# Bilingualism in German-Born Immigrant Children in New Zealand



## A Case Study

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## Abstract

This study investigates the bilingualism of four German-background children in New Zealand. The aim of the research was to gain more in-depth information about the processes involved in a language contact situation to complement findings already made at the macro level with a focus on groups. A case study approach enabled the collection of rich qualitative data from a variety of sources which were examined from a sociolinguistic as well as a psychosocial perspective in order to address the questions of language choice and distribution, language attitudes and language and identity. The subjects' successful L1 maintenance after one to eight years in the host country did not correspond with the trend of rapid language shift found among many immigrant children. This was explained as a consequence of the availability of domains of language use where language choice was revealed to be predominantly participant orientated. Family members in particular were shown to have a strong influence on the choice of German as a code of shared intimacy that also extended into settings outside the home. While the children displayed social interaction patterns that indicated successful integration into the dominant culture they also maintained social networks with German speakers across domains which increased their exposure to L1 and ensured its continued use. This complementary distribution of German and English appeared to be supported by both the children's and parents' positive attitudes towards being bilingual and to the L1 itself. As a consequence, the children's situation was characterised by dual group membership and L1 maintenance instead of assimilation and total language shift to L2.

## Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisors Dr Charles Randriamasimanana and Dr Noel Watts for their continuing support, encouragement and patience which helped make this research an extremely satisfying experience. The children and their families who have been referred to through pseudonyms in this study deserve a special thank you as without their contribution it would not have been possible. Their willingness to contribute and their company during the period of data collection provided not only a pool of rich data but also a source of great fun and pleasure for which I am indebted to them. I also thank the members of the Department of Linguistics and Second Language Teaching for their ongoing interest in my work and their inspiration during many invaluable research seminars. Lastly, a special thank you goes to my husband for his support and untiring confidence in me.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that a quarter to half of the world`s population is bilingual. This is the consequence of languages in contact, a situation that manifests itself in a variety of forms and contexts and with different outcomes. These have been captured in a number of descriptions that focus on different aspects of bilingualism or multilingualism such as cognitive function (Ervin and Osgood 1954) or psychosocial mechanisms (Lambert 1977). The assessment of bilingual proficiency has to take into account the varying levels of fluency of bilingual speakers, the definition of which has ranged from a "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield 1933: 56) to emerging second language skills (Macnamara 1969).

The transitional nature of bilingualism is characteristic of migrant contexts where children in particular may have "native-like control" of the official language in all four skills but only oral skills in their L1. Such dominance of one code is also reflected in a speaker's language distribution across domains of language use where areas such as the home have traditionally been reserved for the use of L1 whereas in work or education L2 tends to feature as the dominant code. Compared with the abilities of monolingual speakers of the respective codes bilinguals have often been regarded as having only one 'complete' language. However, of late researchers have developed a more holistic view:

> The presence of two languages and their interaction in the bilingual produces a different but complete language system which responds to the individual's needs to communicate using one or other language or, in some settings, a mixture of both languages. (Liddicoat 1991: 2)

From the notion of language contact and bilingualism the concepts of language maintenance and language shift have arisen which refer to the retention or change of language use patterns by speakers or speech communities. Maintaining or giving up one's native language is a process that affects individuals as well as whole speech communities and can happen within one lifetime or across several generations. The language maintenance/language shift notion has provided an overall framework from which to examine questions of language dominance, language ecology and language distribution as well as the issue of language and identity.

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

The topic under investigation in the present study is one that is close to the author's own immigrant background as a bilingual in New Zealand with German as first and English as second language, who has developed an interest in and curiosity about a variety of processes experienced by herself and observed in other bilingual speakers. This closeness to individual bilingualism and its related processes created a need for understanding more about the factors and mechanisms involved which has led to the current examination of four individual cases of bilingual German-background children in New Zealand.

New Zealand is a bilingual nation that acknowledges Te Reo Maori as an official language besides English and special legislation as well as programmes have been introduced for the former's survival. Yet, in contrast to this, 95% of the population speak English as the first language and for 90% it is the only spoken language "making New Zealand one of the most monolingual nations in the world" (Department of Statistics 1992: 29)

While the country's multicultural awareness is still developing, the various immigrant groups that have settled in it are for the most part left to their own devices or initiative when it comes to the nurturing of their home languages. Although the government recognizes the importance of, for example, foreign language learning, especially when it comes to the languages of major trading partners such as Japan, support for community languages is virtually left to initiatives at the private or community level.

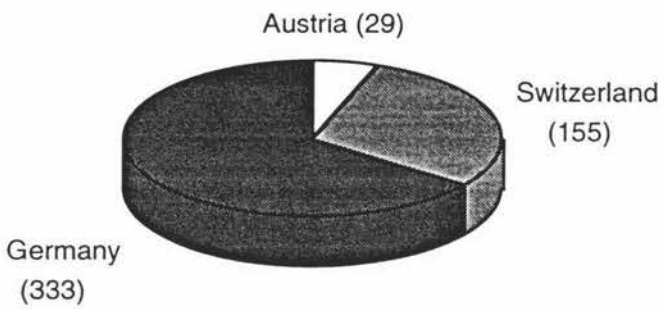
### 1.2 German-speaking immigrants to New Zealand

Immigration to New Zealand by people from German-speaking countries dates from 1843 when the first German settlers arrived on the 'St Pauli' and settled in the Upper Moutere area of the northern South Island. This was followed by significant immigration which was due to the changeable political borders of the 19th century when the German confederation (1815 to 1866) was succeeded by the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867 to 1914) and the German Empire (1871 to 1914).

Austrians, Swiss, German-speaking Bohemians and even bilingual immigrants from the Polish parts of Prussia merged quickly and readily into a society of predominantly British culture close to their own (Bade 1993). This large-scale immigration eventually made German-speaking settlers the second largest immigrant group after the British and led to the development of predominantly German enclaves in rural areas such as Puhoi (Auckland), Marton and Halcombe (Rangitikei), St. Paulidorf, Neudorf or Ranzau (Nelson), Hanover Valley (Canterbury), Jackson's Bay and Smoothwater Valley (Westland) and Germantown (Southland).

The first half of this century, however, was characterised by a loss of status of German settlers during and after both World Wars and the stigma of being German did not weaken until the 1950s and 1960s (Beaglehole: 1990). In recent years immigration from German-speaking countries has been low. In 1993, for example, immigration figures are as follows (Vista 1994):

**Table one: Migration from German-speaking Countries in 1993**




Out of a total of 6,977 approved migrants from Europe the 517 German-speaking arrivals thus account for only 7.4% of that group and a mere 1.8% of the total number of 28,447 immigrants in 1993, despite a 20% increase of German migrants between 1986 and 1991 (Department of Statistics 1992). As a consequence, German-speaking migrants do not form a high profile group among ethnic minorities and have lost the potential to form enclaves or German-speaking neighbourhood domains due to their small numbers.

The status of the German language today is reflected in the fact that German figures among the three most important languages used in exporting industries and tourism (Watts 1992). In the education domain German was the third most popular foreign language at secondary schools in 1990 and enrolments have

remained relatively stable over the past 20 years, despite a significant increase in the number of students studying Japanese (Waite 1992).

In general, German people appear to have enjoyed a high status as immigrants in New Zealand society in recent years. This can perhaps be partly ascribed to their generally good qualifications and their highly regarded work ethic. However, the fast absorption of German-speaking peoples into a culture not so dissimilar from their own has perhaps been of no small importance in creating a favourable view of this group of immigrants who, unlike some of their Asian counterparts, have never been seen as a threat to New Zealand's cultural and ethnic cohesion in post-war times.

### 1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study examines four individual cases of German bilinguals who acquired English as their L2 in an immigrant setting. Whereas macrolevel studies in this area have tended to look at language distribution trends that occur in speech communities this study's emphasis is on the processes of bilingualism at the microlevel. As little or no research has been carried out with a focus on the processes attached to the bilingual situation of German immigrants to New Zealand it is the purpose of this study to provide an in-depth investigation into the language contact situation of the selected subjects which larger, survey-orientated research cannot provide. The aim of the study is therefore to identify and describe the role of variables which ultimately influence language maintenance and shift and to analyse the underlying processes at sociolinguistic as well as psychosocial levels.

To carry out the case study research qualitative data was obtained from different sources and a variety of instruments to further the understanding of bilingualism and the variables and mechanisms attached to language contact situations of individuals, particularly children. Although the findings of this study will perhaps not be generalizable to larger populations their potential relevance to other individual or group situations may be examined in future research.

# 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The following section provides an overview of language contact studies relevant to the current investigation. The first part of this review outlines a variety of approaches to the language maintenance/language shift paradigm which have been generated by different disciplines and have identified language ecology factors influencing the success of L1 survival. The second and third parts of the review focus on research carried out in a variety of migrant communities in an Australian and a New Zealand context respectively, in order to set out the conceptual framework in which this study is situated.

## 2.1 Relevant Factors in Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Since its beginnings, the field of inquiry concerning the investigation of languages in contact has been studied from a variety of perspectives. While early studies were primarily concerned with the linguistic aspects of language contact (Schuchard 1890) the work of researchers such as Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) recognized that language contact situations also involved psychological and sociological forces. The study of the relation between languages and their environment, first termed language ecology by Haugen (1972), further consolidated the view of the dynamics of multilingualism as a phenomenon of multiple causality.

The concepts of language maintenance and language shift arose from a sociological approach to studying multilingualism and language variability and are closely associated with Fishman (1965, 1972) who investigated language choice dynamics, ie. who speaks what language to whom.

According to Fishman's approach the latter is influenced by domains, i.e.contextualized spheres, and the total interactional context of communication. Fishman maintained that language maintenance is more likely if there are clearly separated domains of use for each language. This view has, however, been challenged by those who adopt a more dynamic domain concept which can also explain language choice from the perspective of the individual rather than that of a whole community, allowing for overlapping between domains and choice between two languages within the same domain (Holmes 1992, Quinn 1995, see also 3.1.2.2). The traditional definition of domain in terms of place and setting has also been modified by giving attention to other influential factors in code selection, such as topic of discourse, interlocutors, style, interaction type or medium (Gal 1979, Holmes 1992).

One of the early studies carried out in the field was aimed at assessing German language maintenance in the United States (Kloss 1966). Kloss distinguished a variety of language ecology factors that either clearly promoted first language retention or were ambivalent in that they, in combination with other factors, could either lead to the maintenance of or shift away from the first language. As clearcut factors he cited an early point of migration, membership of a denomination with parochial schools, pre-emigration experience with language maintenance as well as Sprachinseln, which he defined as linguistic enclaves where four fifths of the population use a minority language (Kloss 1966: 207).

Studies that introduced a psychosocial perspective were carried out by Labov (1963, 1972). Although his research did not always involve multilingualism he distinguished speech as an act of identity and established an interdependence of attitudinal factors and linguistic variables. Labov's work laid the basis for subsequent research, carried out, for example, by Giles and Smith (1979) who

argued that code choice is not explainable by situational factors alone and analysed the psychological climate underlying language contact situations individuals find themselves in. Giles's Speech Accommodation Theory thus interprets language choice in terms of interpersonal relations, the interlocutors' identity and their desire to reduce linguistic differences through convergence in order to gain social approval. This theory also accounts for a speaker's need to distance himself or herself linguistically through divergence.

A psychosocial approach was also adopted in Gal's (1979) study of language choice patterns among German and Hungarian bilinguals in an Austrian village which showed a relationship between language and speaker identity as well as the importance of social networks as code choice determinants. Whereas the sociological domain approach had mainly focussed on the outcome of language contact and the identification of stable or unstable bilingualism, Gal emphasised the need for an analysis of the social and linguistic processes underlying language contact situations.

The relationship between linguistic choice and the social network structure of speakers was further explored and highlighted by Milroy (1980). She employed network analysis in her Belfast study to allow for speakers' socialising habits to be taken into account in order to gain an insight into the processes of variability in linguistic behaviour at the individual rather than group level. Milroy was able to show the central role of network structures in assisting individuals in their need for maintaining key social relationships which, in turn, are reflected in linguistic patterns. Thus, a speaker's linguistic behaviour can be explained in terms of structural network patterns rather than internalised norms or personal characteristics. The density and quality of social relationships according to Milroy serves as an indicator of a person's level of social integration:

> The concepts of density, multiplexity and clustering can be used to measure an individual's degree of integration into the local community networks. (Milroy 1980: 52)

Although Milroy's work was carried out in a monolingual context social network membership can be regarded as a universal factor of human life whose influence may be as strong if not stronger for bilingual immigrants who need to accommodate their loyalties to two speech communities and cultures.

The work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) has provided a framework which emphasises the use of language as an act of identity in social interaction. Language maintenance or shift is primarily seen as a result of emerging or changing identities, a notion which is particularly appropriate for the situation of immigrants who are faced by a new social context. Their theory thus stresses the role of a process in which linguistic behaviour helps to define ourselves and others and eventually to establish and maintain group membership and solidarity.

That bilingual children do not necessarily experience a limitation to the development of their social contacts was observed by Titone (1986) who found that his subjects did not significantly differ from monolinguals in terms of socialisation, self-perception and group participation. But when it came to popularity their being 'different' through having two languages in fact appeared to earn them a mark of prestige from their peer group.

The paradigm of code switching represents a field of inquiry into a prominent feature of bilingual speech and was stimulated by Blom and Gumperz's (1972)

investigation into code switching between Norwegian dialects. Since then researchers such as Poplack (1981) who employed a mainly linguistic orientation have shown an interest in the grammatical structure and constraints of code switching while the sociolinguistic approach to the phenomenon focusses on the social and communicative functions of switching behaviour (Gumperz 1982, Romaine 1989). There has been in the literature a move away from the notion that code switching is a sign of linguistic instability preceding language loss or death. More recently code switching has come to be regarded as a communicative strategy which requires both linguistic and pragmatic competence (McClure 1981, Grosjean 1982) and this, according to Appel and Muysken (1987: 117) "is not an isolated phenomenon, but a central part of bilingual discourse".

## 2.2 The Australian Context

The typical pattern of shift among immigrants observed by Grosjean (1982), involving total language shift to the majority language by the third generation via second generation bilingualism has also been documented in Australian data (Clyne 1967, 1985a, Pauwels 1986). Employing domain analysis for his extensive work based on 1976, 1983 and 1986 census data, Clyne (1982, 1991) identified immigrant language use patterns for the first and second generations that showed better language retention rates among Southern Europeans compared with a higher level of shift to English among groups of Northern European origin. German Australians were shown to have a medium-to-high language shift rate according to 1986 survey data (40.8% in the first generation compared with 73.1% in the second generation) not far behind the Dutch

Australians, who have consistently ranked as the group with the highest rate of language shift (Clyne 1991: 62-3, 82-3).

On a smaller scale Kalantzis et al (1986) found similarly low language maintenance levels among German schoolchildren who were interviewed in Wollongong in New South Wales. Only 32% identified themselves as good German speakers as opposed to 86% of Macedonian children who reported that they had a good command of their first language.

The symbolic function of language, a dimension largely neglected by larger survey style studies, has been explained by Smolicz (1981, 1992) in terms of what he defines as cultural core values or the fundamental components of a group's culture. The extent to which language is regarded as a core value differs between ethnic groups also in Clyne's analysis of census data (1982), which found cultural core values to have a high influence on language maintenance/shift.

In the search for factors that are likely to promote either language maintenance or language shift the ambivalence of certain language ecology factors mentioned earlier has been largely confirmed in Australian research. In addition, other factors have been found to have an influence on the rate of language maintenance and language shift of the CLOTES (Community Languages Other Than English) of immigrant groups in Australia. Clyne (1982, 1992) cites a list of social variables determining language maintenance or language shift in the Australian context, including factors such as:

1. Rate of intermarriage

   The importance of this factor has been confirmed by Pauwels (1985) who found that a higher tendency for language shift occurred in exogamous situations, in particular in the case of anglo-ethnic marriages.

2. Cultural core values

   Clyne (1982) notes that core values are difficult to ascertain for the German-speaking group due to its heterogeneity and fragmentation. The result is that the German language does not have the core value function of group demarcation and identification as it has for other groups, such as the Greeks, and that therefore a single value system for the whole community cannnot be expected.

3. Degree of cultural similarity

   This factor has been found to promote language maintenance where groups' cultural values are dissimilar to the majority culture.

4. Relative population distribution

   The influence of this factor is based on the concentration and adjacency of immigrant groups which increase the potential for exposure, for example within neighbourhood domains.

Other influencing factors which can have a mediating effect according to Clyne are age, sex, multicultural history and the language policy of the state (1982).

Factors believed to have a bearing on children's language maintenance in particular are the presence of grandparents (see also Imberger 1986 below), trips

to the parents' homeland, the availability of the L1 as a school subject, regular and consistent use of the L1 by the parents and the presence of older (overseas-born) siblings (Clyne 1967, 1982). All of these are likely to multiply the number of available domains where the minority language can be used, an element which appears to be critical in a migrant context where the L2 characteristically dominates the majority of the domains. Although the factors distinguished by Clyne were analysed in terms of their impact on groups they can also be expected to have an influence on the individual bilingual, both on the micro and macro levels.

Other researchers have distinguished language maintenance and language shift factors, adding to those of Clyne or overlapping with them. For example Taft and Cahill (1989) examined sixty-two 10 to 11-year old Lebanese children who emigrated before the age of 10. They cite the following factors:

1. Availability of and necessity for L1 use
2. Formal L1 instruction
3. Social pressures
4. Attitude to the L1 and associated ethnicity
5. Linguistic aptitude
6. Parents' degree of literacy

In one of the few case studies of home language use Harres (1988) examined the role of some of the factors cited by Clyne in six German immigrant families . Her findings confirm the importance of the presence of children who act as language shift catalysts within families. The strong tendency of school-aged children to respond in English to their parents' addressing them in German had already been reported by Clyne (1967, 1970) and is explained by Harres as a

consequence of the children's higher exposure to non-family values at school and the experience of stronger peer pressure from their school mates. Neither an early point of migration nor official support for the L1 were found to be factors facilitating the retention of German.

Harres attributes this to the absence of linguistic enclaves in the area, resulting in the non-availability of a neighbourhood domain, as well as the limited nature of official support systems such as a one-hour-per-week radio broadcast in German, Saturday School instruction and activities organised by the German-Australian Club. In all six families the retention of the home language featured as an important core value which was reflected in their positive attitude to language maintenance. The retention of German was, however, found to be in competition with the general desire for integration into the host society. The latter was reported to be achieved faster by those families who had prior knowledge of the L2, facilitating their assimilation. In the case of one family, however, German was retained successfully due to strong emotional ties with it.

The importance of institutional support for language maintenance was also shown in a case study of 21 children from a German-speaking background taking part in German language programmes in two primary schools in Victoria (Imberger 1986). The programmes were shown to act as catalysts for either acquisition or retention of German, depending on the degree to which the language was being maintained in the home, which was strongly enhanced by the presence of grandparents. This also emphasises the importance of the existence of domains where the L1 can stand its ground. Although the maintenance of German was met with mainly positive attitudes by the parents it was not confirmed to be a cultural core value for the group, reflecting the ambivalent nature of this variable.

Another questionnaire study that had the speech behaviour of German migrants as its subject was Pütz's (1991) investigation of language ecology factors contributing to language maintenance or language shift among 59 German Australians in Canberra. Despite a relatively high number of German speakers in the ACT, settlement patterns are sporadic, without the existence of neighbourhood enclaves. The result is an absence of the kind of social network and domain structure that can assist with the formation of very "dense and frequent communication patterns" (Pütz 1991: 485) similar to that found in other ethnic groups with high numerical strength. Given that domains such as work, school and, increasingly, church[1] are dominated by English it is not surprising that Pütz found language maintenance largely dependent on efforts within the family domain combined with social activities in friendship networks and social clubs.

These efforts and activities were, however, mostly limited to the first generation and clear signs of shift to English were found in the language choice patterns of the second generation, although over 40% of the parents claimed to encourage and correct their children's German (which was not confirmed by actual parental behaviour during personal interview sessions). While more than 20% of the parents reported that their children attended the A.C.T. German Language School 31.4% of the informants described their children as complete English monolinguals. Furthermore, 83% of the children were reported to reply in English to their parents' conversing in German (see Harres 1988 above). Pütz concludes that maintaining the German language is more likely to happen for reasons of individual desire rather than the perceived need of family cohesion

[1] Clyne (1985) noted an increasing use of English in the Reformed Lutheran Church which is aimed at making its religious message accessible to the wider community.

and cultural identity, especially in view of the German Australians' positive identification with Australian values and way of life.

Waas (1993) carried out a three-stage study of the Australian German community in the Greater Sydney area to establish the degree and form of manifestation of first language loss among post-war immigrants who had been in Australia for an average time of 16 years. The results of the intermediate stage (N=16) of her study show a clear preference for the L2 during the completion of the interview/questionnaire as well as signs of L1 attrition. Waas reports that none of the subjects were able to complete the interviews without the use of English which resulted in a high degree of lexical and syntactical mixing. Crosslinguistic influence was, for example, reflected in German words being constructed according to L2 rules and in phonetic anglicisations of first names.

A study undertaken by Bennett (1992) was aimed at filling a gap left by larger surveys which, due to their special focus on the frequency of language use, tended to neglect aspects such as attitudes towards language maintenance. Interviews with 100 Dutch Australians showed that despite the increasing shift to English, especially in the second generation, the symbolic rather than the communicative value of the Dutch language was rated highly. However, a contradiction was also found between the obvious value of the L1 as an important part of the group's heritage and the speakers' willingness to participate in activities promoting language maintenance. The potential discrepancy between reported attitudes and actual behavioural patterns thus has to be borne in mind when assessing the degree of language maintenance and language shift, a requirement which underlines the limitations of self-reported data and the importance of a multimethod approach.

A recent study carried out by Döpke (1992) following the tradition of researching the bilingual development of young children from mixed marriage families (Ronjat 1913, Leopold 1939-1949) was aimed at analysing the discrepancy between the popular belief that children acquire two languages simultaneously as a matter of course simply by being exposed to them and the real-life problems parents tend to encounter in attempting to establish bilingualism within their families. In her investigation of six German-English speaking families who adopted the 'one parent-one language' principle Döpke used a multimethod approach involving an auditory comprehension test with recordings of family activities twice in a six months' period, complemented by information drawn from observation and parent interviews to establish potential progress or regression in language proficiency.

Döpke was able to show that the children's success in acquiring an active command of German, indicated by their 'original and intentional' use of the L1 and mean length of utterance, was linked to the quality rather than quantity of verbal input and interaction they had received in the L1. The provision of child-centred activities, seen to be conducive to language acquisition, was claimed to be achieved better through more play-related contact engaged in with the fathers rather than the more child care orientated activities with the mothers. With increasing age the children's L2 development tends to proceed faster than that of their L1 which can threaten successful L1 acquisition in that it leads to a pattern where "the minority language is used less and less and the developmental gap between the two languages widens" (Döpke 1992: 19), promoting a status of linguistic and functional dominance of the L2. Döpke is, however, optimistic that when children are raised according to the 'one parent-one language' principle persistent exposure to quality input in child-centred

interaction is likely to help the children succeed in becoming at least receptive bilinguals, an outcome that has also been confirmed by other studies (Saunders 1982, Fantini 1985). Although Döpke's work, unlike the current study, focusses on a mixed-marriage language environment its results are considered relevant to this investigation in terms of their possible applicability in an endogamous context as well. Micro-environmental variables such as quality of language input and interaction could have an even higher impact in a non-mixed marriage context, given the potential of the combined forces of mother and father in providing 'double exposure' to the L1. Problems such as resistance to using the L1, lack of contact with other minority language speakers or lack of consistency in language choice are common to both situations.

Research into language maintenance and language shift among Australian Aborigines has led McConvell (1991: 151) to argue for an integrated model of language choice in bilingualism to emphasise that "the survival of the old language depends on the number and importance of functional choices the bilingual situation can maintain". According to this model language maintenance and language shift are linked with the retention or loss of the basic communication, social or cultural functions of a language. Although it is not quite clear how this model integrates the role of domains it could be assumed that any choice of code takes place within a structured setting that also involves participants and topics (see also 3.1.2.2 and 4.2.1).

## 2.3 THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT

In New Zealand the last decade has seen the emergence of research into the maintenance of community languages. A number of studies which investigate language maintenance and language shift in different ethnic communities have

identified patterns of language shift similar to those that have been observed elsewhere (Holmes et al 1993). Some communities have been more successful than others in maintaining their first language. The following outline reviews research undertaken to analyse the language contact situation of these groups and describes the factors found to be associated with it.

**Asian communities**

A high intergenerational shift from Cantonese to English in the New Zealand Chinese community was, for example, shown by Roberts (1990) who used a questionnaire survey administered in personal interviews with second generation Chinese parents (n=50), including questions about their children under the age of six (n=70). 51% of the parents spoke English with their children at home who reportedly showed lower skills in Cantonese. Just over 7% reported that they used Cantonese exclusively with their children while the remainder communicated in both languages. Apart from this decrease in L1 use reflecting the typical pattern of the majority language gaining dominance in the home domain, Roberts identified the parents' own skill levels as a factor adversely influencing the children's Cantonese skills. Social gatherings generated the highest use of the L1 followed by, to a lesser extent, the church. However, the emergence of active language maintenance efforts such as Chinese pre-schools or Chinese sports and cultural centres are signs of resistance to language shift coming from the whole community and which are being supported by a growing number of younger individuals.

Daly (1990) surveyed 13 Sinhala speaking families of the Sri Lankan community which showed rapid language shift between two generations. Although she found language maintenance promoting factors such as recent immigration, presence of an older relative and the use of Sinhala in the home she concludes

that the group's ethnolinguistic vitality is not dependent on first language retention. This might be a consequence of the high status of English in Sri Lanka as well as the existence of a Sri Lankan variety of English used as a lingua franca among community members in New Zealand which acts as an identity marker.

A survey of 106 Indo-Fijians was carried out by Shameem in Wellington (1994). She suggests that the clear tendency of English becoming the dominant language for most of the teenaged children among this group is attributable to the low status and non-standardisation of Fijian Hindi coupled with strong pressure for good English skills as a prerequisite for economic success. It could also be assumed that recent Fijian history has had a role in hastening the process of language shift by officially diminishing the status of Fijian Indians.

**Pacific Island communities**

Two of the most recent immigrant groups to New Zealand have been shown to be relatively successful with their language maintenance efforts to date. Fairbairn-Dunlop (1984) explored the use of Samoan by 40 Samoan families in Wellington and found a strong retention of the L1 extending to the second generation. 78% of the children in the sample were reported by their parents to be fluent speakers of Samoan. According to Fairbairn-Dunlop the retention of Samoan was facilitated in particular by the all pervasive nature of Samoan culture, faaSamoa, which encompassed other supporting factors such as close extended family and community networks and the Samoan church, both of which provided status and additional opportunities to use the L1 across a variety of domains.

The importance of a close attachment to the church (favouring the L1), positive attitudes to the home language as well as a lifestyle where community members live in close proximity to each other has also been shown by 'Aipolo's study of 100 Wellington Tongans (1989). The results of her questionnaire indicated a high rate of language maintenance in all four skills, across domains and for a variety of functions. An interesting finding was that the use of Tongan was highly influenced by the addressee. Other Tongans preferred to be addressed in Tongan, irrespective of topic or the presence of non-Tongan monolinguals which was even found to be the case in normally English-dominated domains such as work situations or shopping. The Tongans' lifestyle as well as the fact that many of them are employed in low skill jobs increase their chances to shop or work in a context with a high Tongan presence thus decreasing the host society's dominance in those domains.

Another language maintenance factor which differentiates this group from most others is the relatively easy access to the group's homeland and on-going chain migration which provides both the community and individuals with a constant influx of native speakers and acts as an incentive to communicate with relatives back home. In spite of this generally positive picture 'Aipolo regards incidents of code switching among younger Samoans (observed informally) as a sign of shift caused by the gradual infiltration by English.

**European background communities**

A high language shift rate has been reported for the Yugoslav community. According to Stoffel (1982) the reasons for an almost complete shift away from Serbo-Croatian by the second generation are to be found in social pressures to integrate as well as the desire of members of migrant communities to develop a good command of English for economic success. In addition there is a declining

number of native speakers of Serbo-Croatian due to a lack of continuing immigration, a demographic factor which has impacted on the availability and vitality of domains of language use.

More recently, Jakich (1987) has confirmed these results, reporting total language shift by the third or fourth generation with only a remainder of passive skills among second generation Yugoslavs. The lack of any formal language maintenance efforts, in spite of the existence of a Yugoslav Club in Auckland and a Yugoslav Society in Wellington, the presence of different dialects (post-1940s Dalmatian versus more recent Serbo-Croatian), urban drift and a declining number of recent immigrant arrivals have made it difficult for the language to be retained. Jakich also argues that the absorption into the majority culture has speeded up the process of language shift, particularly as there are other forms of cultural expression such as food, song and dance which enable the Yugoslavs to maintain their own identity without the language.

Surus (1985) examined the Polish community of Auckland where she found a strong sense of language nationalism among first generation immigrants acting as a promoting force for language maintenance. Limited contact with the host community mainly on the transactional level is complemented by opportunities for social and recreational activities provided by the Polish community centre and the church which offers mass in the Polish language. The group's strong orientation towards religion, politics and family has assisted in the retention of those three major domains supporting social cohesion and identity preservation. In contrast, the second generation of Polish New Zealanders is characterised by strong assimilation and almost complete language shift. Surus observed, however, a general shift to a higher use of English as the dominant language across domains, both in formal and informal situations, which was

seen to have led to a high degree of lexical transference. For example, the need to fill knowledge gaps or to express new content has resulted in the integration of New Zealand English items which are adjusted to the Polish structural and usage system, often by suffixation to meet inflectional rules.

Verivaki (1990) interviewed 91 members of the Wellington Greek community to investigate their language proficiency in Greek and English, their language choice in three domains with a variety of addressees, the use of Greek for different functions as well as the subjects' attitudes to Greek. Although she found an overall decrease in Greek proficiency with each succeeding generation, positive attitudes to the Greek language and its continued use were found to remain relatively constant after the first generation. While the first generation Greeks regard their first language as a crucial cultural core value but mostly refrain from using it in public, second generation Greek New Zealanders are not reluctant to use Greek to distinguish themselves from the English dominated host community, which reflects a difference in the definition of 'Greekness' among generations. Verivaki's results indicate that high proficiency in Greek correlates with positive attitudes and the degree of language use.

The Greek Orthodox Church was found to provide the setting where Greek is spoken most, next to the home where Greek was reported to be spoken less to children than to older family members. Attachment to the church in addition to the use of Greek in the home, participation in Greek-related activities and attendance at the New Zealand Greek school represent significant supporting factors and an extension of domains offering exposure to Greek language and culture. The existence of a support network such as this is made possible through the characteristic settlement pattern of the Greek community in

Wellington with a high concentration of Greeks in some suburbs living in closely-knit Sprachinseln.

The Dutch community in New Zealand represents another group experiencing rapid language shift. Van Shie (1987) describes the second generation as having only passive knowledge of the L1, ie. mainly listening skills. Similar to what had been found for the Yugoslav group, the Dutch regard fluency in English and quick integration into the host society as desirable, an attitude which can be expected to motivate parents to speak English rather than Dutch in the home. Interestingly, however, a reversal of language shift among the older generation Dutch has been observed, for example in the setting up of a Dutch retirement village in Auckland. A similar trend had been found in Australia by Clyne (1982). A postal survey of the Dutch community in Wellington (Roberts, in progress) confirms these earlier findings, although 70% of the New Zealand born respondents express their wish for Dutch to be a living language in New Zealand. It remains to be seen, however, whether this positive attitude will in fact be supported by action.

Folmer (1992) takes a more process orientated approach in her case study of language shift and language loss among members of a Dutch family across three generations. The shift to English was found to be the highest for the second generation male subject and his youngest sister (married to a New Zealander) and the two third generation children, aged 5.5 and 3.4 years respectively. The report on language use in the family reported by the second generation also indicated a characteristic pattern showing that with the beginning of school attendance English became the dominant language used by the children, in spite of the initial upbringing in Dutch.

In addition to the influence of the peer group and school pressure, Folmer found that the type of domain or activity was also an influential factor. The more formal and official domains such as education or work generated a higher shift to English compared with the family or friendship domains where generation and ability to speak Dutch influenced language choice. Dutch was used more in activities associated with private life such as dreaming, expressing emotions or praying while those acquired in a predominantly New Zealand context such as spelling or mental arithmetic attracted the use of English. Information on language loss was gained by an analysis of the subjects' written Dutch (letter corpora) as well as language proficiency tests which showed a trend in the form of simplification of articles, transference of prepositions and word order problems. Although Folmer limited her analysis to written Dutch her work provides a useful indication of the processes taking place during prolonged language contact situations and underlines that further research into this multifaceted area is warranted.

The German language in New Zealand has so far been the subject of only one study. Stoffel's (1984) survey of 30 first generation German-speaking immigrants analysed the use and function of the subjects' form of address. The survey results show a preferred use of the more informal 'du', combined with first names, even with strangers and non-intimate acquaintances depending on the age of the addressees. When talking to strangers 46% of the subjects reported using 'du' to younger people, 21% chose 'du' for members of the same or similar age group whereas only 3% spoke informally to interlocutors older than the subjects. The acceptance of 'du' in contexts that demand the more formal and polite form 'Sie' in the subjects' country of origin indicates that 'du' is gaining acceptability in contexts where the primary function of the pronoun is to express group membership and solidarity, rather than intimacy.

Apart from this extension of semantic connotation, Stoffel's data also showed a higher tolerance towards a perceived incorrect use of either 'Sie' or 'du', where the use of 'Sie' in response to someone who has already chosen the informal form of address earned the most negative rating (80%). The New Zealand German speakers' trend towards a form of address more like that of the L2 results in the decreasing use of 'Sie' and demonstrates convergence to the New Zealand context. Stoffel explains this process of change with cross-linguistic influence from the dominant L2 and with its single second person pronoun and more liberal and relaxed norms of address such as the use of first names.

The survey data furthermore provided information on the level of first language maintenance. In general, the use of German was reported to be limited to the domains of home and family, hence the appropriateness of informal 'du' due to a reduced need for formality. While 67% of the parents spoke German to their partners and 31% to their children on a regular basis only 25% of the children responded in German. The increase in dominance of English was further confirmed by the fact that siblings used English exclusively amongst themselves, reflecting growing social and linguistic assimilation.

The above discussion of the research literature has provided an outline of approaches from a sociolinguistic and a psychosocial perspective to language contact phenomena, in particular to language maintenance and language shift, which the current study can draw on. It also highlighted a research emphasis on groups and survey style data collection (Stoffel 1984, 'Aipolo 1986, Roberts 1990, Verivaki 1990, Shameem 1994). While these macro level studies have been very useful in revealing language use patterns in communities in relation to language ecology factors as they obtain for groups there is a need for them to be

complemented by descriptions of individual language use at the micro level such as Folmer's (1992).

This study therefore attempts to explore the sociolinguistic factors and underlying psychosocial processes which are difficult to capture in depth by survey style group studies. The investigation aims at gaining an insight into the language contact situation of four individual bilinguals by analysing their language distribution and social interaction patterns as well as their attitudinal orientations and group identification. To this end qualitative data based on real life language use and behaviour will be examined in addition to self-reported information sourced from both the parents and the children. The study may also fill a gap by virtue of its location in rural New Zealand as, so far, group surveys carried out in the New Zealand context have mainly centred on ethnic communities in an urban setting.

# 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a description of the methods employed for the investigation of the processes and conditions associated with the language contact situation of the four bilingual immigrant children examined in this study. It focusses on the research design of the study, the procedures used to obtain and examine information on the subjects and the instruments employed for data collection. Reference will also be made to particular strengths and limitations of the study.

## 3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study addresses the issue of language maintenance, ie. the retention of L1 language use patterns. The investigation of conditions and processes associated with this phenomenon is carried out on a micro level, concentrating on a relatively small number of subjects. A case study approach was seen to be the most appropriate one as it allows for a more in-depth analysis of individual cases through the specification and description of naturally occurring, qualitative data. Following this general strategic point of departure research questions were formulated and a data base was established and analysed. During this process the research design was kept flexible, enabling the researcher to refocus on new issues or aspects coming to light and to review if necessary the boundaries of the study.

The notion of "linked designs" (De Vries 1992: 222 ) was embraced here to achieve a multi-disciplinary approach involving psychological, sociological and ethnographic perspectives. Although this approach is very broadly based it

offers the advantage of providing converging sources of evidence. Rather than just relying on data from a single source, the information gained from a variety of instruments can be used in a complementary fashion and is thus more likely to yield in-depth information on the subjects under study.

### 3.1.1 Research Questions

The main research question reflects the overall multi-perspective approach adopted in this study.

> **Research question one:**
>
> What roles do demographic, sociolinguistic and psychosocial factors play in the identified contact situation with regard to the subjects' first language maintenance?

The second question relates to the subjects' language use patterns in three domains as well as their social networks.

> **Research question two**
>
> What are the patterns of the subjects' L1 use and what are the relevant factors in this use?

The third research question examines the role of social integration as it is reflected in social interaction patterns.

> **Research question three**
>
> Does the subjects' social integration into the host community affect the success of first language maintenance ?

The fourth research question focusses on the children's attitudinal orientation to German and English, their speakers and to bilingualism as well as their perceptions of identity and group membership in relation to their linguistic behaviour.

Research question four

What is the role of language attitudes and self-concept in relation to the subjects' language maintenance?

### 3.1.2 Variables

The present study has been carried out within the parameters of three groups of variables, on ethnographic, sociolinguistic and psychosocial levels. The variables were selected with a view to creating a framework within which the processes taking place in a language contact setting could be investigated. Due to the descriptive nature of the study the variables are not expected to show any causal links between them as no attempt was made to control all possible factors influencing language maintenance or language shift. The complexity of the context would in fact make it very difficult to isolate any number of variables in a causal relationship due to the existence of unknown intervening variables that are possibly "mediating the influence of social factors" (Appel and Muysken 1987: 113).

The selection of variables was based on what has been regarded as important in previous research into language maintenance and language shift as well the researcher's own personal bilingual experience. The variables relevant to this study which are expected to have a potential influence on the use of, the

proficiency in, and the attitudes towards both the first and second language are operationalized below.

### 3.1.2.1 Ethnographic variables

**Family background:**

The concept of family background encompasses the immediate and wider family environment of the subjects, taking into consideration the number and age of siblings, level of contact with the parents during the day and the number and availability of other relatives. The degree of first language use within the family is also a component of this variable.

**Age**

In addition to the subjects' age at the time of investigation their migration age is considered to be an indicator of the degree of habitual use of the child´s first language on arrival in the host community. Researchers disagree on a most likely age level for the establishment of first language patterns. According to Clyne (1985b) this can take up to ten years of age whereas McLaughlin (1984) assumes the threshold to be around three years. In this study, the age of five years was taken as a basis for measurement of first language acquisition.

**Length of stay in the host country**

This variable refers to the time elapsed since immigration which can be expected to have a bearing on the subjects' integration into the host community, due to the length of exposure to the L2 and the host community

**Length of schooling**

Time spent at school, both in the home and the host country, is likely to be influential in terms of enforcing community/society norms, reinforcing either L1 or L2 as the dominant language and providing a setting for peer group pressure.

**Distribution of the first language**

The size of immigrant groups and their geographical spread can vary significantly between communities. Life in clusters of close proximity within the same area of a town or region and close contact in extended families is likely to increase the exposure to the home language and culture ('Aipolo 1989). In this study, the distribution of German is measured in terms of its geographical and numerical spread within the Palmerston North/Manawatu area in order to ascertain the degree of the subjects' potential access to other German speakers.

**Status of the first language**

The status of a language very much depends on its importance and level of use, both on a national and global level. Status is defined by attitudes ascribed to German by both its native speakers as well as the host community. The former was arrived at through questionnaire data as well as observation whereas the latter was inferred by taking into consideration the standing of the German language as well as Germany as a nation in the New Zealand media and public eye. An important indicator for the latter was taken to be the place of German as a school subject.

**Institutional support for first and second language**

The notion of institutional support refers to the provision for immigrants of the necessary back-up structures for coping with life in the host community as well as support for the retention of the cultural and linguistic roots of ethnic communities. An indicator for this variable was the availability of the following:

- German language and ESL media such as publications, newspapers, radio and television programmes
- ESL, special teachers and language maintenance classes
- ESL materials
- German language materials

### 3.1.2.2 Sociolinguistic variables

**Domains of language use**

The domain concept has been used in sociolinguistics to account for the choice of code in multilingual communities. According to Fishman (1965), a domain is a sphere of activity made up of a constellation of social factors that involve the interaction between participants in a certain setting with regard to a certain topic. Although domain analysis has been seen as particularly useful for obtaining a model of language choice in larger speech communities it has also been pointed out that the classical domain-based approach does not allow for a potential element of code choice within one domain (Holmes 1992: 27) such as, for example, when two different languages are used in the home domain. As this study focusses on the language choice of individuals rather than a whole community, a more dynamic interpretation of the notion of domain was seen to

be appropriate, in order to account for the possibility of overlapping or extended domains or even the creation of new domains where either of the two languages can dominate.

Given certain individual characteristics such as confidence or self-esteem speakers may be able to establish domains for their preferred language. This phenomenon has been referred to in relation to second language acquisition where "a learner with strong personal resources will take advantage of a domain, will find one or may even create one" (Quinn 1995: 15). An approach which takes into account not only the social factors already mentioned but also individual motivations and needs, for instance in terms of the speakers' identity, social group membership or language attitudes was therefore adopted in this study. A dynamic notion of domain which incorporates "the insights of sociology and social psychology into an anthropological framework" (Fasold 1984: 209) corresponds well with a research strategy based on multiple sources of evidence.

**Social networks**

Networks of human relationships serve both communicative and social needs and are the context where language is used for interaction and norm enforcement as part of the process of language socialisation. The present study follows Milroy's (1980) approach in assuming that there is a connection between social network structure, a mechanism for maintaining social relationships between individual speakers, and their linguistic behaviour. This perspective identifies social network patterns as a speaker variable which can help explain linguistic variation at the individual level. Network analysis,

similar to the dynamic domain approach described above, attempts to account for social relationships that may be formed outside discrete groups:

> Descriptions based on bounded groups oversimplify complex social structures, treating them as organisational trees, when it is the network members' crosscutting memberships in multiple social circles that weave together social systems. (Wellman 1988: 37)

The subjects' socialising habits were thus taken into consideration in order to ascertain their degree of integration into the host culture, which requires the assessment of social networks in terms of their density and multiplexity (Milroy 1980). While the former is a concept relating to the extent of interaction within a network the latter refers to the variety of capacities in which individuals can be linked to each other. If, for example, relationships "involve interactions with others along several dimensions" (Holmes 1992: 203) such as friends and neighbours, the ties can be described as multiplex as opposed to uniplex which refers to links in only one area.

As relational patterns have also been identified as channels which "affect the flows of resource to and from them" (B. Wellman and S. Berkowitz 1988: 28) they are also expected to provide an indication as to how strong a flow of the L1 and its attached norms exists within the children's individual networks. Social network analysis is thus employed in the present study to provide an insight into what impact the subjects' socialising habits are likely to have on their language choice. The analysis of the children's networks was carried out based on information supplied by the parents and the children. Three out of Milroy's five indicator conditions were selected and slightly adapted to the children's context to assess their network relationships:

- Membership of high density peer group cluster (interrelated contacts)
- Attendance at the same school as at least two other individuals
- Voluntary association with a school friend during leisure time.

**Code choice/code switching**

The alternating use of different languages is a characteristic feature of the speech of bilinguals. This study examines the subjects' linguistic behaviour in terms of code-switching between German and English. In order to provide a description of the regularities in, reasons for and functions of language choice the observed phenomena will be approached from the following angles:

*Domain Analysis* (sociolinguistic)
- considering factors such as participants, setting, topic, activities

*Network Analysis* (sociolinguistic)
- considering social interaction patterns and integration

*Attitude and Identity Analysis* (psychosocial)
- considering the symbolic value of language

### 3.1.2.3 Psychosocial variables

**Attitudes**

The notion of attitude has been central to the mentalist approach, which assumes that knowing someone's attitudes enables explanations and predictions about behaviour (Fasold 1984). In order to obtain information

pertaining to the subjects' linguistic behaviour in a language contact situation, special consideration in this present study was given to their feelings about both the first and the second language, the respective speakers of each language as well as bilingualism in general.

The measurement of attitudes was carried out in two ways. While observational data was analysed for indirect reflections of the subjects' attitudinal disposition eight items were devised for the children's questionnaire to provide direct and indirect information about their language attitudes. A more detailed description of questionnaire items is given in 3.3.1.

**Speaker identity**

The act of migration involves a dramatic transformation of social context. A characteristic consequence of this situation is the redefinition of social identity which has implications for a speaker's language attitudes and, eventually, for his or her linguistic behaviour. As social identity changes in this adaptation process the symbolic function of L1 may become less important or even obsolete as a marker of someone's former identity and may result in total assimilation.

This study examines the subjects' self-concept on the basis of observational and questionnaire data to establish whether they have followed the pattern described above or whether and to what degree they have retained their German identity. Whereas the former scenario is expected to promote language shift in favour of L2 the latter is likely to establish a powerful link with L1 and encourage the use of German.

## 3.2 SUBJECTS

### 3.2.1 Selection of sample

The four subjects investigated in this study were selected through a pre-existing personal network, which was used for reasons of practicality. As the overall research design was aimed at obtaining in-depth data, easy access and close proximity to the subjects was regarded as a prerequisite for building up close rapport with the children. To this end an essential condition for observing natural behaviour and interaction was that the children trusted the researcher and felt comfortable during the data collection sessions.

Due to the limited number of German families living in the area the choice of potential subjects was restricted and the only mandatory criterion for the selection of families was for both parents to be German speakers. As this study has an emphasis on descriptive rather than quantitative or correlational data, no attempt was made to match the subjects for age or sex so that each child's individuality would constitute a case of its own.

Family Behrend was selected from among the researcher's own network of friends, and had in fact been friendly with her own family for a few years. Family Abel was introduced through a mutual acquaintance and initial contact was made through a social visit. Although this family has four children, only the two older ones were chosen to be part of the study as the younger children had not or only partly acquired German, due to their younger age and perhaps also as a consequence of the reduced amount of L1 input they have received compared with the older siblings. Their influence as an environmental factor was, however, taken into consideration.

This choice resulted in a final configuration of two older and two younger children, one boy and one girl in each family. Although a proper longitudinal investigation (ie. over several years) was beyond the scope of this study the age gap between the children was regarded as a possible basis for comparison. Contrasting fairly recent immigrants with more established ones was expected to yield information on whether the processes of language maintenance and language shift vary at different stages of immigration and what developments and changes take place with time.

The fact that the children of one family are speakers of the south western Saarland dialect was deemed irrelevant for the purposes of this study as according to Pauwels' (1986) findings on the maintenance of Limburg and Swabian dialects the overall rate of language maintenance is not greatly affected by language variety. Moreover, as no formal language performance tests were carried out in this study the problem of deciding what is correct/ incorrect or acceptable/non-acceptable in a non-standard language variety was avoided.

The nature of this investigation occasioned insights into the families' personal lives which required the contemplation of certain ethical considerations. The most important one was that the parents had to be informed clearly on what the study was going to be about, what its aims were and what the children's roles were supposed to be. This was done so that parents were able to decide against taking part if they wished to do so. Permission to tape record the children's speech was also sought and obtained, with the researcher's assurance that the recordings would only be used for the purposes of this study. The parents were also reassured that the family names would not be published to achieve confidentiality of the obtained data.

## 3.3 INSTRUMENTS

A combination of instruments was chosen for this study in order to provide multiple measures of very complex phenomena.

### 3.3.1 Questionnaire/interview

A questionnaire was devised for both the children (see Appendix 1 and 3) and their parents (see Appendix 2 and 4), each being designed in such a way as to suit the different age levels and administered during a personal interview. Following Yin's (1989) advice, a focussed interview style was adopted, which involved a prepared set of 26 questions. The interview was carried out in a conversational style to maintain a relaxed and non-threatening atmosphere. By integrating both structured and semi-structured elements it was hoped that answers to the guiding questions would be given and at the same time the interviewees would feel comfortable about asking questions or following-up on their own ideas between questions. The interviews were not tape recorded and any further relevant information was noted on the questionnaire form.

The two older children were first interviewed separately at the researcher's house for about 45 minutes. The two younger children, whose concentration span or interest was not necessarily expected to carry through the whole interview phase were each picked up for an afternoon after school. Some questions were asked on the way into town, built into the conversation as naturally as possible so as to break up the questionnaire into more manageable elements. The second phase of the interview was during a visit to the local Science Centre and the remaining questions were asked over a hamburger meal at McDonald's. It is acknowledged that the different interview strategies for the two sets of children may constitute a methodological inconsistency. This

disadvantage was, however, weighed up against the importance of accommodating the subjects in order to avoid incomplete questionnaires.

The questions covered the following areas of inquiry:

- Language choice in relation to topic, participants, setting and language functions
- Self evaluation of competency in first and second language
- Attitudes towards first and second language and their speakers as well as to bilingualism
- Degree of exposure to the first language
- Integration into social networks
- Involvement in recreational activities
- Identity
- Crosslinguistic influence (lexical only)

The interviews were a valuable method for providing "information concerning the inner workings of the mind, unobtainable from extrospective observational studies alone" (Matsumoto 1993: 51), for example the children's beliefs, attitudes or perceptions. The data on crosslinguistic influence (both observed and self-reported) were not included as this would have exceeded the scope of this study. Instead it was decided that a linguistic analysis should form the basis for a separate investigation.

The parents' interviews took place at the family homes with both mothers and fathers being present. The following were the areas of inquiry in the parents' questionnaire which covered 23 items:

- Demographic background
- Parents' and children's language choice in relation to topic, activities participants and setting
- Children's proficiency in English and German and possible changes
- Importance of and reasons for language maintenance
- Institutional support
- Forms of language use
- Contact with the home country
- Identity

The last item of the questionnaire afforded the parents the possibility for adding their own open-ended comment. Information gained from the parents' interview was intended to complement the children's data, which was particularly important bearing in mind potential weaknesses such as "bias, poor recall and poor or inaccurate articulation" (Yin 1989: 91) in their self-reported answers.

### 3.3.2 Participant observation

As part of the envisaged interdisciplinary approach participant observation was employed as a technique to gain access to information about relevant behaviours and conditions within the subjects' natural environment. During the period of data collection the researcher was able to establish close rapport with the subjects' families, a situation that was further enhanced through mutual

social visits and a pre-existing friendship with the older children's family. This made it possible to work in a context of mutual trust and cooperation and to obtain data as natural and spontaneous as possible. In fact, the researcher often took part in typical family activities, such as having meals or being involved in play activities.

Six meetings were held with the two younger children and three meetings with the older children, covering a total time span of six months. In the case of the older children the smaller number of meetings was regarded to be sufficient as further data was also observed during several unscheduled encounters, for example when meeting them in the local shop, during their school lunch time or at their parents' shop.

With the parents' consent the meetings were tape-recorded, except for one occasion, when diary notes were taken immediately afterwards. The meetings lasted between two and four hours each. The purpose of the meetings was explained to the children as an attempt to find out about immigrant children's experiences in New Zealand and the recordings were justified in terms of practicality, ie. so that the researcher would remember better the things they said. The presence of the tape recorder was accepted quite gladly and at first it even functioned as an elicitation prompt, when it initiated comparisons with the subjects' own sound equipment. The two younger children greatly enjoyed hearing their voices during an initial 'testing game'.

The observations were carried out in a semi-structured way which involved the identification of certain diagnostic features beforehand. These were expected to act as indicators of aspects relevant to the investigation, such as group membership and social integration, convergence/divergence, language

preference, language proficiency, code switching, cross linguistic interference and domains of language use.

Although this strategy may be criticised as biased, the subjective selection of aspects for investigation was regarded as a necessary part of focussing on what had been formulated as the objective of the study (see 1.3 and 3.1.1). To counterpart bias, the observation was carried out in as objective a way as possible and the researcher kept an open mind at all times to the possibility of new or unexpected factors emerging. In fact, it was considered to be a distinct advantage of this method that additional, new information could come to light, which might complement data obtained from other sources.

The technique of participant observation offered the researcher the opportunity to take part in the interaction and employ guided questions or role play to produce situations or behaviours that were expected to yield relevant data that would otherwise be inaccessible. It has to be borne in mind, however, that some of the observations made could have been influenced by the researcher's own subjective perceptions, a process that can never be completely avoided.

### 3.3.3 Pilot study

A pilot study was carried out in order to test the children's questionnaire for its practicality, ie. in terms of the appropriateness of its language, format and length. A German-born boy of seventeen whose father was known to the researcher was approached and agreed to be interviewed. The subject was told about the purpose of the interview and was asked at the outset to point out questions which were perceived as unclear. After completing the questionnaire he was also encouraged to add any aspects that were deemed to be important

to him but had not been covered in the interview. Based on the ensuing comments it was decided to make the following adjustments:

Whereas the original item five asked the subjects to indicate the language in which they could express themselves better the reviewed version was divided up into the four language skills. The subjects were not asked to rate their proficiency in these skill areas for reasons of simplicity, also bearing in mind that the parents' questionnaire (item 18) already included rating scales for competence judgements.

The frequency scaling in items 13 and 16 was simplified to provide answer options that were hoped to be more easily conceptualised by children. Whereas the questions of how often the children read German books (item 13) or watched German language videos (item 16) originally offered a four-scale answer divided into

every day / once a week / once a month / never

the reviewed version presented a three-scale answer divided into

every day / sometimes / never.

In the pilot version all questionnaire items relating to language choice consisted of a bipolar answer mode. For example, the answers to question 3 "What language do you use when you are angry?", were limited to either "German" or "English". This turned out to be inadequate during the pilot interview, which showed that answers were not always that clear-cut. As a consequence, a third option of "both" was added. In doing so, bilingualism was presented without an underlying assumption of competition between the majority and minority language.

### 3.3.4 Methods of data processing

The data collected for this study were subjected to ordering systems which involved "a continual process of looking for meaning by sorting reiteratively through the data." (Johnson 1992: 90) In the search for patterns data were obtained, identified and grouped and re-grouped in order to establish a basis for analysis and interpretation.

## 3.4 Strengths and Limitations

A major strength of the case study is its holistic approach. While language maintenance and language shift have to date been investigated largely on the level of speech community (as for instance in a New Zealand context by 'Aipolo 1986; Roberts 1990; Verivaki 1990) the present study attempts to fill a gap in terms of providing insights into and understanding of the processes and conditions attached to the situation that individual immigrant children find themselves in. While it is acknowledged that case study research lacks overall generalizability due to limited possibilities of replication it is hoped that the adopted multimethod approach will compensate for this weakness by relying on the combined advantages of a variety of instruments in order to "provide different perspectives on the same issue" (Johnson 1992: 86). Limitations of the individual instruments have been pointed out under 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

The consideration of multiple measures of the same phenomenon, in the form of both quantitative and qualitative data, is expected to enhance the study's construct validity. Although the findings of the study cannot be expected to be generalized to wider groups of immigrant children the conclusions are deemed to be useful and important in terms of a deeper understanding from the

vantage point of the individual. Further study of other cases would provide a basis for comparison which in turn could yield more general patterns or principles to be made use of in language planning.

### 3.4.1 Validity and reliability

Unlike in quantitative research which involves more formal measuring devices and methods the data collected in this case study were mediated through the researcher's participation in and subjective observation of the field context and the subjects. While potential bias has been pointed out as an inherent weakness the researcher's involvement and closeness to the subjects is also emphasized as an advantage as it allows in-depth insights into individual cases.

The application of the principle of internal validity is difficult in an investigation which aims at seeking evidence in support of the research questions rather than casual links between variables. Nevertheless, the study's internal validity is believed to have been improved by operationalizing the instruments and variables (as basis for description and measurement) and the documentation of the methodological procedures. The use of multiple sources of evidence contributed to the study's construct validity as they "essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (Yin 1989: 97).

# 4. FINDINGS

The following sections analyse the data collected to address the issues reflected in the main research question:

> **Research question one**
>
> What roles do demographic, sociolinguistic and psychosocial factors play in the identified language contact situation with regard to the subjects' first language maintenance?

A brief outline of the subjects and their demographic background in section 4.1 provides a description of L1 uses and forms of exposure to German. The main focus of 4.2 is on the issue of language choice and the distribution of the L1 in three domains of language use. Furthermore, a social network analysis is undertaken to help explain language choice in terms of the children's social interaction patterns. Lastly, section 4.3 examines the children's attitudes and their perception of group membership and identity in relation to their language use.

## 4.1 DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS

**Table two:** **Overview of Subjects**

| | Family Abel | | Family Behrend | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Markus | Nina | Bernd | Katrin |
| Age | 7 | 6 | 17 | 14 |
| Age on arrival in New Zealand | 5 | 4 | 9 | 6 |
| Years lived in New Zealand | 1.5 | 1.5 | 8 | 8 |
| Years spent in German kindergarten | 1.5 | .5 | 4 | 3 |
| Years spent in German primary school | - | - | 2 | - |

**Family Abel**

Markus and Nina are the oldest of four children in the family. Both are lively and outgoing and appear to have settled well in their new environment since their immigration. They attend the same primary school together where, according to their parents, they learnt to communicate in English almost fluently after only three months. While Markus is very confident and always asking questions Nina can be quiet and unsure of herself at times, particularly when strangers are present. Both children possess good spoken skills in German (see also Table 3 below) but also display a certain degree of language mixing mainly on the lexical level. On a syntactical level Nina has not mastered the correct German word order for subordinate clauses where she fails to use the required verb-final position.

Due to their relatively short length of stay in New Zealand the children have not been back to Germany as yet but a trip to their country of origin is planned in the near future. As both their parents work full time the children were looked after by a monolingual English-speaking nanny after school for the first year and a half after their arrival in New Zealand. This function was subsequently taken over by their grandmother. The children's parents are very supportive of language maintenance and spend a lot of time with their children playing or doing things together in German.

**Family Behrend**

Bernd, the oldest son of Family Behrend, is a fairly quiet teenager whereas Katrin, his sister, can be described as a boisterous, self-confident girl. Both children speak German fluently and take German as a foreign language at

school, ie. at Form seven level in Bernd's case and as a School Certificate correspondence school subject in that of Katrin.

The children appear to be well integrated into their New Zealand host society. Each child has a set of close friends and school friends who all reside in a different town, ie. where they attend school, so that the time Bernd and Katrin can spend together with their peers is mostly restricted to weekends (see 4.2.2). Both children do well at school and have achieved a level of English language proficiency equal to their monolingual peers, to the extent that after the children's change to a new school most teachers were unaware of their bilingualism. For example, it was not until Bernd's English teacher commented on the boy's occasional use of 'incorrect' word order, an interesting incident of L1 to L2 crosslinguistic influence, that his ESL status became clear.

Visits to Germany represent an important opportunity for the renewal of contacts and the use of L1 in a German environment in a multitude of situations. After eight years in New Zealand family Behrend still has strong ties with relatives in Germany. In fact, on arriving in their new host country the family policy was that there should be regular visits back in order to keep their options open if they did not settle down in New Zealand. Both children have had three trips to Germany together with their mother in the last eight years and Bernd recently travelled there by himself for six weeks. An interesting situation arose when, at the end of the last two trips the mother encountered difficulties with Katrin, who refused to go back to New Zealand. This was explained by the mother as not so much a suddenly deepened attachment to Germany but rather Katrin's enjoyment of being the centre of attention at her old school and with some of her old friends as someone living in an 'exotic' country.

Another attraction Germany seems to have for Katrin is its "more up-to-date" status in the world of fashion and during each trip she stocks up on clothes that have not yet reached New Zealand. Bernd's wish to study or undergo training in Germany as well as Katrin's intention to go on an unaccompanied trip herself as soon as possible indicates that the children feel positive towards life in Germany. For more on this issue see 4.3.1 on attitudes.

Both parents have strong views on the importance of language maintenance. They insist that the children should be able to have their first language to enable them to keep in contact with the overseas family and be able to function there if they were to go back.

Table three: **Parent-reported Language Proficiency**
**(scores ranging from 1 = no skills to 5 = very high skills)**

| GERMAN | Markus | Nina | Bernd | Katrin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Listening comprehension | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Reading comprehension | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Speaking | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Writing | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 |

| ENGLISH | Markus | Nina | Bernd | Katrin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Listening comprehension | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Reading comprehension | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Speaking | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Writing | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 |

### 4.1.1 Demographic background

The general availability of German speakers other than the subjects' families is limited as suggested by immigration statistics described in 1.2. In addition, the wide distribution of this small number of potential L1 addressees means that, by and large, the children's contact with the German language and its speakers is confined to their existing relationships with relatively little possibility of seeing or hearing German from others outside those groups. The information given below is based on data from both the parents' (items 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19) and the children's (items 13, 16, 17) questionnaires.

The number of German speakers in the family is restricted to the immediate members in both cases. Family Abel, for example, had no other relatives living in New Zealand during the first one and a half years after the immigration. This situation changed with the arrival of the grandmother who came to live with the family and, as a monolingual, has greatly increased the children's exposure to German. All relations of Family Behrend remain in Germany. Both families receive occasional visitors from Germany who tend to stay for a limited period of time (two to five weeks) some of which is spent travelling on their own. In the not too far future the Abel family will be visited by the children's uncle who intends to stay with them for a one-year study visit. Connections with German-speaking friends are also relatively minimal (see also social network ties described in 4.2.2).

Contact with Germany is mainly kept up through telephone calls with relatives which occur sometimes but regularly in both families. Subjects Bernd and Katrin of Family Behrend used to write regularly, an activity very much encouraged by their mother which has, however, more or less ceased now as the children are growing older and have lost interest. This form of

communication is as yet inappropriate for Markus and Nina of Family Abel as they have not developed writing skills in German. They do receive letters, though, which their parents read out to them aloud. Both families receive visits and phone calls from Germans or German speakers resident in New Zealand, which occur "sometimes" in Family Behrend and "often" in Family Abel according to their responses to question 19 of the parents' questionnaire.

The children have contact with varying types of German language media out of which television only plays a minor role. While Bernd and Katrin watch videos sent to them from Germany ("often" as self-reported by Katrin) Markus and Nina have no exposure whatsover to this medium as the family have no television set. The children encounter German through books (Markus and Nina "often"/Bernd and Katrin "sometimes") and games (Markus and Nina "sometimes"/ Bernd and Katrin "rarely" as well as audio tapes or records (Markus and Nina "often"/Bernd and Katrin "sometimes") whereas no use is made of the radio or computer games. The slight difference between Katrin's and her parents' assessment of the frequency of exposure to video movies could be due to an incorrect estimation on either side which should not detract here from the fact that she does have access to German videos and makes use of them.

German as a school subject has so far concerned only Bernd and Katrin who take the language as form 7 and form 5 subjects respectively. This has been the source of a significant regular input of L1 and particularly increases the exposure to German reading and writing. The two younger subjects are as yet unable to choose German at school. However, due to an initiative outside their school they have been able to join a German Saturday School recently.

In summary it can be said that the younger subjects Markus and Nina are exposed to a slightly higher level of German language through media sources particularly in the form of books and games, as well as by the presence of their monolingual grandmother. Bernd and Katrin on the other hand have additional contact with German at school and have experienced intense L1 exposure through immersion situations during their visits to Germany. None of the four subjects is therefore completely isolated from their L1 and its culture as the different media and uses of German available to them give access to German. Even if this access may be restricted in its intensity it nevertheless establishes a regular support system without which the children's range of L1 contact would be severely limited.

## 4.2 Sociolinguistic Aspects

### 4.2.1 Domains of language use

The following analysis addresses research question two:

> What are the patterns of the subjects' L1 use and what are the relevant factors in this use?

The discussion of sociolinguistic variables in 3.1.2.2 highlighted the need for a more dynamic concept of domain which can explain language choice from the perspective of an individual engaged in interactional processes within domains that may well overlap or allow for the use of both codes. Overlap as a result of domain extension or creation can account for increased exposure to and growing validity and status of the L1 resulting in the possible parallel use of both languages which necessarily involves code switching. This term covers

both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic phenomena and is governed by the circumstances of the sociolinguistic setting (ie. the domain variables) as well as trigger words (Clyne 1976). The current discussion concentrates on code switching as a form of linguistic behaviour which may promote language maintenance depending on whether the two languages are in competition with each other or complementary distribution.

**Parent-reported data**

Question 14 of the parent questionnaire generated data presented in Tables four and five to represent the children's choice of English, German or both languages across the three chosen domains. This provides a general illustration of language choice patterns for each particular group of children which is further complemented by self-reported and observational data. From the analysis of Table four and Table five a general pattern of distribution emerges which suggests the existence of 'prototypical' situations where either German or English is more likely to be used.

These situations consist of a characteristic combination of interlocutor, activity and location. For example, most activities involving a family member as participant in the family domain are associated with the use of L1 whereas, of course, in interaction with monolingual English speakers L2 is used across the board. In between these two situations grey areas exist where either language can be used. The discussion below will take a closer look at what factors may influence code choice in the 'prototypical' and 'grey area' situations.

Table four:

Language Choice of Children in Family Abel across Three Domains with Different Addressees involved in Various Activities (G=German, E=English, B=both)

| Markus and Nina | Where | Activity/topic | parent | relative | sibling | bilingual | monolingual English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FAMILY | At home | conversing during meal | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | playing | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | playing with pet | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | talking about school | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | doing homework | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | preparing for school | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | talking about English language film | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | talking about German language film | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | watching television | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Picnic | conversing during meal | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | playing | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | G | G | B | E |
| | Restaurant | conversing during meal | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | G | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | G | G | G | E |
| | | talking about school | G | G | G | B | E |
| | Shop | talking about shopping | G | G | G | - | E |
| | | complaining | G | G | G | - | E |
| | Parents' workplace | helping parents | G | - | - | - | - |
| | | phoning parents | G | - | - | - | E |
| FRIENDSHIP | At home | conversing during meal | G | G | B | B | E |
| | | playing | G | G | B | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | G | B | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | G | B | B | E |
| | | watching television | - | - | - | - | - |
| | At friend's | greeting, farewelling | G | - | B | B | E |
| | | conversing during meal | | | B | B | E |
| | | playing | | | B | B | E |
| | | tell ing jokes | | | B | B | E |
| | | complaining | | | B | B | E |
| | | watching television | | | - | - | - |
| EDUCATION | School | greeting/ farewelling | G | G | G | E | E |
| | | engaging in sports | | | B | E | E |
| | | conversing during breaks/playtime | | | B | E | E |
| | | telling jokes | | | B | E | E |
| | | complaining | | | B | E | E |

Table five:

Language Choice of Children in Family Behrend across Three Domains with Different Addressees involved in Various Activities (G=German, E=English, B=both)

| Bernd and Katrin | Where | Activity/topic | parent | relative | sibling | bilingual | monolingual English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FAMILY | At home | conversing during meal | G | | G | B | E |
| | | playing | G | | G | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | | G | B | E |
| | | playing with pet | G | | G | B | E |
| | | talking about school | B | | B | B | E |
| | | doing homework | B | | B | B | E |
| | | preparing for school | B | | B | B | E |
| | | talking about English language film | G | | G | B | E |
| | | talking about German language film | G | | G | B | E |
| | | watching television | B | | B | B | E |
| | Picnic | conversing during meal | G | | G | B | E |
| | | playing | G | | G | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | | G | B | E |
| | Restaurant | conversing during meal | G | | G | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | G | | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | | G | B | E |
| | | talking about school | G | | G | B | E |
| | Shop | talking about shopping | G | | G | B | E |
| | | complaining | G | | G | B | E |
| | Parents' workplace | helping parents | B | | B | B | E |
| | | phoning parents | B | | B | B | E |
| FRIENDSHIP | At home | conversing during meal | B | | B | B | E |
| | | playing | B | | B | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | B | | B | B | E |
| | | complaining | B | | B | B | E |
| | | watching television | B | | B | B | E |
| | At friend's | greeting, farewelling | B | | B | B | E |
| | | conversing during meal | | | B | B | E |
| | | playing | | | B | B | E |
| | | tell ing jokes | | | B | B | E |
| | | complaining | | | B | B | E |
| | | watching television | | | B | B | E |
| EDUCATION | School | greeting/ farewelling | G | | B | B | E |
| | | engaging in sports | | | B | B | E |
| | | conversing during breaks/playtime | | | B | B | E |
| | | telling jokes | | | B | B | E |
| | | complaining | | | B | B | E |

#### 4.2.1.1 Language distribution across domains

> German is used with German-speaking addressees in all three domains despite an increasing use of L2.

The general picture of language choice patterns presented in Tables four and five reveals an increase in variation of code choice across domains. This variation can be seen in a rising number of 'both' choices and some English-only choices (Markus and Nina) taking place both vertically between domains and horizontally between interlocutors. While the parallel use of both languages suggests that English is gaining a foothold, German still has a chance to be chosen with German-speaking interlocutors. However, the possibility of using both codes also implies a higher tendency for code switching or language mixing (see below).

The patterns clearly show the strong influence of the home in the family domain where Markus and Nina use German exclusively with their parents while Bernd and Katrin may use some English when their topics or activities are associated with English, such as for instance, school related matters (see examples below). In interaction with bilingual speakers activities such as 'having a meal', 'playing' or 'complaining' are reported to happen in German at home but there is a tendency to use both languages for them in settings away from the home. This slight increase in variation could be taken as an indicator for incipient language shift between family and non-family sets of interlocutors. The lack of English-only choices, however, shows that German nevertheless has its place which may be a result of the bilingual addressees' influence in support of the use of L1 even where English could be warranted due to topic or activity.

In the case of Markus and Nina the setting of the interaction appears to be an influential factor in language choice as the conversation with bilinguals during a meal is reported to attract the use of either language in the picnic setting as opposed to German-only in the home or the restaurant. However, this pattern is not consistent with the subjects' real life language choice behaviour which in fact showed little impact of the setting (see picnic example below). The presence of bilingual speakers therefore seems to be a more important influence as 'both' choices only emerge with bilingual addressees.

Outside the family domain there is an increase in the use of both languages as opposed to German exclusively by all subjects. As no English-only choices are reported for Bernd and Katrin they can be said to be committed to the use of both codes in all three domains although one of the two languages can be expected to gain dominance depending on other factors discussed below. For Markus and Nina English becomes clearly dominant in the education domain even in interaction with a bilingual speaker. As the subjects predominantly deal with English-speaking monolinguals in the school environment they may, over time, tend to associate any activities carried out in this context with the L2.

The high incidence of 'both' choices in interaction with bilinguals across all three domains by all four subjects (except Markus and Nina in the education domain) is a clear indicator that L1 is not a language limited to the family domain. Although parental dominance there has the strongest influence on the children's use of German other German-speaking interlocutors also promote the choice of L1 as the patterns show that, generally, the subjects make their choices according to whom they are talking and where they are.

#### 4.2.1.2 Language choice with family members

Parents as interlocutors strongly influence the choice of German in all domains and across settings.

**In the family domain**

German is the dominant language spoken within the family domain, reflecting a very low degree of 'infiltration' by the L2. This is the case across all five settings, where the family members use German consistently with each other. Even when the topic of conversation is associated with an English-speaking context such as an English language film or school related matters, none of the subjects switches to English completely. In item 19 of the children's questionnaire the subjects themselves confirmed their occasional need for borrowing from English which was due to either lack of knowledge ( Bernd and Katrin) or forgetting ( Markus and Nina). The examples below illustrate how certain topics or concepts which have only been experienced in an English-speaking context, such as names for school subjects or certain leisure activities, trigger the use of the L2:

Markus: *Morgen ist LUNCH ORDER DAY.*
Tomorrow is lunch order day.

Nina: *PRINTING, das tun wir jeden Tag. READING, das tun wir jeden Tag.*
Printing, we do that every day. Reading, we do that every day.

Bernd: *In der dritt'FORM hab ich a bißche' CANOEING gemacht.*
In the third form I did a little bit of canoeing.

Katrin: *Und ein anders' Mädche macht HORTICULTURE oder so 'was, ich weiß nicht was dat is.*
And another girl takes horticulture or something like that, I don' t know what that is.

The subjects' occasional inability to express certain notions in German leads to borrowing and mixing, primarily on a lexical level, rather than a complete switch to English. In most instances such as those referred to above the subjects continued to speak in German and would overcome their difficulties by asking for help (eg What is '...' in German?) or the use of the odd interspersed borrowings. This is consistent with the situation presented in Tables four and five above where either German-only (Markus and Nina) or occasionally both languages are reported to be used (Bernd and Katrin). This indicates a predominance of the relationship between speaker and hearer over the association between topic and language. In other words, the interaction with a family member as a 'prototypical' representative of German appears to be the overriding influence in language choice. Even where English is the code in which the child gained his/her experience the L1 remains the dominant means of communication complemented with borrowed items from L2.

German as the language of the family members is a principle very much supported by the parents. Family Behrend, for example, not only insists that the children relate their school affairs in German as much as they can, assisted by the parents' provision of words or phrases but they have also explicitly established a 'person over matter' rule which is valid across domains. Their choice of German which reflects the intimate relationship between family members is not restricted to the physical home environment but may extend to other locations. In the family business, for example, where the family domain

has been successfully extended into the parent's work setting, German is spoken to all family members and bilinguals who may come into the shop, even in the presence of monolingual customers. However, there are certain monolingual individuals whose non-approval in the past, expressed verbally or through body language, has led the parents to accept exceptions and switch to English when they enter the shop. According to the parents though the majority of the clients are very understanding of the situation. Once the reason for using German with the children had been explained to them as an educational measure they often in fact expressed support for the parents' principles.

**Outside the family domain**

The association between family members and the use of German as described above continues outside the family domain, for example, where the friendship domain extends into the home setting. When friends are visiting the subjects' house Markus and Nina continue to speak German with their parents which may be a consequence of stronger parental influence due to the subjects' younger age. The two older subjects' choice of both codes seems to indicate a higher level of maturity which allows them to decide whether to accommodate their parents who wish to speak German and/or their friends who might feel excluded during a German-only conversation. Katrin's mother in fact confirmed that her daughter's best friend does not like the family using German while she is around. Katrin's occasional attempts to use English with her parents while her friend is there fails to succeed, however, as they continue in German unless the friend is directly involved in the interaction.

Once the siblings interact with each other the use of both languages becomes possible. However, the fact that no English-only choices are reported between

siblings both in the friendship and the education domains implies a relatively strong featuring of German outside the family. This strength is generated and carried by the family members and reaches beyond the family domain, which also impacts on the children's interaction with other and non-family addressees.

#### 4.2.1.3. Language choice with other bilingual participants

> The use of L1 with speakers of German occurs as a function of addressee influence.

A pattern of interlocutor dominance also emerges in communication with non-family members. Although an increase in the use of English is signified by a higher number of 'both' choices L1 still maintains a presence where participants are bilingual. Bernd and Katrin are reported to use either L1 or L2, irrespective of subject or topic, indicating that choices are made according to whom the children are talking or who may be present (see also Table six below). The fact that Markus and Nina keep to German when 'having a meal' or 'complaining' at home and in a restaurant suggests that there are certain key activities associated with German rather than English and which, in interaction with bilingual addressees, promote the choice of German-only. The impact of this combination of two 'pro-German' factors can, however, be reduced if influences like L2 norms and expectations gain salience in a different setting with a higher presence of English monolingual speakers, as is reflected in Markus's and Nina's use of English for 'playing' and 'complaining' in the education domain.

Nevertheless, L1 use is even possible in an L2 dominant context as two of the subjects showed through their actual behaviour. For example, Bernd and Katrin

were seen to display a high level of willingness to speak German to speakers of German, notwithstanding the presence of monolingual English speakers. Both of them used German with the researcher, her husband and her parents at a party, only switching to English when addressing other monolingual guests directly or a whole group of people at once. Bernd spontaneously greeted the researcher and her parents in German when he, together with two New Zealand school mates met them in a park. And even in the all-English school environment Bernd responded in German when he and his monolingual neighbour were questioned about the weekend in English by the researcher who was acting as a relief teacher in his physics class. He was obviously unconcerned about his classmate's lack of understanding which suggests that the speaker-hearer relationship gained salience in his choice of language.

The language choice patterns with bilingual speakers other than family members also point to code choice as a consequence of adult influence. As the children have little (Markus and Nina) or no (Bernd and Katrin) access to potential bilingual interactants belonging to their own age group it can be assumed that they are likely to use the language that the addressee is comfortable with or prefers to use. For example, Markus and Nina speak German with a New Zealand neighbour and friend of the family who tends to initiate conversations in German as he is keen on using the language. In the eyes of the children the members of this adult bilingual group, be they German or not, may personify an extension of their parents as proponents of the 'speak German with parents' rule. In interaction with non-family members this rule can be easily extended to 'speak German with other speakers of German', which gives the children the option to establish close relationships with them as well .

**Self-reported data**

The children's self-reported language choice data is shown in Table six and Table seven and was drawn from items 7, 8 and 9 of the children's questionnaire. The pattern in Table five further emphasises the central importance of the parents as the main catalyst for the use of German in the home. All four subjects choose to speak German with their parents irrespective of any other participants' presence, be they bilingual or monolingual speakers. This indicates that parental-child interaction in the family domain represents an essential core function which may overrule any politeness conventions prescribing the use of English in the presence of monolingual English speakers .

Table six: **Self-reported Language Choice at Home**

(G=German, E=English, B=both)

a) **Markus**

| HOME DOMAIN | with parents | with other sibling |
|---|---|---|
| no one else present | G | B |
| other sibling present | G | - |
| parents present | - | B |
| English speakers present | G | E |

b) **Nina**

| HOME DOMAIN | with parents | with other sibling |
|---|---|---|
| no one else present | G | E |
| other sibling present | G | - |
| parents present | - | B |
| English speakers present | G | E |

c) **Bernd**

| HOME DOMAIN | with parents | with other sibling |
|---|---|---|
| no one else present | G | G |
| other sibling present | G | - |
| parents present | - | G |
| English speakers present | G | B |

d) **Katrin**

| HOME DOMAIN | with parents | with other sibling |
|---|---|---|
| no one else present | G | G |
| other sibling present | G | - |
| parents present | - | G |
| English speakers present | G | G |

Table seven: **Self-reported Language Use outside the Home**

**(G=German, E=English, B=both)**

| AT SCHOOL | Markus | Nina | Bernd | Katrin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| with other sibling | B | E | E | G |
| with school peers | E | E | E | E |
| with teachers | E | E | E | B |

| AT FRIEND'S HOUSE | Markus | Nina | Bernd | Katrin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| with other sibling | E | n/a | n/a | G |
| with friend | E | E | E | E |

Although Markus and Nina stated in Table six that they use both languages with each other in the parents' presence and L2 in the presence of English

speakers their linguistic choices in real life situations in fact indicated a preference for German in both scenarios. For example, the language distribution pattern observed during a picnic for friends and family showed that in spite of monolingual English adults and children being part of the group, Markus and Nina consistently spoke German with each other, their parents and younger siblings as well as the other German bilinguals present (see also 4.2.2). Code switching enabled them to respond to the monolinguals in English when necessary but on no occasion did they use L2 with each other or the other family members or German speakers. This suggests that the children not only strongly associate German with the family domain, even when it is extended into an area outside the immediate home setting but also with the German-speaking participants themselves.

The discrepancy between the children's self-reported information and their observed behaviour highlights a problem that is associated with "asymmetries between production and perception" (Romaine 1984: 17 ) where speakers tend to over-report or under-report under the influence of social norms or expectations. Other examples of the children's actual speech show that the use of the L1 is indeed unaffected by the monolingual English speakers being present. For example, during the researcher's visit to the Abel's family home she introduced herself in English to the (monolingual) New Zealand baby sitter who had just picked up the children from school to look after them until the parents' arrival later in the afternoon. Markus responded immediately:

Markus: *Wir müssen jetzt Deutsch sprechen!*
We must speak German now!

Ute: *Warum?*
Why?

Markus: *Weil jetzt Deutsche hier sind.*

Because there are Germans here now.

Ute: *Was ist mit Rebecca?*

What about Rebecca?

Markus: *Die kann ja fragen.*

Well, she can ask.

The presence of a monolingual English speaker appears not to have activated any politeness obligation that might cause a switch to English in this instance and Markus quite clearly puts the onus on Rebecca to find out what is being talked about. His comments on the presence of "Germans" clearly suggests that the aspects of identity and cultural awareness are coming into play here as well (see 4.3.2). On another occasion Markus displayed a similar keen interest in others using German. When one of his younger sisters continued to address the researcher in English he requested in a rather demanding voice:

> *Sprich mal Deutsch jetzt Susi, die Ute versteht Deutsch, ok!*
> Speak German now Susi, Ute understands German, ok!

Nina's language preference was less clearcut on the same occasion. After an initial quiet phase which seemed to signal that she was not quite willing or ready to commit herself to the one or the other language she used German for most of the afternoon (with the baby sitter working in the background for most of the time). However, Nina joined into games or activities much more hesitatingly than Markus and also code-switched several times. This could be an indication of an avoidance strategy being employed here which, in combination with code switching, reflects her possible doubts about speaking

German. Several times Nina used the L2 to address the researcher during play activities such as:

Another try!

Turn around, turn around!

Knock, knock who's there?

It looks as if these are the kind of phrases Nina would use while playing with her friends at school and it could be assumed that she was still coming out of the English-speaking modus of play after a day at school. By and large, her code choice appeared to be more unsettled and more inconsistent compared with Markus, which could be put down to her younger age and feelings of lesser competence in German (but see below).

While Bernd chooses both languages in the presence of monolinguals (Table six c) showing flexible linguistic behaviour where choice can be made on the basis of what factor may be salient at the time his sister Katrin is the only one using German in that situation (Table six d). Her choice could be accounted for by her strong personality and highly positive orientation to German (see 4.3) leading to a demonstration of Germanness through L1 use. It also reflects that her own perceptions differ from her behaviour in real life situations (see example of friend's visit above).

Nina's preference for English with her brother in the parents' absence (Table six b) follows a pattern found among children elsewhere (see 2. Literature Review) and suggests that there is an association between the use of German and the parental/adult bilingual group as well as one between the use of English and the children's peer group. In the example referred to the latter scenario would account for Nina's linguistic behaviour favouring the L2.

In the school environment an interesting difference in code choice can be seen between Bernd and Katrin where the former opts for speaking English with his sister while she uses German with him (Tables six c and six d). This may simply be a continuation on Bernd's part of what the children used to do when they first started school, that is speak English to be part of the group as other examples above have shown that he does not hesitate to use German with other speakers. This behaviour might also be explained by the fact that Katrin is not a member of the adult group and thus perhaps has less influence as an interlocutor.

A similar contrast exists between the two younger children. While Markus in fact wishes to speak German to his sister at school he obviously has to compromise because of his sister's refusal to do so (Table seven b), hence his choice of both. Katrin's definite switch to English may be explained by her age, being the youngest she may not have developed a notion of bilingualism as a third possibility for communication. For example, while Markus spoke German over an extended period with a bilingual New Zealander during a social get-together at a restaurant his sister Nina refused to use German with him, which suggests that her younger age and less settled identity perhaps prevented her from openly committing herself to German (see 4.3.2). However, since the arrival of her grandmother Nina has become much more confident in using German over a relatively short period of time which shows in a dramatic reduction of code switching and avoidance behaviour. This increase in exposure to German emphasises the importance of the availability of linguistic input in the children's L1 development and maintenance.

The friendship domain offers the least chance of German or bilingual speakers being present. Markus and Nina are quite aware of the unlikelihood of either

sibling's presence there and give no answers accordingly (Tables six a and six b), while Katrin again chooses to speak German with her brother (Table six d), for example, when he gives her a lift in his car to her friend's house. Her choice corresponds with the patterns observed at home and at school and further underlines her strong commitment to German. Markus rationalised his use of English as a politeness strategy when he expressed his wish not to be impolite which, taking his courteous manner into account, appears to be the likely reason, rather than perhaps a need to accommodate. But, as described above, Markus is not always too concerned about politeness towards monolinguals in real life situations where he might simply differentiate between German as the language of intimacy and English as the language of his peers.

**Summary**

The analysis of data has provided an illustration of the children's language choice and preferences from which the following patterns emerge:

- The general pattern of language choice described in the discussion above is one of an increase in language choice variation in the non-family domains where the absence of the parents (and relatives in family Behrend) as well as a growing number of monolingual English speakers and influence by non-family values and behavioural norms may account for the reduction in German-only choices with bilingual speakers without, however, leading to a complete shift to English.

- The mere fact that across domains and settings, with the exception of Markus and Nina in the education domain, none of the topics and activities generated an English-only response indicates that language

choice is strongly participant related with topic, activity or setting being only of secondary importance. There are, however, key activities such as having a meal whose association with German promotes the use of German with bilingual speakers in non-home settings.

- The subjects displayed a commitment to bilingualism as an additional form of communicative competence which allows for the use of both languages rather than the choice of the L1 or the L2 exclusively. This commitment appeared to be age related as the youngest subject (Nina) went through an initial stage of uncertainty and inconsistency with regard to her use of German. After a short period of time and under the added influence of a monolingual German speaker (grandmother) this phase changed into a more balanced behaviour similar to that of the other children.

- German seems to be holding its ground in the face of an increasing L2 use. The parallel use of both German and English reflects a situation where both languages are assigned a complementary rather than a competitive role and where language choice is made primarily on the basis of addressee, whereby parents generate the highest and therefore most consistent use of the L1 followed by the other sibling and other bilinguals.

In summary, it is argued here that the subjects' language choice occurs in complementary fashion with respect to a whole range of domains of language use. Speaker/hearer-determination as well as certain key activities associated with German can account for code choice in certain 'fuzzy areas' where the use of either L1 or L2 is possible as opposed to the 'prototypical' cases where only one language is likely to be appropriate.

### 4.2.2 Social networks

This section addresses research question three:

> Does the subjects' social integration into the host community affect the success of first language maintenance?

Social network analysis was chosen as a means of assessing the subjects' level of integration into the host society as well as the nature and density of relational ties the children maintain with other network members. The underlying assumption for this investigation was that the children's interactional patterns would have an influence on L1 use and retention bearing in mind that they reflect the "informal social interaction in which speakers are enmeshed and through which, by pressure and inducements, participants impose linguistic norms on each other" (Gal 1979: 14).

With regard to the children's bilingual context it will be particularly important to understand how the underlying social mechanisms may affect language use and to ascertain to what degree their networks provide them with the resource L1 as well as norms pertaining to its use and value. Access to these determines opportunities and constraints which are expected to be reflected in the children's linguistic behaviour.

The analysis below is based on data obtained through direct communication from the children and their parents and shows the main network ties for each subject. They are shown as egocentric networks which define relational patterns from the perspective of focal individuals:

**Table eight:** **Social Network Ties for Markus**

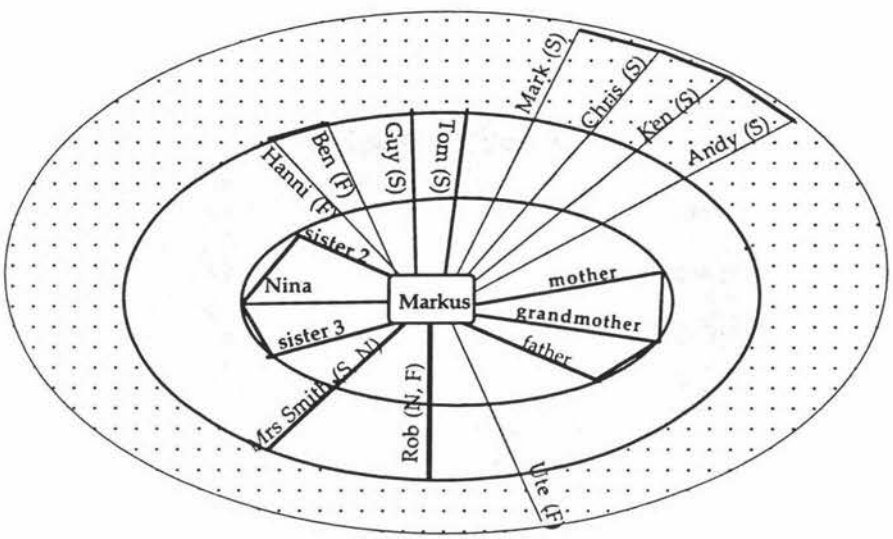
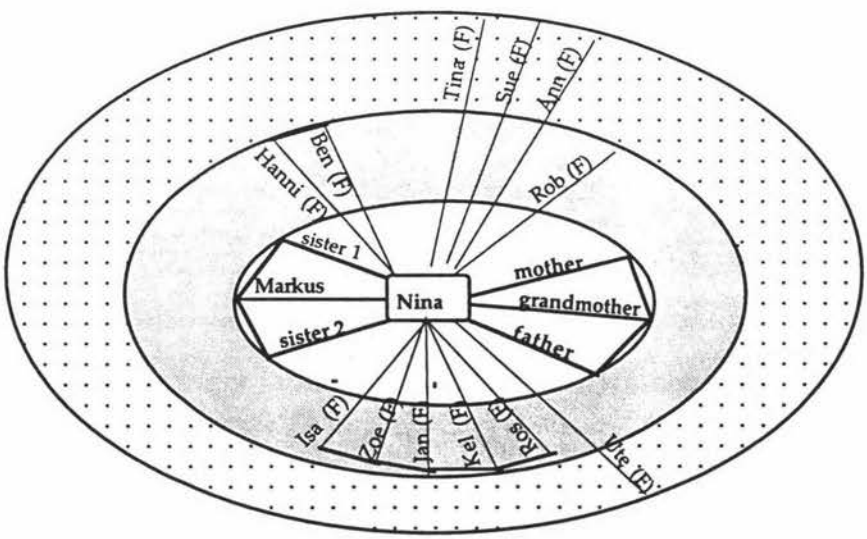



**Table nine:** **Social Network Ties for Nina**




intimate ties
regular ties
occasional ties

uniplex ties
multiplex ties
interrelated

F = friend
S = school friend
N = neighbour

The selection of German for interaction in the family cluster shows that L1 is the most relevant code associated with a high level of intimacy.

**Subjects Markus and Nina**

According to Tables eight and nine both children maintain a high density network created by immediate ties with their family members. Both children share a close relationship with each other as well as with their younger siblings the result of which is an increase in density in the sibling cluster. The corresponding high level of intimacy, particularly between the older Markus and Nina is expressed in the activities they share within the family which are characterised by the choice of German, for example playing or eating, but also many transactional activities. The absence of television in their home further enhances the children's reliance on each other especially when it comes to creating their own entertainment. The selection of German is a characteristic feature of such interaction which indicates that the L1 appropriately reflects the close relationship between the participants. Even the two younger siblings who initially responded in English to anyone addressing them in German have adopted German as the preferred language used with their close ties.

The use of German with family members is not only typical inside the home, for instance around the dinner table, but also in other contexts which emphasises the role of L1 as an 'intimacy marker'. For example, during a get-together of the parents' colleagues and friends at a restaurant both Markus and Nina used English for the monolingual New Zealanders among the party and German with bilingual friends and family. Code switching allowed them to choose the relevant language for the German and English-speaking network members

respectively. Although Nina showed a certain inconsistency in this pattern when, for a while, she spoke English to the researcher who was also present about the issue of identity (see below). However, she consistently used German with her parents and her grand-mother which confirms L1 as the prototypical language of the family network.

The fact that there are three adults in this structure with a positive attitude to the use of German, which is supported by their own regular use of German with the children (see 4.2.1) indicates that both children have a high level of access to their first language, giving them both opportunities for exposure and use as well as emotional support. This situation is further enhanced by the fact that the grandmother is a monolingual German speaker. Given the age of the children the density and immediacy of these network ties imply a most powerful norm enforcement mechanism in regard to their linguistic behaviour. The expectation to use German with the individuals making up this intimate cluster coupled with a high value attached to the retention of the German language and culture by the adults (see 4.3.1.4) are likely to have a strong influence on the children. Their need and desire to maintain these key relationships is likely to act as a strong incentive to share the family network attitudes and comply with the expectations pertaining to them, one of them being the use of German.

On the level of regular relationships Markus and Nina also share certain ties. Their friends Hanni and Ben are brother and sister who, despite their own German-speaking background through their German mother, prefer to speak English most of the time (children's questionnaire item 17). Presumably they consider Markus and Nina as members of the 'children's group', a categorisation which triggers the use of English as the most relevant code to be

used with all children. This implies that there may be different levels of group membership and that Markus and Nina are regarded as children first and only secondarily as German speakers.

The children also maintain a multiplex tie with Rob, who, as a bilingual friend and neighbour, makes constant use of the contact with family Abel as a German resource, thus adding to the value and usefulness of the L1. As regular ties can be expected to have a higher influence on individual members than occasional ties due to their higher frequency of contact, particularly if the ties are of a "multiplex" nature (Holmes 1992: 203) they are likely to strengthen the basis for solidarity within a network. One important component to achieve that solidarity is the sharing of L1 as a common language.

The interactional patterns for Markus as presented above show that he interacts with at least six individuals on a regular basis. Two of his regular contacts (Guy and Tom) attend a different school but are nevertheless identified as his most consistent friends. In addition to that Markus maintains a link with four school friends on an occasional basis (Mark, Chris, Ken and Andy). Interestingly, in addition to his peer group relationships, Markus is also linked to at least two adults in their capacity as teacher and friend (Mrs Smith) and neighbour and friend (Rob). This is an indication of a certain degree of adult-orientation which may result in a reduced amount of pressure coming from his peer group. Occasional contacts also exist with the researcher (Ute). Speaking purely in terms of numbers it can be seen that Markus maintains at least six intimate and regular ties each in addition to five on an occasional basis. The number of ties within his peer group (both regular and occasional) and the fact that the majority of his contacts know each other and are thus interconnected suggests a relatively densely knit network reflecting a high level of integration.

Nina has regular contact with at least five individuals, all of them friends attending the same school as she does (Isa, Zoe, Jan, Kel, and Ros). Occasional ties with Tina, Sue and Ann represent an everchanging number of contacts with different individuals which implies social flexibility and a lesser degree of consistency in Nina's relationships with friends. Her mother in fact confirmed that of the two children Nina is the one who works less hard on her relationships. This may indicate that membership in the regular peer cluster is quite sufficient for her social needs and that she does not feel the desire for more ongoing relationships beyond that. The number of regular ties which do exist create a dense cluster of interconnected school friends who she also has contact with outside school. Overall therefore Nina, too, appears to be well integrated into the host society.

The nature of Markus's and Nina's relationships is characterised by the fact that the members of their peer networks are all monolingual English speakers (with the exception of Hanni and Ben who do not use German in any case). This suggests that strong pressure to conform is exerted by their peer clusters which represent the norms and values of the host society that the children have become part of by virtue of being network members. Here, English has to be used in order to communicate with other network members, ie. their friends, and to sustain the relationship with them. The density of the two subjects' networks is increased by a number of interrelated ties on the occasional level (Markus) and the regular level (Nina). However, the strong presence of the L2 culture pervaded through these relationships is balanced by strong solidarity ties in the family cluster.

An illustration for this can be seen in the children's linguistic behaviour during the picnic situation mentioned above. The picnic party consisted of family Abel's four children, the parents and the monolingual German grand-mother, three generations of a monolingual New Zealand family, including two children aged twelve and seven years as well as the researcher and her parents, all of them fluent bilinguals. The Abels and the New Zealand family did not know each other before but were both friends with the researcher. Right from the start, both Markus and Nina consistently spoke German with their parents as well as with all the other bilingual speakers. When addressed by the New Zealanders they switched to English to respond, but used relatively short answers or displayed avoidance behaviour by using "I don't know" a lot. Nina in particular made use of this strategy and even refused to answer several times. After this initial shy phase the children became more talkative and particularly Markus appeared to be totally unperturbed by the presence of people who did not understand German.

The New Zealand and German children approached each other only very hesitatingly and initially only through adult initiative. During a game of badminton Markus used English, but only very sparingly. When the researcher took part in the game he switched back to German immediately. For the whole duration of the picnic all children kept more to the adults and never quite warmed up to each other. This might have been compounded by the fact that the other children are fairly shy with people in general and therefore did not initiate a lot of interaction in English. Interestingly, the Abel's two younger children consistently responded in English which did not, however, induce any of the other family members to switch to English with them.

The pattern of language choice during the picnic episode can be explained by the predominance of the 'parents-children relationship' an integral part of which is the use of the L1. Moreover, the presence of other bilingual Germans in this situation, all of them adults, could have acted as a further boost to what appears to be the 'speak German with speakers of German' rule. The company of family and friends also established a high level of closeness or intimacy that, in this instance, seemed to overrule the monolingual English speakers' status as representatives of the dominant culture. As a result the children did not make a concession to speak English but rather use the L2 only when necessary, ie. for communication with the non-German speakers. The example given here also indicates the use of German as a 'badge of identity' which will be referred to below (4.3.2).

In summary it can be said that the children in the Abel family maintain multiple network membership which gives them the option to choose whichever code they find most appropriate and relevant in any particular network. Code switching is an inherent feature of this situation as it allows the children to make use of their bilingual repertoire across domains speaking predominantly German with their closest network members but also with other German speakers. This implies that from their perspective interaction partners are perhaps categorised as German speakers first and only secondly as members of other networks. Markus's behaviour illustrated this very clearly when he read from an English story book to the researcher, interspersing his reading with his own German description of the story line. When his sister became restless and started making a noise Markus reprimanded her in German:

Sei leise!
*Be quiet!*

Although this interaction required the use of English for the reading activity the switch to German confirms that L1 is regarded as more appropriate and natural for communication among German speakers, especially when they belong to the friend and family network with a higher level of closeness. The children's social relationships can therefore be regarded to constitute a system of complementary networks in the absence of conflict or competition.

**Subjects Bernd and Katrin**

The social network structures presented for Bernd and Katrin reflect another case of intimate relationships with family members. Similar to the situation described for Markus and Nina above, Bernd's and Katrin's family network cluster provides both children with opportunities for exposure to German. Although the subjects have developed their own interests and, compared with Markus and Nina, do not spend as much time playing with one another they still interact a great deal with each other. Due to their rural lifestyle they are often their only company, that is when no friends are visiting, and as shown above, they predominantly speak German together. Their parents complete this cluster of intimate ties and, as strong proponents of L1 maintenance and regular users of German with their children, they represent a major source of access to the language and positive sanctions for its use. In the Behrend family there is no other relative to complement the parents' language maintenance efforts.

Bernd's and Katrin's language choice with their various interaction partners across domains indicates that they regard German as the most appropriate code to be used with family members and other speakers of L1. For example, in the presence of bilingual and monolingual participants at a party they both used L2 with the monolingual English speakers, L1 with the bilingual German speakers and English only when they addressed mixed groups or all at once.

**Table ten:** **Social Network Ties for Bernd**

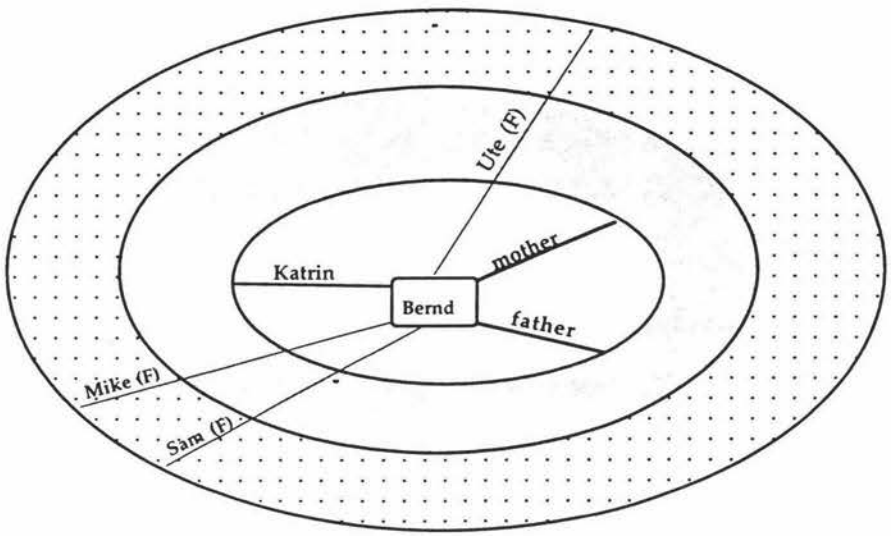
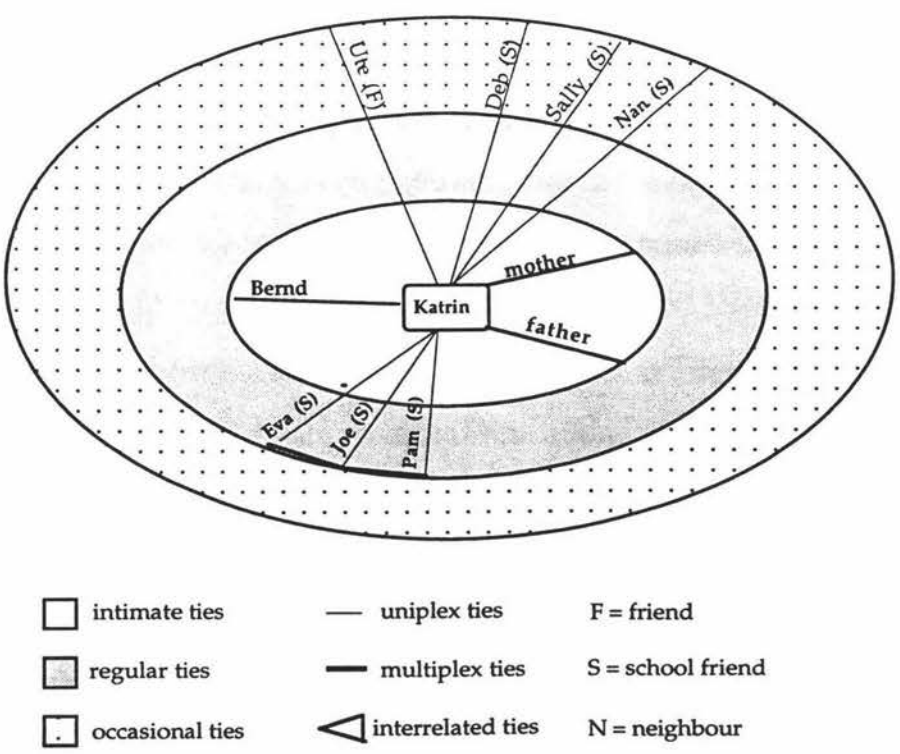



**Table eleven:** **Social network Ties for Katrin**



Code switching functioned as a conversational device which enabled them to change between codes. The fact that both subjects quite naturally switched backwards and forwards in a situation where English was clearly dominant further emphasises that the use of German is closely associated with interaction with German-speaking network members.

Bernd's relationships with peers appear to be rather few at first glance. No regular ties are reported and the only contact of significance is with two boys, one of whom is from out of town and whom Bernd can therefore see only occasionally. A significant aspect of this relationship is, however, that his friend Sam has an interest in the German language and people. The positive impact on the L1 status this is likely to generate is particularly important here as it comes from another peer.

The relatively small number of contacts shown for Bernd is the result of a transition phase rather than a lack of integration. As a seventh former he finds himself in a situation where most of his school friends have recently left school so that, as a consequence, he no longer maintains any regular ties with them. This period of change will probably lead to the establishment of new relationships at university once Bernd starts his intended course of study there. Taking into account former regular relationships he sustained in addition to the remaining ties with his two friends Mike and Sam it can be argued that Bernd's integration into the host society through his peers has been successful. The reduction in network ties is likely to be an indication for a provisional state of flux due to the departure or his school friends. By and large, his network structure seems to be balanced between the two main clusters family and peer group without an indication of the latter exerting dominance over the former.

While for Katrin an identical situation as that of her brother obtains in the family network she is connected to the host culture through regular contact with at least three monolingual individuals (Eva, Joe and Pam) who are her best friends at school. As all three girls live in the same township as Katrin they all travel to and from school together and are able to see each other after school. The parents confirmed that if the girls cannot meet they make regular and extensive use of the telephone. Katrin also maintains a changing number of occasional ties mostly with school friends (Deb, Sally, Nan).

Although Katrin's peer group cluster consists of only three ties it is strengthened through interconnectedness and regularity of contact which is an indication of her successful social integration. As a teenager Katrin is likely to be under growing influence from her peer group whose ideas and values she shares and which may be in opposition to those of the family (see the fashion example in 4.1). Judging from the information gained on language use in the family domain above the English speaking peers' influence has so far not impacted on the use of German as Katrin chooses L1 in interaction with German-speaking ties such as family members or others, irrespective of where she is or who is present (with the exception of one friend who feels uneasy when German is spoken in her presence).

An interesting connection exists outside the social networks which Katrin has established in New Zealand. During her two holidays spent in Germany she has kept up contact with her former school friends there through school visits. The importance of these visits, according to her mother, lies not only in retaining former friendships but also in being able to be regarded as someone special with an interesting background which, in turn, is likely to raise the

status of her 'New Zealand connection'. It could be argued, therefore, that Katrin is able to draw the best of both of her worlds.

**Summary**

The children's interaction patterns can be interpreted as follows:

- Their friendship network density suggests successful integration into the host society reflecting strong peer pressure on L1

- The selection of German for interaction in the family cluster is associated with a high level of intimacy and makes L1 the most relevant code to be used with parents and siblings as 'prototypical' speakers of German.

- The appropriateness of using German extends from family relationships to links with other L1 speakers.

- The overall distribution of ties indicates that the family and peer clusters exist side by side and complement each other in terms of providing language as a resource and acting as norm enforcement agents for their respective social groups across domains.

The analysis of the subjects' network ties has shown the existence of a network structure that provides exposure to the L1 and allows for the enforcement of values favouring German language and culture primarily within the cluster of family ties. This reflects the role of the family network as a "discourse reproducing agency (and discourse creating)" (Romaine 1984: 160) where L1 discourse skills can be developed and maintained. In addition to these close family links there are further ties with other German speakers the children

interact with occasionally. As social relationships permeate group and domain boundaries their functions as described above are likely to have a positive influence on L1 retention even in networks where English is the dominant language.

The availability to the children of both German and English speakers in their networks and the fact that they use L1 with the former and L2 with the latter suggests the existence of a dual code system according to which the subjects choose the language they deem most appropriate or relevant with the respective interaction partner. Thus, the complementary distribution of the children's codes found in the domain analysis above extends beyond domain boundaries into their social networks where code switching is the communication strategy that allows them to make use of their bilingual repertoire instead of totally committing themselves to any one language. The subjects have succeeded in integrating two potentially competing linguistic and value systems into a binary system where the use of either L1 or L2 is possible.

Thus far, a picture has emerged of a complementary distribution of ties together with the values they represent. The networks associated with the L1 and L2 respectively do not appear to be in competition with each other. It remains to be seen, however, how stable this situation can possibly be, bearing in mind that the children will leave home one day. This may be the crucial turning point where a so far relatively balanced situation becomes characterised by total L2 dominance, depending on how close a contact the children retain with their families and other speakers of German.

In answer to the research question it is therefore argued here that the subjects have become successfully integrated into the social network system of the

dominant culture without compromising the interaction between German-speaking network ties and the flow of the L1 between them. Although the establishment of the children's social network structures has given an important insight into their interaction patterns and how those relate to their use and retention of the L1 it has to be borne in mind that underlying psychosocial factors such as attitudes and self-concept are likely to mediate the formation and maintenance of social relationships and influence the way they impact on the individual. This will form the basis of the discussion in the following section.

## 4.3 PSYCHOSOCIAL ASPECTS

The social psychology approach to bilingualism attempts to account for language choice by way of interpersonal relationships and the psychosocial climate underlying language contact situations. Hence, it represents an integrative perspective that incorporates the notion of identity with social networks as the medium for interaction where existing or new speaker identities are reflected and defined. Following on from the social network analysis above the ensuing examination will therefore focus on the two central concepts of language attitudes and social identity which children acquire and develop as they grow and become socialised.

This section addresses research question four:

> What is the role of language attitudes and self-concept in relation to the subjects' language maintenance?

The importance of attitudes has been emphasised for second language acquisition (Lambert and Gardner 1972) and dialect learning (Labov 1963) as well as language contact situations where language retention has been linked with positive attitudes (Dorian 1981, Grosjean 1982) which are "by far the most important constraints for linguistic behaviour" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 184). Language attitudes are therefore also regarded as crucial in the bilingual immigrant situation of the subjects under study. Here too, additive or subtractive bilingualism may obtain, depending on how L1 is perceived. The role of attitudes or "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Giles and Ryan 1982: 7) will therefore be examined as a part of the children's overall belief system which is expected to be reflected in the children's linguistic behaviour and shape the perception of their ethnic identity.

### 4.3.1 Language attitudes

The centrality of language attitudes and speaker identity to this study can be formulated as follows:

> Both as an instrument of communication and as a symbol for group identity language is accompanied by attitudes and values held by its users and also by persons who do not know the language. (Grosjean 1982: 117)

Thus, in the following, both the parents' and the children's attitudinal orientation to German and its speakers as well as to bilingualism in general will be examined. Their attitudes towards L1 are expected to be mediated by

how others view the language, especially by members of the majority group. This factor is taken into account in the form of L1 status in the community. Attitudes are likely to affect parents in terms of their support for L1 and the children in terms of their possible bias against one language, both of which is ultimately expected to affect the subjects' willingness to use and maintain their German. It will be interesting to see how the children's attitudes take shape under the parents' influence as well as that of their respective peer groups and society in general and whether any conflict between the two belief systems arises.

Language attitudes are described on three different levels, ie. towards the L1 itself, to its speakers as well as to bilingualism.

#### 4.3.1.1 Children's attitudes to German

> A predominantly positive orientation to German is an important incentive for its use and maintenance.

There is an interesting difference in the way the subjects assess German from an aesthetic point of view. In item four of the children's questionnaire they were asked to say which language had a more pleasant sound and, although a neutral choice of both was possible as well, Markus and Katrin voted in favour of German while Nina and Bernd preferred English. Nina's choice is not surprising considering that she showed more inconsistency than the other children, for example, in her language choice behaviour (see 4.2.1) indicating that her norms and values may still be in a state of flux enabling English to gain more prestige in her eyes (see also 4.3.1.2). Bernd's preference of L2 could

simply be a result of the length of time he has been using it as his dominant language (half his life) and as such it can of course be expected to have a lot of prestige. However, a positive aesthetic evaluation of L2 and a favourable perception of L1 are not mutually exclusive as will be shown below.

On completion of the questionnaire Katrin provided a spontaneous comment including a direct description of her language preference:

> *Deutsch ist mir immer noch lieber. Das Englisch muß ich halt kennen, weil ich hier wohne aber später will ich wieder nach Deutschland, da gefällt es mir besser.*
> I still prefer German. I just have to know English because I live here but later I want to go back to Germany, I like it better there.

Her reasons for liking L1 better are clearly reward orientated because knowing German will enable her to travel and study in Germany when she gets older. But it also indicates a close link with the country itself whose youth culture, a highly important determinant of language attitudes (Baker 1992), she admires and keeps in touch with through girls' magazines sent by her relatives.

Feelings of embarrassment caused by the use of German (item 12 children's questionnaire) as an indicator of negative feelings towards the language was only reported by Nina. This adds further weight to the assumption made above that this child, at least at the time when she was questioned, had a less positive view of German compared with the other subjects. But it should be pointed out here that, according to the parents, all children occasionally refused to speak German not long after their arrival in New Zealand when they were still in the process of settling down and establishing themselves in a new social

environment. This suggests that embarrassment as a reflection of a negative orientation to L1 use is associated with aspects of identity and group membership discussed below.

A further indirect indication of the children's attitude to their L1 was obtained through their view of German writing skills (item 20 children's questionnaire). All four subjects expressed the ability to write in German as desirable but only the older ones gave a reason for it. Markus found this skill useful for a possible exchange which would require him to attend school in Germany while Bernd regarded it as potentially helpful for future employment, which implies an instrumental orientation of both children. Katrin stated that the ability to write well would enable her to have more contact with her friends in Germany which combines both instrumental as well as integrative aspects.

#### 4.3.1.2 Children's attitudes to German people

> The subjects' perceptions of L1 speakers provide a neutral basis for their positive language attitudes.

Three of the four subjects showed no clearly positive or negative disposition for either German people or New Zealanders (items 21 and 23 children's questionnaire). A simple awareness of difference between the two as a consequence of having a different language was expressed by Markus and Katrin while Nina was unable to verbalise her view of either. Bernd is the only one with a more favourable view of the New Zealanders who he described as nice and helpful compared with Germans who he labelled as stubborn. The latter verdict he even illustrated with an example of a lady who complained

about a barking dog while taking a walk. However, in the company of Germans Bernd reported feeling comfortable just as all other children did (item 22 children's questionnaire). This could be taken as an indication that, although he expressed criticism of a particular German trait Bernd does not harbour any feelings of rejection towards Germans.

A more positive view of Germans by Bernd is in fact reflected in his desire to have more German friends (item 18 children's questionnaire) which he feels would make a welcome change. Interestingly, both Nina and Katrin did not wish to have more German friends. While the older Katrin may be quite happy with the status quo as she still keeps contact with her friends in Germany Nina's lack of interest could be due to her more recent immigration and her need to consolidate her New Zealand friendships. But Markus who is in the same situation as his sister would in fact like some more Germans as friends which he sees as a possibility to have secrets from others with the help of the different language. This, again, suggests a view of language as a useful means to an end.

The general picture of the children's attitudes to German people is one of relative neutrality. Except for Bernd's slightly less favourable description of Germans no other negative indications were given in terms of their verbal or behavioural expressions towards either Germans or New Zealanders. Even Bernd indirectly exhibited a more positive disposition to the German people by his choice to spend a holiday in Germany, which suggests that he enjoyed or at least did not mind being around the people. The absence of overtly strong (positive or negative) views of German people is perhaps not surprising as the subjects have not been exposed to very many Germans, except their own

parents. As a consequence, they have not had the opportunity to gain wider experience with German society and its variety of social behaviours.

#### 4.3.1.3 Children's attitudes to bilingualism

> A positive perception of being bilingual promotes the choice of L1 and the complementary distribution of codes.

All four children were positive about having two languages at their disposal (item 11 children's questionnaire). While the two girls Nina and Katrin were unsure about their reasons, their brothers Markus and Bernd both appreciated the fact that one could be secretive when using a language that not everybody else understood, ie. either L1 in NZ or L2 in Germany. Bernd commented at the end of the interview that he had never really thought about these things and that knowing two languages felt quite natural to him. This self-analysis provides an important clue about the significant role bilingualism appears to play for Bernd. The fact that he regards having two languages as natural shows that both codes do have their place and their co-existence offers him a tool that can be used at his discretion. This argument establishes a powerful link with the notion of complementary distribution put forward above (4.2).

Positive attitudes towards being bilingual appear to be a speaker characteristic that develops with age and experience. Whereas the younger children have not been in a bilingual context for long the older ones have had more time and opportunity to acquire an informed view of bilingualism. According to the parents in the Behrend family the children's perception of having two codes has moved away from being a strongly parent-supported asset ("Having two

languages is good for you") to one whose values they are now embracing as part of their own belief system. For example, Katrin expressed her appreciation of the fact that she was able to act as an interpreter for a group of German tourists at a hotel where she was staying during a stopover in Hawaii. This kind of experience is likely to strongly promote any pre-existing favourable dispositions to definite positive attitudes towards being bilingual.

The subjects' attitudes can be summarised as being based on a by and large neutral view towards the German people which, by way of association, is unlikely to create any feelings of antagonism towards the German language. At first sight the children's positive attitudes to L1 reflect more or less utalitarian reasons for using German such as its use as a secret language or its potential for a future career. It can be assumed that the children found it easier to verbalise the practical value of their L1.

However, the fact that the subjects identify as Germans and choose to speak German with other L1 speakers suggests that they also attach an affective value to the language which is associated with a function of intimacy and its potential for maintaining personal relationships. This combination of instrumental and integrative dimensions in the children's attitudinal orientation is likely to create a strong incentive to retain German and thus increases the chances for language maintenance.

The overall positive orientation to being bilingual justifies the assumption made earlier of a complementary distribution of codes which enables an additive outcome due to the harmonious co-existence of the two languages. This is likely to also have a positive impact on the children's self perception as it

implies the possibility of a dual identity as a result of a positive identification with both languages and their speakers.

#### 4.3.1.4 Parental attitudes

> Positive parental attitudes borne out both in words and action represent an important source of linguistic and affective input in favour of L1 use and retention.

Although the parent's view of L1 and language maintenance is not the only factor of influence on the children's attitudes especially as the power of peer group pressure increases from the moment a child starts school and widens his/her sphere of social activity (Romaine 1984), it is likely to represent an ongoing source of attitudinal input particularly within the home domain. The impact the parents can have in the families studied here is described in terms of the expressed values they attach to German and language maintenance as well as the actions they take to support their views.

Both sets of parents expressed a positive view of their L1 by assigning language maintenance the highest score of "very important" in item 10 of the parent's questionnaire. Family Abel even qualified this evaluation with their own description of "extraordinarily important". Apart from this apparent favourable attitude to German in general it is also interesting to see what kind of dimensions the parents see embodied in the L1 that could be lost if German was not maintained by their children (item 11 parents' questionnaire). Their answers are presented in the table below:

**Table twelve:** **Parents' Motivation for Retaining German**

(1=no loss/5=very significant loss)

| | FAMILY ABEL (Markus/Nina) | FAMILY BEHREND (Bernd/Katrin) |
|---|---|---|
| Identity | 4 | 4 |
| Culture | 4 | 4 |
| Communication with family in New Zealand | 5 | 5 |
| Communication with family in Germany | 5 | 5 |
| Career prospects | 3 | 4 |
| Others | 4 | - |

That the practical value of L1 as a means of communication should be evaluated slightly higher than its value as marker of identity and link with cultural roots is perhaps not surprising bearing in mind that the communication with family members, both here and overseas, is an immediate concern the families face. Bernd's and Katrin's parents pointed out that none of their relations in Germany speak English and it was therefore paramount for the children to be able to speak to them in their own language. Family Abel's relatively low evaluation of the practicality of German with regard to future employment prospects can be explained by their children's young age which may not make this an important consideration yet. What they did rate as important in the "others" category, however, were both affective and cognitive aspects such as pride, self-confidence and the ability to read in German. Hence, on the whole, the generally high ratings given to the various aspects seen to be integral to L1 confirms that German is held in extremely high regard by the parents.

In addition to the parents' verbal commitment to L1 their attitudinal favouring of German is also supported in active behaviour, an important indicator of

which is their own pattern of language choice. Self-reported language use (item 12) in the home is German only with the children and the partner. If English-speaking monolinguals are present the choice in family Abel is to use either language although observational data confirms that the tendency is to speak German with the children irrespective of the presence of people who do not understand it, even in interaction outside the home (see 4.2). In the same situation the Behrends use German with the children and both languages with the partner depending on who is present (eg. friends or business contacts, see 4.2 above). This puts to the fore the crucial importance of L1 as a language of intimacy in the parent-children relationship.

In addition, the supply of a variety of German language media such as books, games or records creates an important signal to the children which, apart from extending their exposure to L1, affirms the value the parents place on German. This value is further reflected in the parents' support for German as a school subject which also enables the acquisition of reading and writing skills. Before this became an option for the older children Bernd's and Katrin's mother even went to the trouble of teaching her children herself every Saturday, mainly through writing letters to relations in Germany. Family Abel, whose children are as yet too young to take other languages at school have actively supported their children's attendance at a German 'Saturday Class' which was started in August 1995.

The parents' positive orientation to German and the importance they attach to it, shows not only in their support for it as a means of communication but also when they help their children in the face of conflict arising from the use of L1. Examples of bullying were confirmed by all parents, particularly during the early period after immigration and their reaction was one of encouragement to

carry on using German rather than become English-only speakers. Markus's father, for example, asked his son not to stop using German when others teased him and to regard this language as a special gift that made him different and that others had to go without. Thus, the notion of being different due to being bilingual was actively supported as a positive feature that the parents very strongly approved of. Furthermore, the children were guided in the direction of developing a dual identity.

### 4.3.2 Language and identity

> The children have developed (Markus, Bernd and Katrin) or are still developing (Nina) a clear sense of German identity in addition to their integration into the host society affording them full participation in the majority group as well as maintaining their affiliation with the L1 group.

The development of self-concept is part of our psychosocial development during the socialisation process and, according to the notion of language as identity marker (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985), is projected through the use of speakers' linguistic resources which help establish and maintain social identity in everyday discourse (Vassberg 1993). Immigrants are faced with the task of adjusting to two groups or cultures and children in particular may encounter difficulties as they have a strong need for a shared identity with their peers and feelings of solidarity which are expressed, amongst others such as clothes, or common interests, through a common language.

This situation is often characterised by a process of changing group identification which involves the realignment of norms and values to adjust to the changed social circumstances. The outcome of this process may be one of social and linguistic assimilation to the dominant culture which involves the abandonment of the former identity to gain social approval:

> The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which, from time to time, he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished. (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 18)

The question to be answered is therefore what kind of impact the subjects' bilingualism and life in a new culture has had on their social identities and, associated with that, their use of L1.

At this stage the subject's linguistic behaviour is not indicative of altering identities as earlier analyses established the children's considerable use of German with a variety of speakers across domains (4.2.1) as well as their neutral to positive attitudes to L1. Not only have the subjects not denounced their Germanness but they were in fact also shown to be well integrated into the host society which suggests that they may even have developed an awareness of dual identity.

An example of language choice already referred to above is the picnic situation during which Markus and Nina showed a strong display of 'Germanness' through consistent use of L1. The presence of members of the L2 group, both adults and peers, did not appear to pressure them into the use of English except when code switching to address the monolingual English speakers. Similarly,

Bernd's and Katrin's German identity is borne out in their choice of L1 in a variety of situations where English speaking monolinguals are present, even in the school context in front of their peers (see above). Both of these examples are a clear indication in favour of the notion of dual identity which is attached to code switching. The interchange between codes enables the children to identify with both the L1 and L2 groups via linguistic means, ie. by using the language that is appropriate both as a communication tool and identity marker.

The children's direct self-reported data on how they perceive their ethnic identity (item 28 children's questionnaire) confirms that all four of them identify as Germans. The fact that Bernd hesitated a considerable time before answering the question suggests two things. He may either have some doubt in his mind as to who he is which would confirm the existence of confusion and conflict between the two groups. On the other hand, he may simply have found it difficult to commit himself to one group only in which case an example of dual membership can be assumed. The latter interpretation seems to be the more likely one in view of the subject's own explanation of his bilingual situation as "normal and natural" (see above).

The above evidence which suggests a strong sense of belonging to the L1 group has to be put into perspective, however, particularly with regard to the self-reported data which could have been influenced by perceived expectations due to the researcher's presence. It must be emphasised that the children's perceptions of self-concept should be conceptualised as dynamic and may still be in a state of flux. As a case in point the youngest subject, Nina, provided an interesting insight into the psychosocial processes underlying the language contact situation she has been exposed to. During the social get-together of family, colleagues and friends at a restaurant described earlier her brother

Markus spoke German with Rob, a bilingual neighbour and friend, while Nina responded to him in English. The following exchange with the researcher ensued:

Ute: *Sprichst du nicht Deutsch mit Rob?*
Aren't you speaking German with Rob?

Nina: I don't want to speak German.

Ute: *Warum nicht?*
Why not?

Nina: I don't want to [hesitation] because I am not German.

Ute: *Was bist du denn dann?*
What are you then?

Nina: English!

The fact that Nina did not describe herself as a New Zealander in this instance substantiates the notion of a close link between language and identity which in Nina's case is clearly drawn between the English language and being 'English'. There is of course also a possibility that the child deliberately avoided a clear commitment to one group which might threaten the validity of the other and therefore also that of her emerging dual identity.

Nina also showed a certain reluctance to use the L1 at an earlier stage when the researcher picked her up from school. While walking away from the classroom she initially refused to say anything and avoided responding to questions or comments. Only on the way to the car did she did start to speak German, however, hesitatingly and in a very low voice which implies that outside the

intimacy of the home Nina identifies more with her peers. Her overt display of disassociation from German language and identity indicates an ongoing process of reconciliation between two groups that are open for membership. For Nina the school domain is clearly reserved for English where she fully assumes her identity as a New Zealander and where, in the earlier stages after immigration she perceived a possibility of being ridiculed for being different. She was annoyed when her brother spoke German to her at school,

> *weil die anderen Kinder lachen*
> because the other children will laugh

although Nina herself admitted that this had in fact not happened yet. However, according to parent reports, all four subjects were subjected to a certain amount of teasing mainly shortly after immigrating which triggered avoidance behaviour, ie. the refusal to identify as German through the use of L1. As this has been overcome by all but the youngest subject it is assumed that factors such as parent support, the prestige of German and the general absence of conflict assisted the children in passing through this phase without losing their link with their L1.

Nina herself appears to be following the same path since even after a few months into this investigation she showed marked signs of growing self-confidence in relation to her German identity. For example, she spoke only German with her brothers and sisters and her grandmother on a playground when other children where present. This suggests that she has overcome her previous fear of being ridiculed by developing a dual identity that has afforded her inclusion and acceptance in both groups.

In summary it can be stated that

- Although the children experienced a fear of being different during the early stage after immigration they have developed and continued to show their German identity through the use of German in appropriate circumstances.

- Successful integration into the host culture has not resulted in assimilation or the corresponding loss of L1 but rather in dual group membership.

- Code switching between German and English allows the children to retain their Germanness and, at the same time, assume their New Zealand identity in the appropriate settings.

The children's membership in both L1 and L2 groups ties in with the claim made above that both languages are in complementary distribution which has enabled the participation in the majority society as well as the continuing identification with their own group values. A major influence in the subjects' maintenance of ethnic identity and language therefore seems to be the fact that German and English are not mutually exclusive in their linguistic repertoires.

# 5. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

This final chapter summarises the principal aspects of the study. Firstly, the background and purpose of the research will be reviewed, as well as the methodological approach chosen to obtain and examine data in response to the research questions. Secondly, a general discussion of the findings and the interpretations drawn from them will emphasise what insights and further understanding of the problem were achieved. Thirdly, the study will conclude with a statement of practical implications and suggestions for further research.

Language maintenance or language shift as possible outcomes of bilingualism have been a central subject in language contact studies which has been approached from different perspectives. Sociological, psychological and sociolinguistic research has identified a variety of variables affecting the success or failure of language maintenance. The investigation of the role of influencing variables has, however, focussed mainly on the macrolevel aspects of the bilingual situation of larger groups or whole speech communities. It was therefore argued that there was a need for additional information on the processes associated with language contact at the microlevel.

In view of an almost complete absence of research into the situation of German in New Zealand as well as a general scarcity of studies on individual bilinguals the current study thus attempted to describe the specific language contact situation of four German background children by investigating the nature of the underlying processes and the role of influencing variables. To this end, a case study approach was adopted to enable an in-depth view of the problem in a real life situation. After the completion of a pilot study four subjects from two

German immigrant families were selected and examined over an approximately six-month period. During this time qualitative data was gained through a questionnaire applied during interviews with both parents and children as well as through participant observation in a variety of situations.

## 5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In answer to research question one it was shown that the following factors had an impact on the subjects' success of L1 retention:

- exposure to L1 (speakers, media), domain factors (participants, activities), social networks, positive attitudes and perception of German identity (positive status of L1 as curriculum subject, trade language).

In answer to the second research question the result of the domain and social network analyses showed a complementary distribution of L1 and L2 which is exemplified in the following aspects:

- the parallel use of German and English across domains. In spite of an increase of L2 outside the family domain which is traditionally reserved for L1 use German continues to be used with family members and other speakers of German. Language use was shown to be predominantly participant orientated as a consequence of which the subjects had a choice of both codes even in L2 dominant domains, provided that German-speaking interlocutors were available.

- the network links with both L1 and L2 group members reflected a side by side existence of social networks allowing for interaction in and association

with the host society as well as the subjects' 'home group'. Interaction in the family cluster provided the flow of L1 as a resource and the most relevant code associated with the function of intimacy which was extended to other speakers of German.

- Code-switching played a central role in the children's bilingual competence as a communication strategy which enabled the speakers to switch between L1 as the language of the family and intimate relationships and L2 as the language of the 'outside' world. This was shown to promote complementarity of codes rather than competition between them, even where one language may be dominant.

In answer to the third research question it was found that integration into the host society did had not negatively affected L1 maintenance as

- the children's social network links with their English-speaking peers indicated successful L2 group membership which did not stop them from also identifying with their parallel L1 group and using German with its members.

In answer to the fourth research question the examination of the children's attitudinal orientation revealed generally positive attitudes to German and its speakers as well as to being bilingual which

- enhanced the subjects' continuing identification with the L1 culture parallel to their integration into the L2 group (as reflected in network links with peers) resulting in dual membership instead of a total assimilation to the host culture (to date).

Given the fact that the subjects and their families have settled in a country where their group of German speaking immigrants, their country of origin and their language enjoy a relatively high status in the majority society it is perhaps not surprising that a positive view of being and speaking German has been maintained successfully in all cases. The subjects' own favourable views of their language and culture were not in conflict with their positive identification with the dominant group and its code. As a consequence assimilation was not the only option for the subjects and dual membership could develop without negative sanctions.

In summary it is therefore stated that the subjects have to date succeeded in maintaining their L1 as a result of an interplay of the factors identified above. Positive attitudes to L1, its speakers and to bilingualism in general have assisted the children in maintaining their German identities in addition to being successfully integrated members of the host society. The complementary distribution of German and English across domains as well as the existence of social networks with both L1 and L2 links in the absence of conflict has resulted in the development of dual membership. This, in turn, has had a significant impact on the continued use of their L1 both for communicative as well as symbolic reasons.

At this stage the four cases of successful language maintenance represent a picture that goes against the trend of rapid language shift found for German immigrants in general and among their children in particular. Longitudinal research of their situation would be required to establish how resistant their language maintenance is to time. It has to be acknowledged that as the children are likely to spend more time in English-speaking environments and will be

exposed to more and more experiences in English the range of L1 domains is likely to become more restricted. Maintaining German under such circumstances, no matter how successful it has been so far, may therefore present the subjects with a challenge in the future.

## 5.2 General implications

The general conclusion drawn from the findings of this study is that immigration does not necessarily result in assimilation accompanied by rapid (first generation) language shift. All four cases showed that individual speakers can develop dual identities associated with the complementary distribution of codes over a range of domains of use as opposed to languages in competition. However, the future direction of the children's bilingualism is uncertain as their current contexts may undergo a complete change in years to come, for example, by intermarriage or the weakening or loss of the parent link.

Further research therefore could focus on:

- Longitudinal follow up of the same subjects.
- Other cases for comparability (German and other ethnic groups).
- Qualitative group studies to examine the applicability of the findings of the current study to German speakers as a group.
- Examination of linguistic aspects of language contact such as crosslinguistic influence (in progress). It would be interesting to investigate how L1 skills are affected in a bilingual context where speakers have learnt the language (mainly speaking skills) but not necessarily all the intricacies of social etiquette due to a lack of exposure to a wider variety of social contacts which

has restricted their social and linguistic input to a limited number of L1 speakers.

The findings of this study have practical implications for parents and educators. Bilingual parents can feel encouraged that language maintenance is possible for children even in a context where the availability of L1 speakers and media is limited. The notion of complementarity and dual identity assisted by code switching is of central importance as it reduces the necessity of shift to one code at the expense of the other but rather enables the use of both where appropriate. It was shown that in a situation such as this the parents' commitment to and consistency in the use of L1 with their children is paramount as it safeguards the continuation of social interaction in the L1 across domains and settings.

The educational implications of this study relate to the necessity of providing immigrant children with more L1 support. The current emphasis in New Zealand on ESL detracts from the status of immigrants' home languages and is likely to discourage the development of bilingualism. An approach which promotes the complementary roles of both L1 and host language could, however, be a very worthwhile undertaking, not only in terms of complying with speakers' rights to using their own language but also in regard to developing a valuable resource of bilingual speakers.

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**Appendix 1:** CHILDREN'S QUESTIONNAIRE (English)

| 1. What language do you speak when | ENGLISH | GERMAN | BOTH |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. you tell your parents about a film you saw at the movies? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. you answer the telephone? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. you talk to your pet? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. you talk to your friend's pet? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 2. What language do you usually use for thinking? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 3. What language do you use when you are angry? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 4. What language do you think sounds more pleasant? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 5. In what language are you better at | | | |
| a. reading? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. writing? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. speaking? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. listening? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 6. What language do you use for mental arithmetic? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 7. When you are at home, what language do you use with: | | | |
| a. your parents (alone)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. your parents (brothers or sisters present)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. your parents (English speakers present)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. your brother/sister (alone)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| e. your brother/sister (parents present)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| f. your brother/sister (English speakers present)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 8. When you are at school, what language do you use with: | | | |
| a. your brother/sister? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. your school friends? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. your teachers? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

9. When you are at a friend's, what language do you use with:

| | ENGLISH | GERMAN | BOTH |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. your brother/sister? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. your friend? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

10. Do you ever respond in English when someone is talking to you in German?

a. Yes ❐
b. No ❐
c. If yes, why? _____

11. Do you enjoy having two languages?

a. Yes ❐
b. No ❐
c. If yes, why? _____

12. Have you ever been embarrassed speaking German?

a. Yes ❐
b. No ❐
c. If yes, why? _____

13. How often do you read German books?

a. Every day ❐
b. Sometimes ❐
c. Never ❐

14. What was the last book you read?

_____

15. What is your favourite book?

_____

16. How often do you watch German TV/video?

a. Every day ❐
b. Sometimes ❐
c. Never ❐

17. Do you have German-speaking friends?
    a. Yes ❒
    b. No ❒
    c. If yes, how many? _____
    d. How often do you see them ?
        Every day ❒
        Sometimes ❒
        Never ❒

18. Would you like to have more German-speaking friends?
    a. Yes ❒
    b. No ❒
    c. If yes, why? _____

19. Do you ever use English words when you are speaking German?
    a. Yes ❒
    b. No ❒
    c. If yes, why? _____

20. Would you like to be able to write well in German?
    a. Yes ❒
    b. No ❒
    c. If yes, why? _____

21. How would you describe German people to your New Zealand friends? What words would you use?

    _____

22. What is it like for you when you are with Germans? Do you feel:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| at ease? | ❒ | not at ease? | ❒ |
| accepted? | ❒ | not accepted? | ❒ |

23. How do you behave when you are with Germans?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| as usual | ❒ | different than usual | ❒ |

24. How would you describe New Zealanders to your German friends or relatives? What words would you use?

_____

25. What is it like for you when you are with New Zealanders? Do you feel:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| at ease? | ❐ | not at ease? | ❐ |
| accepted? | ❐ | not accepted? | ❐ |

26. How do you behave when you are with New Zealanders?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| as usual | ❐ | different from usual | ❐ |

27. Which of these activities do you do with other New Zealanders?

| | OFTEN | SOMETIMES | NEVER |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sports | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Meeting friends | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Visit a youth club | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Go to church | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Watch TV | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Hobby | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Other _____ | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

28. Who are you?

| | |
|---|---|
| a German | ❐ |
| a New Zealander | ❐ |

**Appendix 2: PARENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE (English)**

1. Please state the age of your children:

Markus: ❑ years, born in _____
Nina: ❑ years, born in _____

2. How long has your family been in New Zealand?

Since _____ .

3. How old were your children on arrival in New Zealand?

Markus: ❑ years
Nina: ❑ years

4. Did your children attend Kindergarten or school in Germany?

No ❑
Yes ❑

| Kindergarten | School |
|---|---|
| Makus: ❑ years | Markus: ❑ years |
| Nina: ❑ years | Nina: ❑ years |

5. How long have your children been at school in New Zealand?

Makus: ❑ years
Nina: ❑ years

6. Did your children have any English skills before your emigration?

| | None | Little | Some | A lot |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

7. In what way were you supported as immigrants by any government or non-government organisations?

_____

8. How often do your children have contact with friends?

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ____ with English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| ____ with German speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| ____ with English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| ____ with German speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

9. Do you think that your children's German has changed since you came to New Zealand?

| | Not | Little | Some | A lot |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

If you noticed a change how would you describe it?

_____
_____
_____

10. How do you regard your children's maintenance of German?

Very important ❑
Important ❑
Not important ❑

11. Would you regret it if your children lost their German?

Yes ❑
No ❑

If yes, what aspects would be lost with it? Please state the degree of significance:

| | 1 none | 2 little | 3 some | 4 much | 5 very much |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| communicative | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| cultural (history, tradition) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| practical (school, career) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| psychosocial (family ties, friends, identity etc) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| other: _____ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

12. What language do you normally use in your family?

| | GERMAN | ENGLISH | BOTH |
|---|---|---|---|
| with your partner at home | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| with your children at home | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| with your partner in presence of English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| with your children in presence of English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

13. What language do you normally use with other German speakers?

| | GERMAN | ENGLISH | BOTH |
|---|---|---|---|
| At home? | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| At home in the presence of English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| At a restaurant | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| At a restaurant in the presence of English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| At work | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| At work in the presence of English speakers | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

14. Which language do your children use with different addressees in various and activities? (G=German, E=English, B=Both)

| Name: | Where | Activity/topic | parent | relative | sibling | bilingual | monolingual English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FAMILY | At home | conversing during meal | | | | | |
| | | playing | | | | | |
| | | telling jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | | playing with pet | | | | | |
| | | talking about school | | | | | |
| | | doing homework | | | | | |
| | | preparing for school | | | | | |
| | | talking about English language film | | | | | |
| | | talking about German language film | | | | | |
| | | watching television | | | | | |
| | Picnic | conversing during meal | | | | | |
| | | playing | | | | | |
| | | telling jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | Restaurant | conversing during meal | | | | | |
| | | telling jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | | talking about school | | | | | |
| | Shop | talking about shopping | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | Parents' workplace | helping parents | | | | | |
| | | phoning parents | | | | | |
| FRIENDSHIP | At home | conversing during meal | | | | | |
| | | playing | | | | | |
| | | telling jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | | watching television | | | | | |
| | At friend's | greeting, farewelling | | | | | |
| | | conversing during meal | | | | | |
| | | playing | | | | | |
| | | tell ing jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |
| | | watching television | | | | | |
| EDUCATION | School | greeting/ farewelling | | | | | |
| | | engaging in sports | | | | | |
| | | conversing during breaks/playtime | | | | | |
| | | telling jokes | | | | | |
| | | complaining | | | | | |

15. How often are your children involved in the use of the following in German?

| | often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Books | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Games | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Records, Audiocassettes | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| TV, Video | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Computer games | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Radio | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Other _____ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

16. Do your children take German at school or elsewhere?

No ❑
Yes ❑

| | school | correspondence school | other |
|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

If yes, why?

_____

_____

17. Have your children even refused to speak German with you?

No ❑
Yes ❑

If yes,

Where?_____

With whom?_____

About what?_____

18. How do you rate your children's language skills?

Markus:

| | GERMAN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 Nil | 2 Low | 3 Average | 4 High | 5 Very high |
| Listening | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Speaking | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Reading | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Writing | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Markus:

| | ENGLISH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 Nil | 2 Low | 3 Average | 4 High | 5 Very high |
| Listening | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Speaking | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Reading | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Writing | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Nina:

| | GERMAN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 Nil | 2 Low | 3 Average | 4 High | 5 Very high |
| Listening | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Speaking | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Reading | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Writing | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Nina:

| | ENGLISH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 Nil | 2 Low | 3 Average | 4 High | 5 Very high |
| Listening | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Speaking | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Reading | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Writing | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

19. How frequently do your children have contact with the following?

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Letters from Germany | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Letters to Germany | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Visitors from Germany | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Phone calls from Germany | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Visits from Germans in N Z | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Phone calls from Germans in NZ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Other _____

20. How important do you regard continuing contact with Germany?

Very important ❑
Important ❑
Not important ❑

If you regard it as important/very important what are your reasons?

_____

_____

21. How often have you returned to Germany since your arrival in New Zealand?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Last year | ❑ | times |
| In the last five years | ❑ | times |
| In the last ten years | ❑ | times |

22. Who in your view do your children think they are?

| | German | New Zealander | Both |
|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

23. What other comments would you like to make?

_____

_____

_____

## Appendix 3: CHILDREN'S QUESTIONNAIRE (German)

| 1. Welche Sprache sprichst du wenn | ENGLISCH | DEUTSCH | BEIDE |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. du deinen Eltern über einen Film erzählst, den du im Kino gesehen hast? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. du das Telefon beantwortest? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. du mit deinem Haustier sprichst? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. du mit dem Haustier eines Freundes sprichst? | ❐ | | ❐ |
| 2. Welche Sprache benutzt du normalerweise zum Denken? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 3. Welche Sprache benutzt du, wenn du wütend bist? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 4. Welche Sprache hört sich für dich besser an? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 5. In welcher Sprache kannst du besser | | | |
| a. lesen? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. sprechen? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. verstehen? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 6. Welche Sprache benutzt du zum Kopfrechnen? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 7. Wenn du zu Hause bist, welche Sprache sprichst du mit | | | |
| a. deinen Eltern (allein)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. deinen Eltern (Geschwister dabei)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. deinen Eltern (Englischsprecher dabei) | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| d. deinem Bruder/deiner Schwester (allein)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| e. deinem Bruder /deiner Schwester (Eltern dabei)? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| f. deinerm Bruder/deiner Schwester (Englischsprecher dabei?) | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| 8. Wenn du in der Schule bist, welche Sprache sprichst du mit | | | |
| a. deinem Bruder/deiner Schwester? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. deinen Schulfreunden? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| c. deinen Lehrern? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

9. Wenn du bei einem Freund/einer Freundin bist, welche Sprache benutzt du mit

| | ENGLISCH | DEUTSCH | BEIDE |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. deinem Bruder/deiner Schwester? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| b. deinem Freund/deiner Freundin? | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

10. Antwortest du jemals auf Englisch, wenn wenn dich jemand auf Deutsch anspricht?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

11. Macht es dir Spaß, zwei Sprachen zu können?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

12. War es dir schon einmal peinlich, Deutsch zu sprechen?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

13. Wie oft liest du deutsche Bücher?
    a. Jeden Tag ❐
    b. Manchmal ❐
    c. Nie ❐

14. Wie hieß das letzt Buch, was du gelesen hast?
    _____

15. Wie heißt dein Lieblingsbuch?
    _____

16. Wie oft schaust du deutsches Fernsehen/Videos?
    a. Jeden Tag ❐
    b. Manchmal ❐
    c. Nie ❐

17. Hast du deutschsprachige Freunde?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, wieviele? _____
    d. Wie oft siehst du sie ?
        Jeden Tag ❐
        Manchmal ❐
        Nie ❐

18. Hättest du gern mehr deutschsprachige Freunde?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

19. Benutzt du manchmal englische Wörter, wenn du Deutsch sprichst?
    a. Ja. ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

20. Würdest du gern gut auf Deutsch schreiben können?
    a. Ja ❐
    b. Nein ❐
    c. Wenn ja, warum? _____

21. Wie würdest du deinen neuseeländischen Freunden die Deutschen beschreiben? Welche Wörter würdest du benutzen?

    _____

22. Wie ist es für dich, wenn du mit Deutschen zusammen bist? Fühlst du dich
    wohl? ❐ unwohl? ❐
    akzeptiert? ❐ ausgestoßen? ❐

23. Wie verhälst du dich, wenn du mit Deutschen zusammen bist?
    wie immer ❐ anders als mit Neuseeländern ❐

24. Wie würdest du deinen deutschen Freunden oder Verwandten die Neuseeländer beschreiben? Welche Wörter würdest du benutzen?

    _____

25. Wie ist es für dich, wenn du mit Neuseeländern zusammen bist? Fühlst du dich

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| wohl | ❐ | unwohl | ❐ |
| akzeptiert | ❐ | ausgestoßen | ❐ |

26. Wie verhälst du dich, wenn du mit Neuseeländern zusammen bist?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| wie immer | ❐ | anders als sonst | ❐ |

27. Welche dieser Dinge unternimmst du mit anderen Neuseeländern?

| | OFT | MANCHMAL | NIE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sport treiben | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Freunde treffen | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Jugendclub besuchen | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| in die Kirche gehen | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| fernsehen | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| Hobby | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |
| anderes _____ | ❐ | ❐ | ❐ |

28. Wer bist du?

| | |
|---|---|
| ein/e Deutsche/r? | ❐ |
| ein/e Neuseeländer/in? | ❐ |

Appendix 4: PARENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE (German)

1. Bitte geben das Alter und den Geburtsort Ihrer Kinder an:

Markus: ❑ Jahre, geboren in _____
Nina: ❑ Jahre, geboren in _____

2. Wie lange ist Ihre Familie schon in Neuseeland?

Seit _____

3. Wie alt waren die Kinder bei der Ankunft in Neuseeland?

Markus: ❑ Jahre
Nina: ❑ Jahre

4. Sind die Kinder in Deutschland in den Kindergarten oder in die Schule gegangen?

Nein ❑
Ja ❑

| | Kindergarten | Schule |
|---|---|---|
| | Markus: ❑ Jahre | Markus: ❑ Jahre |
| | Nina: ❑ Jahre | Nina: ❑ Jahre |

5. Wie lange gehen Ihre Kinder schon in Neuseeland in die Schule?

Markus: ❑ Jahre
Nina: ❑ Jahre

6. Hatten Ihre Kinder Englischkenntnisse vor der Auswanderung nach Neuseeland?

| | Keine | We nig | Etwas | Viel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

7. In welcher Weise wurden Sie von staatlichen/nicht-staatlichen Organisationen als neue Einwanderer unterstützt?

_____

_____

8. Wie häufig haben die Kinder Kontakt zu Freunden?

| | Nie | Selten | Manchmal | Oft |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Markus mit Englischsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Markus mit Deutschsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina mit Englischsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina mit Deutschsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

9. Glauben Sie, daß sich das Deutsch Ihrer Kinder seit Ihrer Ankunft in Neuseeland verändert hat?

| | Nicht | Wenig | Etwas | Viel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Markus: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina: | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Wenn Sie eine Veränderung bemerkt haben, wie würden Sie sie beschreiben?

_____

_____

_____

10. Wie betrachten Sie den Erhalt des Deutschen bei Ihren Kindern?

Sehr wichtig ❑
Wichtig ❑
Nicht wichtig ❑

11. Würden Sie es bedauern, wenn die deutsche Sprache Ihren Kindern verloren ginge?

Ja ❑
Nein ❑

Wenn ja, welche Aspekte fürchten Sie, gingen dabei mit verloren? Bitte ordnen Sie die angegebenen Gründe entsprechend ihrer Bedeutsamkeit:

| | 1<br>keine | 2<br>wenig | 3<br>etwas | 4<br>viel | 5<br>sehr viel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sprachlich/kommunikativ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Kulturell (Kenntnis der Geschichte, Tradition etc) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Praktisch (Schule, Karriere etc) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Sozial/Psychologisch (Aufrechterhaltung von Familienbanden, Freundschaften, Identität, etc) | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Andere: _____ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

12. Welche Sprache benutzen Sie normalerweise zu Hause?

| | DEUTSCH | ENGLISCH | BEIDE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mit dem Partner? | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Mit den Kindern? | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Mit dem Partner in Gegenwart von Englischsprechern? | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Mit den Kindern in Gegenwart von Englischsprechern? | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

13. Welche Sprache benutzen Sie normalerweise mit anderen Deutschsprechern?

| | DEUTSCH | ENGLISCH | BEIDE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Zu Hause | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Zu Hause in Gegenwart von Englischsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Im Restaurant | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Im Restaurant in Gegenwart von Englischsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Bei der Arbeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Bei der Arbeit in Gegenwart von Englischsprechern | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

14. Welche Sprache benutzen ihre Kinder bei verschiedenen Aktivitäten und mit unterschiedlichen Gesprächspartnern?
(E=Englisch, D=Deutsch, B=Beides)

| Name | Wo | Aktivität/Thema | Eltern | Ver-wandte | Schwester Bruder | Zwei-sprachige Freunde | Ein-sprachige Freunde |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Familie** | Zu Hause | Unterhaltung beim Essen | | | | | |
| | | spielen | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |
| | | mit dem Haustier spielen | | | | | |
| | | über die Schule reden | | | | | |
| | | Hausaufgaben machen | | | | | |
| | | vorbereiten zur Schulüber | | | | | |
| | | über einen englischen Film sprechen | | | | | |
| | | über einen deutschen Film sprechen | | | | | |
| | | fernsehen | | | | | |
| | Picknick | Unterhaltung beim Essen | | | | | |
| | | spielen | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |
| | Restaurant | Unterhaltung beim Essen | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |
| | | über die Schule reden | | | | | |
| | Geschäft | über Einkauf reden | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |
| | Arbeitsplatz der Eltern | Eltern helfen | | | | | |
| | | Eltern anrufen | | | | | |
| **Freundschaft** | Zu Hause | Unterhaltung beim Essen | | | | | |
| | | spielen | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | shimpfen | | | | | |
| | | fernsehen | | | | | |
| | Bei Freunden | Begrüßung/Abschied | | | | | |
| | | Unterhaltung beim Essen | | | | | |
| | | spielen | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |
| | | fernsehen | | | | | |
| **Erziehung** | Schule | Begrüßung/Abschied | | | | | |
| | | Sport treiben | | | | | |
| | | Unterhaltung in der Pause/beim Spiel | | | | | |
| | | Witze machen | | | | | |
| | | schimpfen | | | | | |

15. Wie oft benutzen Ihre Kinder folgende Dinge auf Deutsch?

| | TÄGLICH | WÖCHENTLICH | MONATLICH | NIE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bücher | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Spiele | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Schallplatten, Audiokassetten | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| TV/Video | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Computerspiele | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Radio | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Andere _____ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

16. Bekommen Ihre Kinder in der Schule oder anderswo Deutschunterricht?

Nein ❑
Ja ❑

| | Schule | Korrespondenz | Andere |
|---|---|---|---|
| Markus | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Wenn ja, warum? _____

17. Haben Ihre Kinder sich jemals geweigert, mit Ihnen Deutsch zu sprechen?

Nein ❑
Ja ❑

Wenn ja, in welcher Situation:
Wo? _____
Mit wem? _____
Worüber? _____

18. Wie schätzen Sie die sprachlichen Fähigkeiten Ihrer Kinder ein?

Markus:

| | DEUTSCH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 keine | 2 niedrig | 3 durchschnitlich | 4 hoch | 5 sehr hoch |
| Hörverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Sprechfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Leseverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Schreibfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Markus:

| | ENGLISCH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 keine | 2 niedrig | 3 durchschnitlich | 4 hoch | 5 sehr hoch |
| Hörverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Sprechfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Leseverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Schreibfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Nina

| | DEUTSCH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 keine | 2 niedrig | 3 durchschnitlich | 4 hoch | 5 sehr hoch |
| Hörverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Sprechfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Leseverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Schreibfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

Nina:

| | ENGLISCH | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 keine | 2 niedrig | 3 durchschnitlich | 4 hoch | 5 sehr hoch |
| Hörverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Sprechfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Leseverstehen | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Schreibfertigkeit | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

19. In welchen dieser Situationen und mit welcher Häufigkeit benutzen Ihre Kinder Deutsch?

| | Nie | Manchmal | Oft |
|---|---|---|---|
| Briefe aus Deutschland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Briefe nach Deutschland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Besucher aus Deutschland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Anrufe aus Deutschland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Besuche von Deutschsprechern in Neuseeland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Anrufe von Deutschsprechern in Neuseeland | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Andere _____ | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

20. Für wie wichtig halten sie den weiterbestehenden Kontakt mit Deutschland?

Sehr wichtig ❑
Wichtig ❑
Nicht wichtig ❑

Wenn Sie ihn für wichtig/sehr wichtig halten, was sind Ihre Gründe?

_____

21. Wie oft sind Sie seit Ihrer Ankunft in Neuseeland nach Deutschland zurückgefahren?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Letztes Jahr | ❑ | mal |
| In den letzten fünf Jahren | ❑ | mal |
| In den letzten zehn Jahren | ❑ | mal |

22. Als was fühlen sich Ihre Kinder nach Ihrer Meinung?

| | Als Deutsche | Als Neuseeländer | Als beides |
|---|---|---|---|
| Markus | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |
| Nina | ❑ | ❑ | ❑ |

23. Welche weiteren Kommentare möchten Sie geben?

_____

_____

_____