかし一側化の完了時期に関しては意見が分かれ、しかも右半球は言語理解機能がある (Zaidel 1973, 杉下 1990)とする研究もある。またバイリンガルの場合にはモノリンガルよりも右半球の言語処理の関わりが大きいことを示すデータもある。健常者を被験者にしたタキストスコープやダイコティック・リスニングの実験でも、バイリンガルではモノリンガルより言語処理に右半球の関わりが大きいことを示す結果が得られている。しかしながら均衡バイリンガルと一方の言語が優勢なバイリンガルでは言語ごとに優位脳が異なり、また年齢によっても優位脳が異なるというように、一貫した結果が得られているわけではないので、他の言語特有効果や認知方略効果、能力効果等の仮説に見られる要因が介在していると考えられる。このようにバイリンガルの両脳の働きに関して現時点では明確に解明されていない。

結論としての章がないのが残念であるが、本全体から得られるこれまでのバイリンガリズムに関する数多くの研究成果の紹介は非常に興味深い。日本語でのこの種の概論が少ないことから、この分野に興味を持つ者にとっては必読書となろう。

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